A

HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

IN

ANCIENT INDIA

BASED ON SANSCRIT LITERATURE.

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BY

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TRANSLATION OF THE RIG VEDA SANHITA
AND OTHER WORKS

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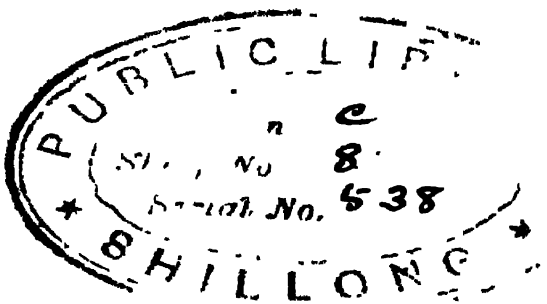
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TO

MY GENTLE AND LOVING DAUGHTERS

KAMALA & BIMALA

WHO HAVE CHEERED MY LABOURS AND BLESSED

MY LIFE

WITH THEIR AFFECTION

I DEDICATE THIS WORK WITH A FATHER'S LOVE.

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

VOL. I.—VEDIC AND EPIC AGES.

"IF I were asked," says Professor Max Müller, "what I consider the most important discovery which has been made during the Nineteenth Century with respect to the ancient history of mankind, I should answer by the following short line :—

Sanscrit, DYAUSH PITAR=Greek, ΖΕΥΣΠΑΤΗΡ (ZEUS PATER)=Latin, JUPITER=Old Norse, TYR."

And certainly, the discoveries which have been made by European scholars within the last hundred years, with the help of the old Aryan language preserved in India, form one of the most brilliant chapters in the history of the advancement of human knowledge. It is not my intention to give a sketch of that history here ; but a few facts which relate specially to Indian Antiquities may be considered interesting.

It is about a century since Sir William Jones startled the scholars of Europe by his translation of Sakuntalâ, "one of the greatest curiosities," as he said in his preface, "that the literature of Asia has yet brought to light," and one of the tenderest and most beautiful creations of human imagination produced in any age or country. The attention of European literary men was roused to the value and beauty of Sanscrit literature ; and the greatest literary genius of the modern age has recorded his appreciation of the Hindu dramatic piece in lines which have been often quoted, in original and in translation :—

> **Would'st thou the life's young blossoms and the fruits of its decline,**
> **And all by which the soul is pleased, enraptured, feasted, fed,—**
> **Would'st thou the earth and heaven itself in one sweet name combine?**
> **I name thee, O Sakuntalâ, and all at once is said."—*Göethe.***

Sir William Jones translated Manu, founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and lived to continue his researches into the store-house of Sanscrit literature, and achieved valuable results; but he did not live to find what he sought,—a clue to India's "ancient history without any mixture of fable." For his enthusiastic labours were mostly confined to the later Sanscrit literature,—the literature of the Post-Buddhist Era; and he paid little heed to the mine of wealth that lay beyond.

Colebrooke followed in the footsteps of Sir William Jones. He was a mathematician, and was the most careful and accurate Sanscrit scholar that England has ever produced. Ancient Sanscrit literature concealed nothing from his eyes. He gave a careful and accurate account of Hindu Philosophy, wrote on Hindu Algebra and Mathematics, and, in 1805, he first made Europeans acquainted with the oldest work of the Hindu and of the Aryan world, *viz.*, the Vedas. Colebrooke, however, failed to grasp the importance of the discovery he had made, and declared that the study of the Vedas "would hardly reward the labour of the reader much less that of the translator."

Dr. H. H. Wilson followed in the footsteps of Colebrooke; and although he translated the Rig Veda Sanhitâ into English, his labours were mostly confined to later Sanscrit literature. He translated into elegant English the best dramatic works in Sanscrit, as well as the beautiful poem of Kâlidasa, called "Meghadûta." He also translated the Vishnu Purâna, and laboured to adjust the history of the later Hindu period, and settled many points on a satisfactory basis.

In the meantime, a great genius had arisen in France. The history of oriental scholarship contains no brighter name than that of Burnouf. He traced the connection between the Zend and the Vedic Sanscrit, and framed a Comparative Grammar for his own use before German scholars had written on Comparative Grammar. By such means he deciphered the Zend language and scriptures, elucidated the Rig Veda, and shewed its true position in the history of Aryan nations. Versa-

tile as he was profound, he also deciphered the Cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria, and thus earned for himself an undying fame in Europe. And further, in his Introduction to Buddhism, he gave the first philosophical and intelligible account of that great religion. His lessons created a deep sensation in Europe during nearly a quarter of a century (1829 to 1852), and left a lasting impression on the minds of admiring and enthusiastic pupils in Paris, some of whom, like Roth and Max Müller, lived to be the profoundest Vedic scholars of our age.

German scholars, in the meantime, had commenced their labours; and when once they began work in this line, they soon excelled and even ousted all other labourers in the field of Indian Antiquities! Rosen, the contemporary and friend of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, published the first Ashtaka of the Rig Veda, with a Latin translation, but his untimely death prevented the further progress of the work.

But the most eminent German scholars of the day set before themselves a higher task; and the industry, perseverence, and genius of men like Bopp, Grimm, and Humboldt soon achieved a result which ranks as one of the noblest and most brilliant discoveries of the century. They marked and traced the connection among all the Indo-European languages,—the Sanscrit, the Zend, the Greek, the Latin, the Slav, the Tuton, and the Celtic,—they demonstrated all these languages to be the offshoots of the same original stock, and they even discovered the laws under which words were transformed in passing from one language to another. Classical scholars of the day, who believed that all civilization and culture began with the Greek and the Latin, at first smiled and ridiculed, then stood aghast, and ultimately gave way with considerable chagrin and anger to the irresistible march of Truth!

The desire to elucidate ancient Hindu literature and history deepened among scholars as they became more thoroughly alive to the value of Sanscrit. Roth, one of the profoundest Vedic scholars of the century,

produced his edition of Yâska with his most valuable notes, and later on he published, with Whitney, an edition of the Atharva Veda, and completed, with Böehtlingk, the most accurate and comprehensive Sanscrit Dictionary yet written. Lassen published his profound work, Indische Alterthumskunde, displaying a deep learning and accurate scholarship which has seldom been excelled. Weber published the White Yajur Veda with its Brâhmana and Sûtras, elucidated many obscure points of Ancient Hindu History in his Indische Studien, and gave the first clear and comprehensive account of Sanscrit literature in his History of Indian Literature. Benfey published a most valuable edition of the Sâma Veda, of which an edition, with translation, had been published by Stevenson and Wilson before. And Muir collected the most suggestive and historically-valuable texts from Sanscrit literature, in five volumes, which are a monument of his industry and learning.

And lastly, Professor Max Müller mapped out the whole of the ancient Sanscrit literature chronologically in 1859 in his great work on the subject.

More valuable to Hindus than this great work—more valuable than the learned Professor's numerous works and contributions on Language, Religion, and Mythology—is his magnificent edition of the Rig Veda Sanhitâ, with Sâyana's Commentary. The work was hailed in India with gratitude and joy; it opened to Hindu students generally the great and ancient volume, which had hitherto remained sealed with seven seals to all but a very few scholars; and it awakened in them a historical interest in the past,—a desire to enquire into their ancient history and ancient faith from original sources.

Jones and Colebrooke and Wilson had worthy successors in India, but none more distinguished than James Prinsep. The inscriptions of Asoka on pillars and rocks all over India had remained unintelligible for over a thousand years, and had defied the skill of Sir William Jones and his successors. James Prinsep,

then Secretary to the Asiatic Society, deciphered these inscriptions, and a flood of light was thus thrown on Buddhist antiquities and post-Buddhist history. Prinsep was also the first to deal, in a scholar-like way, with the coins of the post-Buddhist kings found all over Western India. He has been followed by able scholars. Dr. Haug edited and translated the Aitareya Brâhmana, and elucidated the history of the Parsís; Dr. Burnell wrote on South Indian Paleography; Dr. Bühler has ably dealt with the ancient legal literature; and Dr. Thibaut has, in late years, discovered ancient Hindu Geometry.

Among my countrymen, the great reformers, Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Dayanand Sarasvati, turned their attention to ancient Sanscrit literature. The first translated a number of Upanishads into English, and the latter published a translation of the Rig Veda Sanhitâ in Hindi. Sir Raja Radha Kanta Dev cultivated Sanscrit learning, and published a comprehensive and excellent dictionary entitled the Sabdakalpadruma. Dr. Bhao Daji and Professor Bhandarkar, Dr. K. M. Banerjea and Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra have, by their varied and valuable contributions, taken their fair share of work in the field of antiquities. My esteemed friend, Pandit Satya Vrata Sâma Sramin has published an excellent edition of the Sâma Veda with Sâyana's Commentary and an edition of the White Yajur Veda with Mahîdhara's Commentary, and is now engaged in a learned edition of Yâska's Nirukta, and lastly, my learned friend, Mr. Anand Ram Borooah,* of the Bengal Civil Service, has published a handy and excellent English-Sanscrit Dictionary, and is now engaged in a Sanscrit Grammar of formidable size and erudition!

General Cunningham's labours in archæology and in

* Since the above lines were written, the author has received the sad intelligence of the death of the talented scholar. His untimely death is a loss to Sanscrit scholarship in this country, which will not be easily remedied. To the present writer, the sorrow is of a personal nature, as he enjoyed the friendship of the deceased for twenty years and more,—since the old College-days in this country and in England.

the elucidation of Ancient Indian Geography are invaluable; and Burgess and Fergusson have treated on Indian Architecture. Fergusson's work on the subject is accepted as the standard work.

In Europe, Dr. Fausböll may be said to be the founder of Pâli scholarship, and edited the Dhammapada so far back as 1855, and has since edited the Jâtaka Tales. Dr. Oldenberg has edited the Vinaya texts; and these scholars, as well as Rhys Davids and Max Müller, have now given us an English translation of the most important portions of the Buddhist Scriptures in the invaluable series of Sacred Books of the East.

I wish to say a word about this series, because I am, in a special degree, indebted to it. Professor Max Müller, who has, by his lifelong labours, done more than any living scholar to elucidate ancient Hindu literature and history, has now conceived the noble idea of enabling English readers to go to the fountain-source, and consult oriental works in a series of faithful translations. More than thirty volumes, translated from the Sanscrit, Chinese, Zend, Pahlavi, Pâli, Arabic &c., have already been published, and more volumes are expected. I take this opportunity to own my great indebtedness to the volumes of this series which relate to Indian History. I have freely quoted from them,—allowing myself the liberty of a verbal alteration here and there; and I have seldom thought it necessary to consult those original Sanscrit works which have been translated in this faithful and valuable series.

And this brings me to the subject of the present work, about which I wish to say a few words. I have often asked myself: Is it possible, with the help that is now available, to write, in a handy work, a clear, historical account of the Civilization of Ancient India, based on ancient Sanscrit literature, and written in a sufficiently popular manner to be acceptable to the general reader? I never doubted the possibility of such a work; but I have often wished—even when engaged in this task—that it had been undertaken by an abler scholar, and

by one who could devote his attention and time more exclusively to it than I could possibly do.

Scholars who have devoted their lifetime to the study of Indian antiquities and who have brought out rich ores from that inexhaustible mine, seem however to have little time or little inclination to coin the metal for the every-day use of the general public. That unambitious task must, therefore, devolve on humbler labourers.

That there is need for such a popular work will not be denied. The Hindu student's knowledge of Indian History practically begins with the date of the Mahommedan Conquest,—the Hindu period is almost a blank to him. The school-boy who knows all about the twelve invasions of Mahmud, knows little of the first invasions and wars of the Aryans, who conquered and settled in the Punjab three thousand years before the Sultan of Ghuzni. He has read of Shahab-ud-din Muhammad Ghori's conquest of Delhi and Kanouj, but has scarcely any historical knowledge of the ancient kingdoms of the Kurus and the Panchâlas in the same tract of country. He knows what emperor reigned in Delhi when Sivaji lived and fought, but scarcely knows of the king who ruled in Magadha when Gautama Buddha lived and preached. He is familiar with the history of Ahmadnagar, Bijapore, and Golkonda, but has scarcely heard of the Andhras, the Guptas and the Chalukyas. He knows exactly the date of Nadir Shah's invasion of India, but scarcely knows, within five centuries, the date when the Sakas invaded India, and were repelled by Vikramâditya the Great. He knows more of the dates of Ferdusi and Ferishta than of A'ryabhatta or Bhavabhûti, and can tell who built the Taj Mahal without having the fainest notion when the topes of Sanchi, the caves of Karli and Ajanta, the temples of Ellora, Bhuvanesvara, and Jagannâtha were built.

And yet, such things should not be. For the Hindu student the history of the Hindu period should not be a blank, nor a confused jumble of historic and legendary

names, religious parables, and Epic and Pauranik myths. No study has so potent an influence in forming a nation's mind and a nation's character as a critical and careful study of its past history. And it is by such study alone that an unreasoning and superstitious worship of the past is replaced by a legitimate and manly admiration.

It almost seems an irony of fate that the past should be considered a blank in a country where ancient sages have handed down traditions and elaborate compositions through thousands of years, and where generation after generation has preserved the heritage by a feat of memory which is considered a miracle in modern days! In vain must the thousands of ancient Hindu students and scholars have toiled to preserve these works, if the works give us no clue to a general outline History of Ancient India. And in vain, too, must eminent European scholars and antiquarians have worked during the last hundred years, if it be still impossible to put together the results of their learned researches in the shape of a connected history which will be intelligible to the general reader and the ordinary student.

Happily this is no longer impossible. And although many portions of Indian History are still obscure, although many questions of detail are still subjects of controversy, to construct a general history of the Hindu Period is no longer a hopeless task And, however unfit I feel myself to accomplish this task, I nevertheless venture to make a commencement, in the hope that abler scholars will pardon my shortcomings, rectify my inevitable errors, and perform skilfully and well, what I may do clumsily or leave undone.

In undertaking this great work, I must, once for all, disclaim any intention to make any new discoveries, or to extend in any way the limits of oriental scholarship and research. My limited knowledge of the subject precludes the possibility of such a pretention being advanced, and the limits of the present work make it impossible that any such results should be achieved. I have simply tried to string together, in a

methodical order, the results of the labours of abler scholars, in order to produce a readable work for the general reader. If, in the fulfilment of this design, I have been sometimes betrayed into conjectures and suppositions, I can only ask my readers to accept them as such,—not as historical discoveries.

Ten years ago I collected and arranged the materials then available to me, with a view to write a little school-book in my own vernacular; and the little work has since been accepted as a text-book in many schools in Bengal. Since that time I have continued my work in this line, as far as my time permitted; and when, three years ago, I was enabled, by the generosity of the Government of Bengal, to place a complete Bengali translation of the Rig Veda Sanhitâ before my countrymen, I felt more than ever impelled to re-arrange the historical materials furnished by our ancient literature in a permanent form. In pursuance of this object, I published some papers, from time to time, in the *Calcutta Review;* and these papers, together with all other materials which I have collected, have been embodied and arranged in the present work.

The method on which this work has been written is very simple. My principal object has been to furnish the general reader with a practical and handy work on the Ancient History of India,—not to compose an elaborate work of discussions on Indian Antiquities. To study clearness and conciseness on a subject like this was not however an easy task. Every chapter in the present work deals with matters about which long researches have been made, and various opinions have been recorded. It would have afforded some satisfaction to me to have given the reader the history of every controversy, the account of every antiquarian discovery, and the *pros* and *cons* of every opinion advanced. But I could not yield to this temptation without increasing the work to three or four times its present humble size, and thus sacrificing the very object with which it is written. To carry out my primary object, I have avoided every needless controversy and discussion, and I have

tried to explain, as clearly, concisely, and distinctly as I was able, each succeeding phase of Hindu civilization and Hindu life in ancient times.

But while conciseness has been the main object of the present work, I have also endeavoured to tell my story so that it may leave some distinct memories on my readers after they have closed the work. For this reason, I have avoided details as far as possible, and tried to develop, fully and clearly, the leading facts and features of each succeeding age. Repetition has not been avoided, where such repetition seemed necessary to impress on my readers the cardinal facts—the salient features of the story of Hindu civilization.

The very copious extracts which I have given (in translation) from Sanscrit works may, at first sight, seem to be inconsistent with my desire for conciseness. Such extracts, however, have been advisedly given. In the first place, on a subject where there is so much room for difference in opinion, it is of the highest importance to furnish the reader with the text on which my conclusions are based, to enable him to form his own judgment and to rectify any mistakes if my conclusions are erroneous. In the second place, it is a gain in the cause of historical knowledge to familiarize the reader with the texts of our ancient authors. It is scarcely to be hoped that the busy student will spend much of his time in reading the ancient and abstruse works in the original or even in learned translations, and the historian who seeks to familiarize his readers with some portions at least of these ancient works, adds in so far to the accurate knowledge of his readers on this subject. And lastly, it has been well said, that thought is language, and language is thought. And if it be the intention of the historian to convey an idea of ancient thought,—of what the ancient Hindus felt and believed,—he cannot do this better than by quoting the words by which that ancient people expressed themselves. Such brief extracts very often give the modern reader a far more realistic and intimate knowledge of ancient Hindu society and manners and ways of think-

ing than any account that I could give at twice the length. And it is because I have desired the modern reader to enter into the spirit and the inner life of the ancient Hindus, that I have tried to bring the old composers of Hymns and Upanishads face to face with the reader, and allowed them to speak for themselves. Such an intimate grasp of the inner life and feelings of the ancients is the very kernel of true historical knowledge, and I have felt it a hopeless task to impart this knowledge more accurately or more concisely than in the words of the ancients. It is for this reason mainly, and consistenly with my anxiety to be concise, that I have quoted copiously from ancient works.

In conclusion, I have to crave the indulgence of the reader for the many deficiencies which he will, no doubt, find in the present work, written in moments stolen from official work, and in places where a decent library was never available. Such claim to indulgence is seldom admitted, and the reader very pertinently enquires why a writer should ever undertake a work for which he was not in every way fully equipped. Nevertheless, I mention the circumstances, as they may explain, if they cannot justify, the shortcomings of the work. The time of the present writer is not his own, and the charge of a Bengal District with an area of over six thousand square miles and a population of over three millions, leaves little leisure for other work. To arrange my materials, under these circumstances, has been an arduous task, and I can only ask the indulgent consideration of my readers for any errors and defects which may have crept into this work.

MYMENSINGH DISTRICT,
BENGAL;
13th *August* 1888.

R. C. DUTT.

VOL. II.—RATIONALISTIC AGE.

A GREAT work has been recently completed. An English translation of the Rig Veda Sanhitá, which was commenced by Dr. H. H. Wilson many years ago, has

lately been brought to completion by Professor E. B. Cowell of Cambridge, and Mr. W. F. Webster. I only regret I had not the advantage of consulting the last portions of this work before my chapters on the *Vedic Age* passed through the press.

Dr. Wilson's translation is based, as is well known, mainly on Sâyana's interpretation of the Veda. Sâyana has his mistakes, but is invaluable in spite of them, and no translator can afford to overlook or to neglect the traditional Hindu interpretation of the ancient Hindu work. The most recent as well as the most scholarlike translation of the Rig Veda is the German translation of Ludwig; and his translation comes closer to Sâyana than many previous attempts to translate the Veda into European languages.

The literature of the second or *Epic Age* has not received the same degree of attention as the Veda. With regard to the Epics themselves, it will probably ever remain a hopeless task to separate the portions which are genuine and ancient from those which are later additions. The whole of the Mahâbhârata and the Râmâyana, as we find them now, has been recast in modern Sanscrit, and language therefore is no indication as to the dates of the different portions. Nevertheless, patient criticism and a careful comparison with the contemporaneous literature of the Epic or Brâhmana Period can effect much. And it is possible by such means to point to many details in the History, the Geography, the Religious beliefs, and the Social customs narrated in the Epics, which are undoubtedly of an ancient age.

Many of the Brâhmanas and A'ranyakas have been edited, and some have been translated. The old and genuine Upanishads have been several times published in India with vernacular translations, and since the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, several of them have been tanslated into European languages from the original Sanscrit. Professor Max Müller's translation of them in a collected form is the latest,—and will be useful to English readers.

The third, or *Rationalistic Age*, forms the subject of

the present volume. For an account of the Hindu life and social manners of this period, the Dharma Sâstras and the Greek accounts of India should be read together. In the Dharma Sâstras we see the ancient Hindus as they saw themselves, in the Greek accounts we see them as others saw them. In the former the Hindus paint themselves, in the latter they are painted by civilized and careful and friendly foreigners. There is a close resemblance between the two pictures,—and a comparison of them gives us a correct and very favourable idea of the ancient Hindus, their manners, and their civilization.

Hindu Philosophy, properly so-called, is to be found in the Mental Philosophy of Kapila and the Logic of Gautama. The former has received much attention in Europe, and some of the latest systems of German and French Philosophy are a reproduction, in a more elaborate form, of the Sânkhya Philosophy of Ancient India. Hindu Logic has not received the same attention from scholars, and there is room for researches on this subject. It is to be hoped that the want will be soon supplied, and that duly qualified scholars will give us a thorough exposition of Hindu logic, based on the ancient text and commentaries.

My account of Buddhism has been condensed as far as possible,—but nevertheless fills a good portion of the present volume. It is essential, however, to grasp the principles of the religion, in order to comprehend the history of India during eight centuries, during which Buddhism was the prevailing religion of India. It is still the prevailing religion of Asia, and recent researches disclose to us its intimate connexion with the religion of Europe. In treating this subject, I have followed the same method as in the other portions of my work, and have furnished my readers with copious extracts from the texts on which my conclusions are based.

In conclusion, it is my pleasing duty to acknowledge the help which I received, while this second volume was passing through the press, from my esteemed friends, Mr. G. A. Grierson, of the Bengal Civil Service, and Pundit Hara Prasad Sastri, M.A., Librarian to the

Bengal Government. As labourers in the field of Indian antiquities, both these scholars are doing useful and valuable work, and they have kindly and cordially rendered help to a fellow-labourer in the same field. I am indebted to them for many valuable hints and much useful information.

One more honored name I may be permitted to add. My sincere acknowledgments are due to Sir Steuart Bayley for the great interest he has evinced in my unambitious little work, and for the very kind and favourable reception with which he has honored the first volume.

MYMENSING DISTRICT,
BENGAL;
1st June 1889.

R. C. DUTT.

VOL. III.—BUDDHIST AND PAURANIK AGES.

IT is with mingled feelings of pleasure and unfeigned diffidence that I now place this completed work before the public. The great task of compiling for the first time a connected and clear history of the Ancient Hindus requires greater leisure and more extensive reading than I can lay claim to. Years of study, often interrupted, enabled me however to grasp the leading facts, and during the last three years I have worked continuously in moments spared from official duties to arrange these facts in their present shape. The first chapters on the Vedic Age were commenced in April 1887, the last chapters on the Pauranik Age have been revised in March 1890. The work, such as it is, is now placed in the hands of my indulgent countrymen for whom it has been written.

The reception which my countrymen have given to the earlier volumes has surpassed my most sanguine expectations. The entire edition of a thousand copies has been nearly exhausted before the third volume is out, and a second edition has been called for, and will be shortly taken in hand. More gratifying to

me were the requests which were made to me, and which have been gladly acceded to, for permission to translate the work into the vernaculars of Bombay, Madras, and the North-Western Provinces. And equally encouraging to me were the numerous enquiries, congratulations and expressions of sympathy which I have received from all parts of India, testifying to the interest which has been taken in this somewhat novel venture. I am too keenly aware of the imperfections of my rude attempt, to ascribe the success of the work to its merits; and I can only suppose therefore that the demand for a readable handbook of this nature was so great among my countrymen, that they have consented to accept the article even from such a clumsy workman as myself.

I take this opportunity also to thankfully acknowledge the valued opinions, notices and reviews with which many scholars in this country and in Europe have honored this work. A popular work of this nature can scarcely be acceptable to scholars who have devoted their lifetime to all the minutiæ of Indian antiquities, and I feel therefore all the more grateful for the cordial and favourable acceptance (too favourable for its merits), which it has received at their hands. My sincere acknowledgments are due to Doctors Roth, Weber, Max Müller, and several other scholars.

Of greater value to me than these favourable notices are the criticisms of some of these scholars on certain portions of my work, and it is due to my readers that I should indicate the main points on which my views have not always received assent. It is necessary to do this, if only to guard my readers from accepting my conclusion in all cases, and to induce them to form their own judgments on the facts.

Scholars belonging to the orthodox section of my countrymen have not always accepted my account of Vedic civilization. Life in the Vedic Age, they hold, was more "spiritual," more pious and contemplative in its tone and character, and they are scarcely prepared to accept my account of the rude self-assertion and

boisterous greed for conquests of the Vedic warriors. On the other hand, some European scholars think that I have represented Vedic civilization in too favourable a light. M. Barth, who did me the honour of favourably noticing in Paris my chapters on the Vedic Period, when they first appeared in the *Calcutta Review*, expressed his opinion that my account should be accepted with some degree of caution. And Dr. Kern, who has published a favourable review of the first volume of the present work in a Dutch journal, states that opinion is divided as to the character of the Vedic civilization. Some scholars delight in describing all that was robust and manly and straightforward in the character of the Vedic Hindus, while others pourtray their coarseness and imperfections. Dr. Kern is of opinion that I have adhered to the first school of opinion, but that the truth lies midway.

I am not aware that I have tried to keep back the robust rudeness—coarseness, if you like—of the civilization of the Vedic Age. But I confess, that like most modern Hindus, subject to all the drawbacks of a later and more artificial civilization, I feel a warm appreciation for the manly freedom of ancient Hindu civilization and life. I have sought to pourtray this prominently in my account of the Vedic Period; and in my description of later ages, I have not hesitated to point out, emphatically and repeatedly, how much we lack in all that was healthy and free, unrestricted and life-giving in the ancient Hindu institutions and social rules. It is a truth which we Hindus need bear in mind.

Coming now to the Epic Age, scholars are generally agreed that the caste system of India first took its rise in this period. But here again we should ever remember that caste rules, with all their potential evils, served in this early period as a sort of moral code for the Aryan Hindus, and tended to unite them by classing them in three great sections, with sanction for inter-caste marriage and religious instruction for all. The caste-system of the Epic Period was no more like the system of to-day than the Feudal institutions of

the middle ages, which had their object and their use, were like the baronial oppression of the 18th century in France. As it was neither possible nor desirable under changed circumstances to restore the old institution of the middle ages, the living nations of Europe swept away its debased and oppressive substitute which flourished down to the last century.

In the second volume of the present work I have treated of the Rationalistic Period, and of the rise of Buddhism which took place in this period. My appreciation of Buddhism has been criticised and many friendly critics have reminded me that Buddhist precepts, literally obeyed, would not hold the world together, but would lead nations to subjection, to inaction, and to beggary. This is not the place to enter into a controversy on the subject, but I may be permitted to point out that a religion cannot be criticised in this spirit, and that the teachings of the pure-souled Jesus have not been thus criticised. He, too, recommended a relinquishment of the world, and unresisting submission to wrongs and injuries, but neither he nor Gautama intended that men should cease to be men. Religion holds before us great models and perfect ideals of virtues, like charity, love and unselfishness; and these ideals, conveyed in precepts or commandments, legends or parables, have their effect on our moral nature and on our actions in our eternal and selfish struggle in this world. Let us be candid then, and concede that Gautama's ideals were lofty and holy; that his message of the equality of men, proclaimed to the caste-stricken people of India, was large-hearted and benevolent; and that his religion, which imparts moral lessons to a third of the world's population, is beautiful and great.

On another and a more delicate point, I expected my position would be assailed. My account of the historical connection between Buddhism and the rise of Christianity has been questioned. But enough, I hold, has been discovered to prove that connexion, and we can afford calmly to await the result of future researches. I do not hesitate to maintain, though few

Christian writers will agree with me, that the world owes to India that higher system of ethics and nobler code of morality which distinguish the modern religion from the religions of the ancient world.

In the present volume I have treated of the Buddhist and the Pauranik Age. The edicts of Asoka have thrown a flood of light on his administration and his times; and numerous other inscriptions, which have been read, elucidate many facts relating to the regal dynasties of the different provinces of India. But for an account of the people, their customs, laws and manners, we must turn to the code of Manu and to the account of the Chinese travellers. When we have compared these two records, we know how the Hindus saw themselves, and how they were seen by others.

The Pauranik Age opens with the sixth century A.D., when there was a renaissance in literature, science and religion. This opinion which is now held by most scholars is not, however, acceded to by all. My kind critic Dr. Bühler has pointed out that the Kâvya literature flourished during the early centuries of the Christian Era; that Chandragupta II and his father Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty were celebrated patrons of poetry and learning in the 5th and 4th centuries A.D.; and that it cannot therefore be asserted that there was a renaissance in Sanscrit literature in the 6th century A.D.

I have in the present volume admitted all the facts kindly pointed out by my learned critic, but I demur to his conclusion. Kâvya literature no doubt had its commencement in the 4th and 5th centuries of the Christian Era, just as modern English poetry had its commencement with Chaucer and Gower. But nevertheless, the 6th century A.D., which I take to be the era of Vikramâditya and Kâlidâsa, marked a real revival and renaissance of Sanscrit literature, as the age of Elizabeth and Shakespeare marked a real revival of English literature. It was the commencement of a new epoch, marked by an upheaval of the national mind.

In order properly to comprehend the subsequent history of the national mind in the Pauranik Age, we must compare the Dharma Sâstras and the Pauranik literature with the account of the Hindus from the discriminating and friendly pen of Alberuni. This I have attempted to do specially in the two closing chapters of the work, and the impression which is left on the mind is one of sadness. An unhealthy superstition and social system warped the national mind and paralyzed the national vigour. Worshippers were divorced from religious learning, warriors were divided from the people, professions and sects were disunited for ever and enfeebled. Men were subjected to unmeaning restrictions and hurtful rules; women were encouraged to perish on the pyre. A monopoly of knowledge was established, social and religious freedom was extinguished, and the lamp of national life was quenched with the light of freedom and of knowledge. The Hindu who can deservedly boast of the religion of the Upanishads and the ethics of Gautama Buddha, owes it to Truth and to History to confess to the degeneracy of later times. I have not sought to suppress this sadder portion of our national story; rather have I tried to tell it fully and impressively, so that we may now learn to turn to a brighter page of our national existence. If the present work contributes in any degree towards this result, if it helps us to sink our social disunion, to cast asunder hurtful restrictions, and to turn towards that unpolluted stream of life-giving religion, morality and knowledge which are our birthright, my labours, humble and unworthy as they are, have not been altogether in vain.

MYMENSING DISTRICT,
BENGAL;
14th March 1890.

R. C. DUTT.

INTRODUCTION.

EPOCHS AND DATES.

THE History of Ancient India is a history of thirty centuries of human culture and progress. It divides itself into several distinct periods, each of which, for length of years, will compare with the entire history of many a modern people.

Other nations claim an equal or even a higher antiquity than the Hindus. The Egyptians have records on their everlasting monuments of a civilization which goes beyond three thousand years before Christ. Assyrian scholars have claimed an equally remote antiquity for the Shumiro-Accadian civilization of Chaldea, which is said to have flourished over a thousand years before Nineveh and Babylon were founded. The Chinese, too, have a history which dates from about 2,400 B. C. For India, modern scholars have not claimed a higher antiquity than 2,000 B. C., though future researches may require an extension of this date.

But there is a difference between the records of the Hindus and the records of other nations. The hieroglyphic records of the ancient Egyptians yield little information beyond the names of kings and pyramid-builders, and accounts of dynasties and wars. The cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria and Babylon tell us much the same story. And even ancient Chinese records shed little light on the gradual progress of human culture and civilization.

Ancient Hindu works are of a different character. If they are defective in some respects, as they undoubtedly are, they are defective as accounts of dynasties, of wars, of so-called historical incidents. On the other hand they give us a full, connected, and

clear account of the advancement of civilization, of the progress of the human mind, such as we shall seek for in vain among the records of any other equally ancient nation. The literature of each period is a perfect picture—a photograph, if we may so call it—of the Hindu civilization of that period. And the works of successive periods form a complete history of Hindu civilization for over three thousand years, so full, so clear, that he who runs may read.

Inscriptions on stone and writings on papyri are recorded with a design to commemorate passing events. The songs and hymns and philosophical and religious effusions of a people are an unconscious and true reflection of its civilization and its thought. The earliest effusions of the Hindus were not recorded in writing,—they are, therefore, full and unrestricted,—they are a natural and true expression of the nation's thoughts and feelings. They were preserved, not on stone, but in the faithful memory of the people, who handed down the great heritage from century to century with a scrupulous exactitude which, in modern days, would be considered a miracle.

Scholars who have studied the Vedic hymns, historically, are aware that the materials they afford for constructing a history of civilization, are fuller and truer than any accounts which could have been recorded on stone or papyri. And those who have pursued Hindu literature through the different periods of Hindu history, are equally aware that it forms a complete and comprehensive story of the progress and gradual modifications of Hindu civilization, thought and religion for over three thousand years. And the philosophical historian of human civilization need not be a Hindu to think that the Hindus have preserved the fullest, the clearest, and the truest materials for his work.

We wish not to be misunderstood. We have made the foregoing remarks simply with a view to remove the very common and very erroneous impression that Ancient India has no history worth studying, no

connected and reliable chronicle of the past which would be interesting or instructive to the modern reader.

Ancient India has a connected story to tell, and so far from being uninteresting, its special feature is its intense attractiveness. We read in that ancient story how a gifted Aryan people, separated by circumstances from the outside world, worked out their civilization amidst natural and climatic conditions which were peculiarily favourable. We note their intellectual discoveries age after age; we watch their religious progress and developments through successive centuries; we mark their political career, as they gradually expand over India and found new kingdoms and dynasties; we observe their struggles against priestly domination, their successes and their failures; we study with interest their great social and religious revolutions and their far-reaching consequences. And this great story of a nation's intellectual life—more thrilling in its interest than any tale which Shaharzadi told—is nowhere broken and nowhere disconnected. The great causes which led to great social and religious changes are manifest to the reader, and he follows the gradual development of Hindu civilization through thirty centuries without a break or interruption.

The very shortcomings of Hindu civilization, as compared with the younger civilization of Greece or Rome, have their lessons for the modern reader. The story of our successes is not more instructive than the story of our failures. The hymns of Visvâmitra, the philosophy of Kapila and the poetry of Kâlidâsa have no higher lessons for the modern reader than the deep causes which led to the decadence of our political life and the ascendancy of priests. The story of the religious rising of the people under the leadership of Gautama Buddha is not more instructive than the causes which account for the absence of any political rising among the people, the absence of any efforts after popular freedom. And the great heights to which the genius of Brâhmans and Kshatriyas soared in the infancy of the world's intellectual life are not more

suggestive and not more instructive than the absence of genius in the people at large in their ordinary pursuits and trades,—in mechanical inventions and maritime discoveries, in sculpture, architecture and arts, in manifestations of popular life and the assertion of popular power.

The history of the intellectual and religious life of the ancient Hindus is matchless in its continuity, its fulness, and its philosophical truth. But the historian who only paints the current of that intellectual life performs half his duty. There is another and a sadder portion of Hindu history,—and it is necessary that this portion of the story, too, should be faithfully told.

We have said before that the history of Ancient India divides itself into several distinct and long periods or epochs. Each of these periods has a distinct literature, and each has a civilization peculiar to it, which modified itself into the civilization of the next period under the operation of great political and social causes. It is desirable that we should, at the outset, give a brief account of these historical epochs and the great historical events by which they are marked. Such an outline-account of the different periods will make our readers acquainted with the plan and scope of this work, and will probably help them to grasp more effectually the details of each period when we come to treat them more fully. We begin with the earliest period, viz., that of Aryan settlements in the Punjab. The hymns of the Rig Veda furnish us with the materials for a history of this period.

FIRST EPOCH.

IN this priceless volume, we find the Hindu Aryans as conquerors and settlers on the banks of the Indus and its five branches; and India beyond the Sutlej was almost unknown to them. They came as a conquering race, full of the self-assertion and vigour of a young national life, with a strong love of action and a capacity for active enjoyments. They were, in this respect, far

removed from the contemplative and passive Hindus of later days; they rejoiced in wealth and cattle and pasture-fields; and they carved out, with their strong right arm, new possessions and realms from the aborigines of the soil, who vainly struggled to maintain their own against the invincible conquerors. Thus, the period was one of wars and conquests against the aborigines; and the Aryan victors triumphantly boast of their conquests in their hymns, and implore their gods to bestow on them wealth and new possessions, and to destroy the barbarians. Whatever was bright and cheerful and glorious in the aspects of nature struck the Aryans with admiration and gladness, and such manifestations of nature were worshipped and invoked as gods.

It is needless to say that the entire body of Aryans was then a united community, and the only distinction of castes was between the Aryans and the aborigines. Even the distinction between professions was not very marked; and the sturdy lord of many acres, who ploughed his fields and owned large herds in times of peace, went out to defend his village or plunder the aborigines in times of war, and often composed spirited hymns to the martial god Indra in his hours of devotion. There were no temples and no idols; each patriarch of a family lighted the sacrificial fire in his own hearth, and offered milk and rice offerings, or animals, or libations of the Soma juice to the fire, and invoked the "bright" gods for blessings, and health, and wealth for himself and his children. Chiefs of tribes were kings, and had their priests to perform sacrifices and utter the hymns for them; but there was no priestly caste, and no royal caste. The people were free, enjoying the freedom which belongs to vigorous pastoral and agricultural tribes.

What is the date of this period of Aryan settlements in the Punjab? Colebrooke, who was the first discoverer of the Vedas for European readers, fixed the fourteenth century as the date when they were finally compiled and arranged. And as all scholars allow five

or six centuries for the expansion of the Aryans along the Indus and its five tributaries, we may fix the dates of the first period at 2,000 to 1,400 B. C. Professor Max Muller, in his latest works, allows 1,500 B. C. as the date when the Vedas, such as we now have them, were composed,* or 1,500 to 1,000 B. C. as the period when they were composed and finally arranged. In another work he states: "Four thousand years ago (or it may be earlier) the Aryans, who had travelled southwards to the rivers of the Punjab called him Dyaush Pitâ or Heavenly Father."†

Professor Weber allows a thousand years for the "occupying, subjecting to complete cultivation, and Brâhmanising the immense tract of land" from the Indus to the Gunduck. With this argument we agree; but the Professor is wrong when he fixes 500 B. C. as the time when the Hindus settled on the Gunduck. We will shew that they founded the kingdom of the Videhas by that river about 1,000 B. C., and the Aryans must have first crossed the Indus about 2,000 B. C.

Professor Whitney gives 2,000 to 1,500 B. C. for the Rig Veda hymns, and Dr. Martin Haug allows 2,000 to 1,400 B. C. for those hymns, while, for the earliest of them he claims a still remoter date. It is unnecessary to cite the authority of other scholars; we think we agree with the general opinion on the subject when we fix 2,000 to 1,400 B. C. for the first period of Hindu history. And, for the sake of convenience, we will call this period the *Vedic Period.*

SECOND EPOCH.

WHEN once the Hindu Aryans had come as far as the Sutlej, they did not lose much time in crossing that river and pouring down in numbers in the valley of the Ganges. We have rare mention of the Ganges and the Jumna in the Rig Veda, shewing that they were not yet generally known to the Hindus in the

* *India: what can it teach us?* (1883), p. 83.
† *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion,* Lecture VII.

first or Vedic Period, although adventurous colonists must have issued out of the Punjab and settled in the shores of those distant rivers. Such settlements must have multiplied in the second period, until, in the course of some centuries, the entire valley of the Ganges, as far down as modern Tirhoot, was the seat of powerful kingdoms and nationalities, who cultivated science and literature in their schools of learning, and developed new forms of religion and of civilization widely different from those of the Vedic Period.

Among the nations who flourished in the Gangetic valley, the most renowned have left their names in the epic literature of India. The Kurus had their kingdom round about modern Delhi. The Panchâlas settled further to the south-east, round about modern Kanouj. The Kosalas occupied the spacious country between the Ganges and the Gunduck, which includes modern Oudh; the Videhas lived beyond the Gunduck, in what is now known as Tirhoot; and the Kâsîs settled down near and about modern Benares. These were the most renowned nations of the second period, though other less powerful nationalities also flourished and extended their kingdoms from time to time.

When the first Kurus and Panchâlas settled in the Doab, they gave indications of a vigorous national life, and their internecine wars form the subject of the first national Epic of India, the Mahâbhârata. And although this work, in its present shape, is the production of a later age—or rather of later ages—yet, even in its present form, it preserves indications of that rude and sturdy vigour and warlike jealousies which must have characterised the early conquerers of the Gangetic valley. The Hindus did not, however, live many centuries in the soft climate of this valley before losing their vigour and manliness, as they gained in learning and civilization. As they drifted down the river they manifested less and less of the vigour of conquering races. The royal courts of the Videhas and the Kâsîs were learned and enlightened, but contemporary literature does not bear witness to their warlike qualities. The

Kosalas, too, were a polished nation, but the traditions of that nation, preserved in the second national Epic of India, the Râmâyana, (in its present form, a production of later ages,) shew more devotion to social and domestic duties, obedience to priests, and regard for religious forms, than the sturdy valour and the fiery jealousies of the Mahâbhârata.

This gradual enervation of the Hindus was the cause of the most important results in religious and social rules. Religion changed its spirit. The manly but simple hymns with which the sturdy conquerors of the Punjab had invoked nature-gods scarcely commended themselves to the more effete and more ceremonious Hindus of the Gangetic valley. The hymns were still repeated, but lost their meaning and sense, and vast ceremonials and observances took the place of simple forms. The priestly class increased in number and in influence, until they formed a hereditary caste of their own. The kings and warriors of the Gangetic valley lived in more splendid courts, and had more gorgeous surroundings than the simple agricultural warriors of the Punjab, and soon separated themselves from the people and formed a caste of their own. The mass of the people—the Vaisyas or Visas of the Rig Veda—became more lifeless than their forefathers in the Punjab, and wore, without a protest, the chains which priests and warriors—the Brâhmans and the Kshatriyas—threw around them. And as subjection means demoralization, the people in Hindu kingdoms never afterwards became what the people in ancient and modern Europe have striven to be. And lastly, the aborigines who were subjugated and had adopted the Aryan civilization formed the low caste of Sûdras, and were declared unfit to perform the Aryan religious rites or to acquire religious knowledge.

Such was the origin of the Caste-system in India, in the second period of Hindu history. The system arose out of weakness and lifelessness among the people, and, to a certain extent, it has perpetuated that weakness ever after.

It will be observed that this Second Period was a period of the submission of the people under the Brâhmans and the Kshatriyas, and of the submission of the Kshatriyas themselves under the Brâhmans. At the close of the period, however, there appears to have been a reaction, and the proud Kshatriyas at last tried to shake off the galling yoke, and to prove their equality with the Brâhmans in learning and religious culture. Wearied with the unmeaning rituals and ceremonials prescribed by priests, the Kshatriyas started new speculations and bold enquiries after the truth. The effort was unavailing. The priests remained supreme. But the vigorous speculations which the Kshatriyas started form the only redeeming portion of the inane and lifeless literature of this period. And these speculations remained as a heritage of the nation, and formed the nucleus of the Hindu philosophical systems and religious revolutions of a later day.

It was in this period of Aryan expansion in the Gangetic valley that the Rig Veda and the three other Vedas,—Sâman, Yajus and Atharvan—were finally arranged and compiled. Then followed another class of compositions known as the Brâhmanas, and devoted to sacrificial rites; and these inane and verbose compositions reflect the enervation of the people and the dogmatic pretensions of the priests of the age. The custom of retirement from the world into forest life, which was unknown in the earlier ages, sprang up, and the last portions of the Brâhmanas are A'ranyakas devoted to forest rites. And lastly the bold speculations started by Kshatriyas are known as the Upanishads, and form the last portions of the literature of this period, and close the so-called *Revealed Literature* of India.

Dr. H. H. Wilson, when reviewing Professor Max Müller's great work on Sanskrit literature thirty years ago, declared that a period of five centuries was not too long to account for the great political, social and religious changes which occurred in this period. And Dr. Wilson was right. Within this period the valley of the

Ganges, as far as Tirhoot, was cleared, colonized, and Hindu-ized, and formed the sites of powerful kingdoms. Religious observances were vastly elaborated; social rules were changed; the caste-system was formed; the supremacy of priests was established and confirmed, and ultimately questioned by the Kshatriyas; and lastly, within this age, a varied and voluminous literature was recorded. The period may, therefore, be supposed to have extended approximately from 1,400 to 1,000 B. C.

One or two facts may be cited here which confirm these dates. The central historical fact of this period was a great war between the Kurus and the Panchâlas which forms, the subject of the Mahâbhârata, and of which we shall have something to say further on. The central literary fact of this period was the compilation of the Vedas. Tradition and the Epic itself inform us that the compiler of the Vedas was a contemporary of the war; but we may accept or reject this as we like. We will examine these two facts separately.

Tradition, again, has it that when the Vedas were compiled, the position of the solstitial points was observed and recorded to mark the date. The Jyotisha in which this observation is now found is a late work, not earlier than the third century before Christ, but the observation was certainly made at an ancient date, and Bentley and Archdeacon Pratt—both able mathematicians—have gone over the calculation and found that it was made in 1,181 B C.

Much has been written of late in Europe, America, and India. against the value of this discovery, but we have found nothing in these discussions which goes against the genuineness of the astronomical observation. We are inclined to believe that the observation marks approximately the true date of the final compilation of the Vedas; and as the work of compilation probably occupied numerous teachers for generations together, we may suppose that the Vedas were complied during the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. And this date falls within the period which we have assigned for the second epoch.

Now with regard to the Kuru-Panchâla War. The annals of different kingdoms in India allude to this ancient war. and some of these annals are not unreliable. The founder of Buddhism lived in the sixth century B C., and we learn from the annals of Magadha that 35 kings reigned between the Kuru-Panchâla War and the time of Buddha. Allowing 20 years to each reign, this would place the war in the 13th century B.C.

Again we know from coins, that Kanishka ruled in Kashmir in the first century A.D, and his successor Abhimanyu probably reigned towards the close of that century. The historian of Kashmir informs us that 52 kings reigned for 1,266 years from the time of the Kuru Panchâla War to the time of Abhimanyu, and this would place the war in the 12th century B.C.

We do not ask the reader to accept any of the particular dates given above. It is almost impossible to fix any precise date in the History of India before Alexander the Great visited the land ; and we may well hestitate, even when astronomical calculations point to a particular year or historical lists point to a particular century. All that we ask, and all that we are entitled to ask, is that the reader will now find it possible to accept the fact that the Vedas were finally compiled and the Kuru Panchâla War was fought some time about the 13th century or the 12th century B. C.

And, if the Kuru Panchâla War was fought in the 13th century B. C. (*i.e.*, about a century before the Trojan War), it is impossible to fix a date later than 1,400 B C. for the commencement of the second epoch of which we are speaking. For at the time of the Kuru Panchâla War, the tracts round modern Delhi and Kanouj were the seats of powerful nations who had developed a civilization and literature of their own. And two centuries must be allowed between the date when the Aryans issued out of the Punjab and the date when these results had been achieved in the Gangetic valley.

To accept 1,400 B.C. as the date when the Aryans issued out of the Punjab, is to confirm the dates we

have given (2,000 to 1,400 B. C.) for the first epoch, the Vedic Period.

Again, many of the Brâhmanas contain internal evidence that they were composed at the time or after the time of the Kurus and the Panchâlas. We may, therefore, suppose these to have been composed in the 13th and 12th centuries B.C. And the Upanishads, which mark the close of Brâhmana literature, were composed about the 11th century B. C. Janaka, the King of the Videhas, gave a start to the Upanishads; we may, therefore, suppose the Videhas and the Koshalas to have flourished about 1,200 to 1,000 B. C., as the Kurus and the Panchâlas flourished about 1,400 to 1,200 B. C.

For the sake of convenience we will call this second period the *Epic Period.* It was the period when the nations described in the national Epics of India lived and fought; when the Kurus and the Panchâlas, the Kosalas, and the Videhas held sway along the valley of the Ganges.

THIRD EPOCH.

THE Third Epoch is, perhaps, the most brilliant period of Hindu history. It was in this period that the Aryans issued out of the Gangetic valley, spread themselves far and wide, subjugated and occupied the whole of India, and introduced Hindu civilization and founded Hindu kingdoms as far as the southernmost limits of India. Magadha which was already known to the Hindus in the Epic Period was completely Hindu-ized in the Third Epoch; and the young and powerful kingdom founded here soon eclipsed and then subjugated all the ancient kingdoms of the Gangetic valley. The descendants of the proud races who had fought the Epic wars in the Ganges valley, the descendants of the older and sturdier races who had first founded Aryan dominions in the Indus valley,—all quailed before this new and rising power. Chandragupta, the contemporary of Alexander the Great, brought the whole of Northern India, from the Punjab to Behar, under the rule of

Magadha ; and his grandson Asoka the Great, the promulgator of Buddhism, was the greatest Emperor that ever ruled in India within the thirty centuries of Hindu independence. With the time of Asoka, the Third Epoch ends, and the Fourth or Buddhist Epoch begins.

Aryan colonists penetrated to Bengal and introduced Hindu religion and civilization among the aborigines, but Bengal never made any mark in the history of Ancient India. The kingdoms founded in the south won greater distinction. The Andhras founded a powerful kingdom in the Deccan, founded great schools of learning, and were destined, at a later period, to extend their sway over Northern India also. Further south, the Aryans came in contact with the old and imperfect Dravidian civilization. The more perfect Hindu civilization prevailed, and the Dravidians were Hindu-ized and founded kingdoms which became distinguished for learning and power. The three sister-kingdoms of the Cholas, the Cheras, and the Pandyas made their mark before the third century B C., and Kânchî (Conjeveram), the capital of the Cholas, distinguished itself as the seat of Hindu learning at a later day.

In the west the Saurâshtras (including Guzrat and the Maharatta country) received Hindu civilization from the Andhras of the Deccan ; while, beyond a strip of the sea, Ceylon was discovered, and formed a great resort of Hindu traders, until Asoka the Great sent his son to that land and converted the people to Buddhism. In the east, Buddhist pilgrims came and settled in Orissa and excavated caves in rocks centuries before Asoka.

The practical and enterprising spirit of the age shews itself in literature as well as in territorial conquests. The whole of the verbose teachings and rites of the Brâhmanas and A'ranyakas were condensed into Sûtras or aphorisms so as to form handy manuals for the sacrifice. Other Sûtras were framed for laying down the rules of domestic rites and social conduct. Sûtra schools sprang up all over India, in the north and in the south, and works multiplied. Besides these religious works, phonetics, metre, grammar, and lexicons, were

studied, and Yâska wrote his Nirukta, and Pânini his grammar, early in this period. And the construction of sacrificial altars according to fixed rules gave rise to geometry which was first discovered in India.

And, lastly, the lessons of the Upanishads were not lost. The bold speculations started in these works were pursued, until Kapila arose in the eighth or seventh century B. C. and started the Sânkya philosophy,—the first closely-reasoned system of mental philosophy known in the world. Other systems of philosophy were started by other thinkers, but the Sânkhya philosophy was destined to have the greatest influence on the future of India; for Gautama Buddha was born in the sixth century B. C., and he added to the cold logic of the Sânkhya philosophy a world-embracing sympathy and love for mankind which has made his religion the religion of a third of the human race.

Buddhism spread slowly among the poor and the lowly, for it was a protest against caste-privileges, a religion of equality of men. It spread slowly—as Christianity spread in Europe in the early days—until Asoka embraced Buddhism in the third century B. C., as Constantine the Great embraced the new faith in Europe. As in the case of Christianity, so in the case of Buddhism, it fast became a national religion under imperial favour, and from the third century B. C., the Fourth or Buddhist Epoch begins.

Our readers will perceive that we have no difficulty in fixing the dates of the Third Epoch. Asoka the Great ascended the throne about 260 B. C., and held his great Buddhist Council to settle the Buddhist Scriptures about 242 B. C. Two such Councils had been held before, one in the year of Gautama's death in 477 B. C., and one a hundred years after in 377 B. C. But the Council held by Asoka in 242 B. C. finally settled the Scriptures, and the great Emperor then promulgated them all over India, and beyond the limits of India. At this date, therefore, 242 B. C., the Third Epoch ends, and the Fourth or Buddhist Epoch begins. And we have seen before that the Second Epoch closes about

1,000 B. C. We may, therefore, date the Third Epoch from 1,000 B. C. to 242 B. C. For the sake of convenience, we will call it the *Rationalistic Period.*

The great political, literary, and religious incidents of the period require the wide space of seven centuries and a half that we have allotted to the Epoch ; and all the facts that we know confirm these dates. Dr. H. H. Wilson considers that the first incursions of the Aryans to the south began about 1,000 B. C., and we have adopted this date as the commencement of the Third Period. The dates which Dr. Bühler has given to the Sûtras of Gautama, Baudhâyana, and A'pastamba fall within the dates given above. Dr. Thibaut assigns the eighth century B. C. to the Sulva Sûtras or geometry. Writers on Sânkhya philosophy assign the eighth or seventh century B C. to Kapila's philosophy, and Gautama Buddha lived, as we know, in the sixth century B. C. Chandragupta was a contemporary of Alexander the Great, and ascended the throne probably in 320 B. C., and his grandson, as we have seen before, became king sixty years later.

These dates, which have been ascertained with tolerable certainty, confirm the dates which we have accepted for the previous or the Epic Period. For, if the philosophy of Kapila, which was a distant and matured result of the Upanishads, was started in the eighth or seventh century, the Upanishads themselves must have been composed at least two centuries earlier. And we are presumably correct in assigning B. C. 1,000 for the Upanishads,—the works which closed the Epic Period.

FOURTH EPOCH.

THE epoch begins with the brilliant reign of Asoka the Great, who was the Emperor of Northern India, and published his edicts of humanity on stone pillars and on rocks all over Northern India, from Gujrat to Orissa. He prohibited the slaughter of animals, provided medical aid to men and cattle all over his empire,

proclaimed the duties of citizens and members of families, and directed Buddhist missionaries to proceed to the ends of the earth, to mix with the rich and the poor, and to proclaim the truth. His inscriptions shew that he made treaties with Antioch of Syria, Ptolemy of Egypt, Antigonas of Macedon, Magas of Cyrene, and Alexander of Epiros, and sent missionaries to these kingdoms to preach the Buddhist religion. "Both here and in foreign countries," says Asoka, "everywhere the people follow the doctrine of the religion of the Beloved of the Gods, wheresoever it reacheth." "Buddhist missionaries," says a Christian writer,* "preached in Syria two centuries before the teaching of Christ (which has so many moral points in common) was heard in Northern Palestine. So true is it that every great historical change has had its forerunner."

The Maurya dynasty which had commenced with Asoka's grandfather Chandragupta about 320 B. C. did not last very long after the time of Asoka. It was followed by two short-lived dynasties, the Sunga and the Kânva (183 to 26 B C.), and then the great Andhras who had founded a powerful empire in the South, conquered Magadha and were masters of Northern India for four centuries and a half, B.C. 26 to A.D. 430. They were generally Buddhists, but respected Brâhmans and orthodox Hindus; and throughout the Buddhist Epoch, the two religions flourished in India side by side, and persecution was almost unknown. The Andhras were succeeded by the great Gupta emperors who were supreme in India till about 500 A.D., and then their power was overthrown. The Guptas were generally orthodox Hindus, but favoured Buddhism also, and made grants to Buddhist churches and monasteries.

In the meantime India was the scene of continual foreign invasions. The Greeks of Bactria, expelled by Turanian invaders, entered India in the second and first centuries before Christ, founded kingdoms, introduced Greek civilization and knowledge, and had varied for-

* Mahaffy, Alexander's Empire, Chapter XIII.

tunes in different parts of India for centuries after. They are said to have penetrated as far as Orissa. The Turanians themselves of the Yu-Chi tribe next invaded India, and gave a powerful dynasty to Kashmir; and Kanishka the Yu-Chi king of Kashmir, had an extensive empire in the first century A. D., which stretched from Kabul, and Kashgar, and Yarkand to Gujrat and Agra. He was a Buddhist, and held a great council of the Northern Buddhists in Kashmir. The Cambojians and other tribes of Kabul then poured into India, and were in their turn followed by the locust-hordes of the Huns, who spread over Western India in the fifth century A.D. India had no rest from foreign invasions for six or seven centuries after the time of Asoka the Great; but the invaders, as they finally settled down in India, adopted the Buddhist religion, and formed a part of the people.

Buddhism gradually declined during the centuries after the Christian era, much in the same way as the Hinduism of the Rig Veda had gradually become corrupted in the Epic Period when the Hindus had settled down in the Gangetic valley. Buddhist monks formed a vast and unmanageable body of idle priesthood, owning vast acres of land attached to each monastery, and feeding on the resources of the people; and Buddhist ceremonials and forms bordered more and more on Buddha-worship and idolatry. A change was at hand; and that change was witnessed when Hindu genius and learning and a new form of Hinduism asserted themselves in the sixth century after Christ, first in Ujjayinî, and then all over India. An effete form of Buddhism lingered on for some centuries in some parts of India after this; but the Buddhist period may be said to close with the fifth century A.D.

We find an uninterrupted series of Buddhist rock-cut caves, stûpas, chaityas or churches, and vihâras or monasteries all over India, dating from the time of Asoka to the 5th century A.D., but there are scarcely any specimens of Buddhist architecture of a later date. Temple-building and Hindu architecture flourished

from the sixth century A.D., to long after the Mahommedan conquest.

The most valuable portions of Buddhist literature left to us are the scriptures as finally settled in the Council of Asoka, and sent by him all over India and beyond India. These scriptures, preserved in the Pâli language in Ceylon, form our best materials for the history of early Buddhism, while later forms of this literature have been found in Nepal, in Thibet, in China, in Japan, and in all Buddhist countries.

We have said that Hinduism flourished in India side by side with Buddhism throughout the Buddhist Epoch. But Buddhism had a marked effect on Hinduism which cannot be mistaken. Buddhism had questioned the sacredness of the Vedas; and the Hinduism of the Buddhist and subsequent times,—though nominally revering the Vedas,—shews a complete estrangement and emancipation from those ancient works. Hindu astronomy, mathematics, laws, and philosophical speculations had begun from the Vedas and the Vedic sacrifices, and belonged to different Vedic schools. But Hindu science and learning of the post-Buddhist age have no reliance on the Vedas, and do not belong to any Vedic school. Even the revived form of Hinduism of the sixth century and later ages is not a religion of Vedic sacrifices, but of worship of images and gods, unknown to the Vedas.

The Code of Manu represents Hindu thought and manners of the Buddhist Epoch. It is based on the ancient Dharmasûtras or social laws of the Rationalistic Period; but while the Dharmasûtras belong to different Vedic schools, Manu's Sanhitâ knows of no such divisions and professes to be the law for all Aryans. It is remarkable that even so late as Manu's time, the whole Aryan population (leaving aside priests and soldiers), still formed one compact caste, the Vaisyas, and had not been disunited and divided into the numerous trade and profession castes of modern times. Manu's mixed castes are mostly Hindu-ized aboriginal tribes.

For reasons which will appear from the foregoing

remarks, we date the fourth, or *Buddhist Period*, from 242 B C. to 500 A.D.

FIFTH EPOCH.

THE fifth or last Epoch of Hindu history is the Epoch of Hindu revival, and cover seven centuries, from 500 A.D. to 1194 A.D., the date of the Mahommedan conquest of Northern India.

The period begins with great deeds in politics and literature. Foreign invaders had harassed India for centuries before, and at last a great avenger arose. Vikramâditya the Great, of Ujjayinî, was the master of Northern India ; he beat back the invaders known as the Sakas in the great battle of Korur, and asserted Hindu independence. Hindu genius and literature revived under his auspices, and a new form of Hinduism asserted itself.

The two centuries and a half commencing with the time of Vikramâditya the Great (500 to 750 A.D.) may be called the Augustan era of later Sanscrit literature, and nearly all the great works which are popular in India to this day belong to this period. Kâlidâsa wrote his matchless dramas and poems in Vikrama's court. Amara Sinha, the lexicographer, was another of the "nine gems" of this court. And Bhâravi was Kâlidâsa's contemporary, or lived shortly after. Sîlâditya II., a successor of Vikramâditya, ruled from 610 to 650 A D., and is reputed to have been, the author of Ratnâvalî, though the work was probably composed by an author of his court. Dandin, the author of Dasakumâra Charita, was an old man when Sîlâditya II reigned, and Bânabhatta, the author of Kâdamvarî, lived in his court. Subandhu, the author of Vâsavadattâ, also lived at the same time ; and there are reasons to believe that the Bhattikâvya was composed by Bhartriha ri, the author of the Satakas, in the same reign.

In the next century Yasovarman ruled between 700 and 740 A.D., and the renowned Bhavabhûti composed his powerful dramas in this reign. Bhavabhûti, however,

was the last of the galaxy of poets and literary men,—and no literary genius arose in India after the middle of the 8th century.

It was in this Augustan era also that the great national epics of India, the production of many ages, received their last additions and touches and assumed their final shape; and the voluminous Purânas, which have given their name to this Period, began to be composed in their present shape.

In modern Hindu science, too, we have the brightest names in these two centuries and a half. A'ryabhatta, the founder of modern Hindu astronomy, was born in 476 A.D., and produced his work early in the sixth century. Varâha Mihira, his successor, was one of the "nine gems" of Vikrama's Court. Brahmagupta was born in 598 A. D., and was, therefore, a contemporary of Bânabhatta, the novelist. These three astronomers form the Triumvirate of modern Hindu Astronomy.

This brilliant period of two centuries and a half (500 to 750 A.D.) was followed by two centuries of impenetrable darkness! The history of India from 750 to 950 A.D. is a perfect blank. No great dynasties rose to power, no literary or scientific men rose to renown, no great work of architecture or art was constructed in Northern India. History is silent over these two dread centuries!

But we have indications of what was transpiring. The two dark centuries witnessed the fall of ancient dynasties, and the crumbling down of ancient kingdoms and nationalities. They resemble the dark period of Europe, which witnessed the fall of the Roman power, and which cleared up when Feudal power arose. In India, too, the power of ancient races and dynasties was silently swept away during the period of darkness; and when light breaks in again, we see a new race of Hindu Feudal barons as the masters of India,—the modern Rajputs! In the general dissolution of ancient power and the struggle for supremacy, the youngest and the most vigorous race came to the forefront, and about 950 A.D. we find Rajput dynasties ruling

everywhere in Northern India. They inherited the throne of Vikramâditya and his successors in Ujjayinî and Kanouj ; they usurped the power of the powerful Valabhi or Sena Kings of Gujrat and Western India ; and they tried to oppose the progress of Sabaktagin and Mahmud in the Punjab.

If the two dark centuries thus witnessed the rise of a new power, they also witnessed another great revolution. Decaying Buddhism, which in the time of Vikramâditya and his successors was allowed to exist side by side with Hinduism, was crushed out of existence during the dark centuries. Vikramâditya, though he favoured Hinduism, never persecuted Buddhists, and some of his most renowned courtiers, like Amara Sinha, the lexicographer, were Buddhists. His successors favoured Hinduism and Buddhism by turns, but there was complete toleration throughout the period. Silâditya II. the reputed author of Ratnâvalî, was a staunch Buddhist, and was visited by Houen Tsang, the Chinese traveller, about 640 A.D. There was no thought of persecution throughout this intellectual period, Hinduism was reviving with the vigour of new life, Buddhism was dying a slow and natural death. But there are reasons to suppose that persecution, the burning of monasteries and books, and the banishment of monks, were witnessed between 750 A.D. and 950 A.D. Sankarâchârya, the most determined foe of Buddhism, was born in 788 A.D., and the spirit which marks his literary labours soon found vent in the action of kings.

There are reasons to suppose that the new Rajput race is responsible for this persecution which finally stamped out Buddhism in India. Different theories have been put forward as to the origin of the Rajputs. Dr. H. H. Wilson, Col. Tod, and other authorities maintain that they were descended from the Scythian invaders of India, who poured in, through successive centuries, who were once beaten back by Vikramâditya the Great, but who, like other invaders, settled down in the deserts of Western India, and ruled and conquered when they could. Be that as it may, the Rajputs certainly

appear to have been new converts to Hindu civilization, for there is no mention of them in older records. Like all new converts, they espoused Hinduism with exceptional zeal; they were proud to be styled Kshatriyas (descended from the Solar and Lunar races); and wherever they conquered, Buddhist churches and monasteries went down and Hindu temples and idols arose. Priestly monopoly in its closest form and the unhealthiest restrictions of modern Hinduism date from the rise of the Rajputs, and were perpetuated during the six centuries of national lifelessness under the Musalman rule.

It is impossible not to be struck with the resemblance between European History and Indian History at the period which marks the close of the Ancient Age. The efforts of Vikramâditya to beat back the Sakas have a close resemblance to the efforts of the last Roman Emperors and armies to keep back the hordes of barbarians who pressed eagerly forward for conquests. For centuries the Hindus and the Romans succeeded; but the waves of invasion and conquest at last overwhelmed the ancient empires in India and in Italy, and marked the fall of ancient thrones and institutions! For centuries after this event, Western Europe and Northern India have scarcely any history; or the history is one of violence and wars which closed the Ancient Age and ushered in the Modern Age! When, at last, the darkness clears up, we find a new Feudal power in Europe, and a new Rajput power in India. And the new dynasties of Europe had embraced Christianity, and exerted as zealously and enthusiastically for the mediæval priests, as the newly-converted Rajputs did for the Brâhmans and the modern Hinduism of India.

But the parallel does not end here. The new masters of India had to fight as hard against the waves of Mahommedan invasion, as the new masters of Europe did in France, Spain, and in Syria. Richard the Lion-hearted was fighting at the same period as Prithu Rai of Delhi, and against the same rising power. In-

Europe the Christian barons saved their independence, and ultimately expelled the Musalmans even from Spain; in India the Hindu barons struggled and fell. Shahabuddin Ghori overthrew the Rajput kingdoms of Delhi and Ajmere, Kanouj and Benares in 1193 and 1194 A.D., and the boldest of the Rajputs retreated to their desert fastnesses, where they enjoy a sort of independence to the present day, through the generous sufferance of the British Government.

We have dated the Fifth or *Pauranik Period* from 500 A.D. to 1194 A D., and we have supposed Vikramâditiya the Great to have ruled shortly after 500 A.D. The Samvat Era, beginning in 56 B.C., is connected with Vikramâdîtya's name, and for a long time it was believed that the great king and the poet Kâlidâsa flourished in the first century B.C. The researches of modern scholars which have confirmed and added to Vikramâditya's historic claims to renown, have, however, taken away from his antiquity, and his real date is no longer an open question. It is impossible for us to go fully into the evidence which places the great king and the great poet in the 6th century A.D.; but we will mention one or two facts for the curious reader.

Varâha Mihira was admittedly one of the "nine gems" of Vikrama's court, and it has been ascertained from his astronomy that he lived in the 6th century after Christ. Amara Sinha was admittedly another of the "nine gems," and it is believed he was the builder of the temple at Buddha Gayâ, which was constructed after the 5th century A.D. Houen Tsang the Chinese traveller states that Vikramâdîtya was succeeded by Sîlâditya I., and Sîlâditya I. reigned 60 years before Houen Tsang's time. This gives us the 6th century for Vikrama's reign. And lastly, Kalhana the historian of Kashmir informs us, that Durlabhavardhana began his reign in Kashmir in 598 A.D., and that six kings ruled between Mâtrigupta (Vikrama's contemporary) and Durlabhavardhana. Allowing 15 years for each reign, we come to the beginning of the 6th century as the date of Mâtrigupta and Vikrama.

But to those who are familiar with later Sanscrit literature, Kâlidâsa's writings are the best evidence of his date. We know the dates of other writers and poets, of Bhavabhûti, Bânabhatta, Bhartrihari, &c., and it is as impossible to separate Kâlidâsa from this galaxy of literary men, and throw him six centuries backwards, *i. e.*, to within two centuries of Asoka and his Buddhist council, as it is impossible to separate Shakespeare from the Elizabethan poets, and to assign to him a date within two centuries of Alfred's time!

DATES.

What then is the origin of the *Samvat* Era, beginning at 56 B. C.? And what is the origin of the *Sakâbda* Era, commencing at 78 A. D.? Scholars have experienced the greatest difficulty in finding out what great events these Eras really commemorate; and the conclusions arrived at are not yet beyond the pale of controversy.

The Sakâbda (78 A.D.) is supposed to commemorate the date on which a great Hindu king, Sâlivâhana, or Vikramâditya, defeated the Sakas. But there is no evidence of Saka invasions of that date, except that of the great king Kanishka of Kashmir, the greatest Buddhist king of India after Asoka the Great, who, as we have seen before, conquered Western India as far as Agra and Gujrat, and held a great Council of the Northern Buddhists. History does not speak of any Hindu king who checked his progress; but on the other hand, there are inscriptions to shew that Kanishka himself established an Era which was used from his time for two or three centuries. It has been conjectured that this Era of Kanishka has subsequently been known as the Sakâbda or the Era of the Saka king; for the Sakâbda was originally a Buddhist Era. It was adopted in Buddhist India, and it was known and used in all Buddhist countries—in Thibet and Burma, in Ceylon and Java. It was after the Hindu revival of the 6th century that the date was adopted by Hindus, and the story was added, that the Era marked,

not the reign of a Buddhist Saka king, but the defeat of the Sakas by a Hindu king. Dr. Bhao Daji was the first to point out that this idea of the Saka Era, commemorating the defeat and destruction of the Sakas, does not crop up before the 8th century A. D.

Wherever the Era is cited by ancient writers, it is cited as the Era of a Saka king ;* and to the present day the Era is known in our almanacs as the Sakâbda, or more fully as *Saka Narapater Atîtâbda*, which means the Era of the Saka king, not the Era of the destruction of the Sakas by a Hindu king.

The Samvat Era is still more perplexing. Popularly it is known as the Era of a great victory of Vikramâditya, but history knows of no Vikramâditya of Ujjayinî in 56 B C.

It is still more curious that the Samvat Era has come into use in comparatively recent times. Dr. Bhao Daji says he knows of no inscription before the 11th century A.D. adopting this Era. Dr. Kern in his introduction to the Brihat Sanhitâ of Varâhamihira, declares that the use of the Samvat Era in early times cannot be demonstrated, while Hindu astronomers begin to use it after the year 1000 or so. Westerguard holds that the grant of Dantidurga, dated *Saka* 675, Samvat 811 (A.C. 754) is the earliest certain instance of its occurrence. And Dr. Burnell holds a similar opinion. No trace of this Era is found in the inscriptions of the Buddhist Period in India, or, in other Buddhist countries, Thibet and Burma, Ceylon and Java.

There certainly seems to be some mystery about the Samvat Era, 56 B.C. It pretends to commemorate a victory of a king of whom history knows nothing ; and

* The exceedingly careful and observant scholar, Colebrooke, pointed out seventy years ago, that the astronomer, Varâhamihira, who lived in the 6th century A. D., cited the Saka Era as the *Saka Bhupa Kâla* or *Sakendra Kâla, i. e.*, the Era of the Saka king. His commentator explains this as the Era when the barbarians called Sakas "*were discomfited by Vikramâditya.*" Again, the astronomer, Brahmagupta, who flourished in the 7th century A. D., cites the Era as *Saka Nripâsith, i. e.*, after the Saka King. His commentator explains this as "*after the reign of Vikramâditya, who slew a people of barbarians called Sakas.*"—Colebrooke's Algebra, &c., from the Sanscrit, p. xliii. London 1817.

it is an Era which does not seem to have been used in the numerous inscriptions in India for several centuries, after it pretends to have been established.

Dr. Fergusson offers a bold solution of this mystery. That the real Vikramâditya—the patron of Kâlidâsa —lived in the 6th century A. D., is now established beyond a doubt; that he defeated foreign invaders in the battle of Korur in the 6th century A. D., is a historic fact; that this year of a great Hindu victory (probably 544 A. D.), and of the revival of Hindu learning, science, and religion, was a suitable date for the commencement of an Era, is apparent. But chroniclers were not satisfied with an Era which was so long posterior to the Buddhist Era of the Sakâbda, and so they fixed an Era six centuries before the battle of Korur,—to make it anterior to the Sakâbda Era,—and called it by the name of Vikramâditya, the hero of the battle. And they fixed another Era a thousand years before the battle of Korur, and called that Era by the name of Sri Harsha, Vikramâditya's father. No Vikramâditya lived in 56 B. C., and no Sri Harsha lived in 456 B.C.; but the Eras named after them mean six and ten centuries before the victory of Vikramâditya. Sri Harsha's Era has fallen into disuse; the Samvat is still in universal use.

This is Dr. Fergusson's theory of the origin of the Samvat Era. But, probably, the true origin of the Era has been discovered by Mr. Fleet in his volume on the inscriptions of the Gupta kings. It would seem that the Era was originally a national Era of the Mâlava tribe, and came subsequently to be connected with the name of Vikramâditya who, in the 6th century A.D., raised the Mâlavas to the rank of the first nation in India.

We now proceed, for facility of reference, to give a table of dates for the different Epochs, premising, that the dates should be taken as only approximately correct, and that the earlier dates are only supposed to be correct within two or three centuries.

Epoch I. Vedic Period.

Aryan settlement in the Indus Valley ...	B. C.	2000 to	1400
Composition of the Rig Veda Hymns ...			

Epoch II. Epic Period.

Aryan settlements in the Ganges Valley ...	B. C.	1400 to	1000
Lunar Zodiac fixed. Astronomical Observations	B. C.	1400 to	1200
Compilation of the Vedas	B. C.	1400 to	1200
Flourishing Period of the Kurus and the Panchâlas	B. C.	1400 to	1200
Kuru Panchâla War	B. C.	1250	
Flourishing Period of the Kosalas, the Kâśis, and the Videhas	B. C.	1200 to	1000
Composition of the Brâhmanas and Aranyakas ...	B. C.	1300 to	1100
Composition of the Upanishads	B. C.	1100 to	900

Epoch III. Rationalistic Period.

Aryan Conquest of all India	B. C.	1000 to	242
Yâska	B. C.	9th century	
Pânini	B. C.	8th century	
Sûtra Schools	B. C.	800 to	300
Sulva Sûtras (Geometry)	B. C.	8th century.	
Kapila and Sânkhya Philosophy	B. C.	700	
Other Schools of Philosophy	B. C.	600 to	100
Gautama Buddha	B. C.	557 to	477
Bimbi Sâra, King of Magadha	B. C.	537 to	485
Ajâta Satru „ „	B. C.	485 to	453
First Buddhist Council	B. C.	477	
Second Buddhist Council	B. C.	377	
Nine Nandas, Kings of Magadha	B. C.	370 to	320
Chandragupta, King of Magadha	B. C.	320 to	291
Bindu Sâra, King of Magadha	B. C.	291 to	263
Asoka, sub-king of Ujjayini	B. C.	263 to	259
Ditto Emperor	B. C.	259 to	222
Third Buddhist Council	B. C.	242	
Mahendra sent to Ceylon	B. C.	241	
Kâtyâyana attacks Pânini	B. C.	4th century	
Patanjali defends Pânini	B. C.	2nd century	
Andhra Kingdom founded	B. C.	600	
Chola, Chera, and Pândya Kingdoms founded	B. C.	400	
Aryans colonise Bengal and Orissa ...	B. C.	500 to	300

Epoch IV. Buddhist Period.

Prevalence of Buddhism	B. C.	242 to	A.D. 500
The Maurya Dynasty (from Chandragupta) in Magadha	B. C.	320 to	B. C. 183
The Sunga Dynasty in Magadha	B. C.	183 to	„ 71
The Kânva Dynasty in Magadha	B. C.	71 to	„ 26
The Andhra Dynasty in Magadha	B. C.	26 to	A. D. 420
Parâśara's Astronomy	B. C.	200	
Garga's Astronomy	B. C.	100	
Astronomical Siddhântas	A. D.	200 to	A. D. 300
The Gupta Emperors	A. D.	400 to	„ 500

The Bactrians invaded India	B. C. 2nd & 1st century
The Yu-Chi invaded India ...	B. C. & A. D. 1st century.
Kanishka the Yu Chi King of Kashmir, commenced his reign and founded the Saka Era	A. D. 78
The Shah Kings ruled in Saurâshtra ...	A. D. 150 to 300
The Cambojians (from Kabul and Kandahar) invaded India	A. D. 200 to 400
The White Huns invaded India	A. D. 4th & 5th centuries.

EPOCH V. PAURANIK PERIOD.

Hindu Revival	A. D. 500 to 1194
Vikramâditya of Ujjayinî and Northern India ..	A. D. 515 to 550
Vikramâditya beat back the foreign invaders in the battle of Korur, about	A. D. 544
Kâlidâsa, Amarasinha, Vararuchi, &c. ...	A. D. 500 to 550
Bhâravi, about	A. D. 550 to 600
Aryabhatta, Founder of Modern Hindu Astronomy	A. D. 476 to 530
Varâhamihira	A. D. 500 to 550
Brahmagupta	A. D. 598 to 650
Sîlâditya II., Emperor of Northern India ...	A. D. 610 to 650
Dandin	A. D. 570 to 620
Bâna Bhatta and Subandhu	A. D. 610 to 650
Bhartrihari and Bhattikâvya	
Houen Tsang visited Sîlâditya's court ...	A. D. 640
Yasovarman, King of Northern India ...	A. D. 700 to 730
Bhavabhûti	
Valabhi Kings of Western India	A. D. 470 to 720
Destruction of ancient dynasties and rise of the Rajputs...	A. D. 750 to 950
Sankarâchârya	A. D. 788 to 850
Persecution of Buddhists	A. D. 750 to 950
Rajputs, masters of Northern India. Modern Hinduism finally established	A. D. 950 to 1194
Chalukya Kings of the Deccan	A. D. 500 to 1200
Pâla Kings of Bengal	A. D. 850 to 1150
Sena Kings of Bengal	A. D. 1000 to 1204
Kesari line of Orissa	A. D. 476 to 1132
Gangetic line of Orissa	A. D. 1132 to 1534
The Bellala Dynasty of the Carnatic ...	A. D. 11th century.
The Kakati Dynasty of Warrangal	A. D. 1200 to 1323
The Kingdom of Vijayanagara	A. D. 1344 to 1565
Bhâskarâchârya	A. D. 12th century.
Jayadeva, Sri Harsha, Mâgha, &c.	A. D. 12th century.
Sâyanâchârya	A. D. 14th century.

BOOK I

VEDIC PERIOD. B. C. 2000 TO B. C. 1400.

CHAPTER I.

IMMIGRATION OF THE INDO-ARYANS.—THEIR LITERATURE.

THE site of the early home of the Aryans has been a subject of endless controversies among scholars. Enthusiastic and patriotic Hindu scholars will not admit that the first home of the Aryans was anywhere outside India; while equally patriotic European scholars would place the seat of the primitive Aryans on the shores of the Baltic Sea. We need hardly say that it is not our object to enter into this discussion; and we merely repeat here the belief of all moderate thinkers, that the early home of the Aryans was somewhere in Central Asia.

The main arguments on which this conclusion is based have been summed up by Professor Max Müller in a recent work, and we quote them for our readers:—

"Firstly, we have two streams of language, one tending south-east to India, and the other north-west to Europe. The point where these two streams naturally intersect, points to Asia."

"Secondly, the earliest centres of civilized life were in Asia." And we may add that the most primitive form of all Aryan languages—the nearest approach to that language which was spoken by the common ancestors of all Aryans races—is the Vedic Sanscrit of Ancient India.

"Thirdly, we see in later times large ethnic waves, rising from Central Asia and overwhelming Europe. Such are the Huns in the fourth, and the Mongols in the thirteenth century.

"Fourthly, if the migration had taken place from Europe to Asia, particularly from Scandinâvia, we should naturally look in the common Aryan language for a number of words connected with maritime life. But this is not the case. While we find common names for particular animals and birds, and even common names of animals (*pasu*) and birds (*vi*) in general, we find no names for special fishes, and no general name for fish, nor even is there a common name for the sea!"

Various pictures, more or less imaginary, of the civilization of the early Aryans before they separated, have been drawn by various scholars from the slender materials of the words which are found in common use among the different Aryan nations in the world. Pictet's work, in two large volumes, published in Paris in 1859-63, created a wider interest than any preceding attempt of a similar nature; and this was followed by Dr. Fick's work in 1868, and Dr. Hehn's work in 1870. It is not our intention to draw such pictures here; we will only give a few facts about the life of the primitive Aryans, about which there is no dispute.

The domestic economy among the early Aryans was much the same as it is among the Aryan nations of the present day. The historian of man does not find in Aryan history any traces of Hatairism (or of promiscuous relationship between the sexes), of families being reckoned on the mother's side, or of inheritance by the female line. On the contrary, the father was the protector and the nourisher of the family, the mother looked after and fed the children, the daughter milked the cattle, and relationship by marriage was recognized. Probably the primitive Aryans had already reached a higher state of civilization than promiscuous living would imply. The family, and not the tribe, was the unit of society; and the father was the head of the family.

Many of the useful animals had been domesticated and brought under the service of man. The cow, the bull, the ox, the sheep, the goat, the swine, the dog, and

the horse had all been domesticated. The wild bear, the wolf, the hare, and the dreaded serpent were known. Similarly among birds, the goose, the duck, the cuckoo, the raven, the quail, the crane, and the owl were well known to the early Aryans.

The various industries were still in their infancy; but a commencement in manufactures and arts had been made. The Aryans built houses, villages and towns, made roads, and constructed boats for communication by water or for a humble kind of trade. Weaving, spinning, and plaiting were known, and furs, skins, and woollen fabrics were made into garments. Carpentry must have made a considerable progress, and dyeing was known.

It need scarcely be stated that agriculture was practised by the primitive Aryans; and it was this occupation which probably gave them their name (*Arya*=cultivator). Many words familiar to cultivators like the plough, the waggon, the cart, the wheel, the axle, the yoke, in common use among the Aryan nations, point to the same primitive roots from which they have been derived. Corn was ground, prepared and cooked in various ways; while the flocks of sheep and cows, by which every family was surrounded, afforded milk and meat. There can be little doubt, that, although agriculture was largely resorted to, many patriarchs of families used also to rove about from place to place with their attendants and flocks in search of new pastures, and a fairly large portion of the early Aryans led a nomad life. Of this we have some trace even in the Rig Veda, as we shall see farther on.

War was not infrequent in those primitive times, and weapons of bone and of wood, of stone and of metals, were known. The bow and the arrow, the sword and the spear seem to have been the weapons of war.

It argues some advance in civilization, that the use of gold and of silver was undoubtedly known to the early Aryans; and with the simplicity of early races, they called gold by the name "yellow," and silver

by the name "white." A third metal (*ayas*) was also known, but it is doubtful if it was iron.

It is perhaps impossible to conjecture the sort of government which obtained in those olden days. Patriarchs of tribes and leaders of men undoubtedly obtained ascendancy, and the simple subjects looked up to them and called them the protectors or nourishers of men, or the shining chiefs (*Pati, Vispati, Raja*) in war as well as in peace. The natural feelings of civilized man distinguished between right and wrong, and custom, and a vague perception of what was good for the nation, had the force of law.

And lastly, the primitive religion of the Aryans was suggested by whatever was beautiful and striking in the phenomena of Nature. The sky, or the bright sky was an eternal object of wonder and of worship. The sun, the dawn, the fire, and the earth, the storms and the clouds and the thunder, all received worship. But religion was still simple and archaic. Myths and legends about the gods and their relationship had not yet multiplied; elaborate rites and ceremonials had not yet been fabricated. The bold forefathers of the Aryan nations looked up with a manly veneration to whatever was wondrous and beautiful in nature, imagined such manifestations as instinct with deity, and offered their praise and their prayers with a grateful and fervent heart.

Adventurous bands of Aryans left their home in Central Asia from time to time in quest of food or pasture, of kingdoms or plunder. The exact order in which the forefathers of the different nations left has not been ascertained, and will never be ascertained. Professor Max Müller holds that the first division of the Aryan race was into two branches, *viz.*, the North-Western or European, and the South-Eastern or Asiatic; and that, after they became once separated, the two branches never met again. The North-Western branch travelled towards Europe; divisions took place, and five distinct races occupied five different portions of Europe at periods which cannot be ascertained. The Celts settled, or were

more probably driven onwards by other races to settle, in the extreme west of Europe, in France, Ireland, Great Britain, and Belgium; the robust Tutons settled in central Europe, from which they issued after the downfall of Rome to conquer the whole of Europe; the Slavs settled in Eastern Europe, *i.e*, in Russia and other places; and the Italic and Greek divisions settled in the south of Europe.

The Asiatic branch travelled southwards, and according to Max Müller, the still undivided Indo-Iranians came as far as the Indus, to the land of the seven rivers, or the Punjab. Here "within sight of the Indus and its tributaries, the undivided South-Eastern Aryans spoke a language more primitive than the Sanscrit or Zend." Religious schism then separated them; the worshippers of the Devas or the Hindus remained in the Punjab, the worshippers of the Asuras or the Iranians went away to Persia.*

It is the worshippers of the Devas—the Hindu Aryans—who have composed those hymns which are known as the Rig Veda, and we will say a few words here about this ancient work. Probably there is not another work in the literature of mankind which is so deeply interesting, so unique in the lessons it imparts. The hoary antiquity of this ancient work, the picture it affords of the earliest form of civilization that the Aryans developed in any part of the world, and the flood of light it throws on the origin of the myths and religions of all Aryan nations,—these alone would make the Rig Veda deeply interesting.

But the work has a yet higher import, a deeper significance. To the philosophical historian of man the Rig Veda discloses the origin of religious faith and religious feelings. It explains how the mind of man in its infancy worships what is bright and glorious in nature, what is

* The opinion, however, which has hitherto been generally accepted, is that the separation between the Hindus and the Iranians took place before the race came to the Indus; and that the Indo-Aryans came to India in consequence of the religious schism and subsequent dissensions.

powerful and striking. Among less happy nations, religion began with the dread of diseases and of evils, as these made the most lasting impression on the mind. But among the Aryans, the brighter and pleasanter aspects of nature,—the bright sky, the blushing dawn, the rising sun, and the glowing fire, created the deepest impression, and called forth songs of gratitude and praise and worship. This is the Rig Veda Sanhitâ,—this is the earliest form of Aryan religion known.

But the Rig Veda is more than this. It shows us how the mind is led from Nature up to Nature's God. For the sages of the Rig Veda do not always remain satisfied with the worship of the manifestations of Nature; they sometimes soar higher, and dare to conceive that all these phenomena—the sun, the sky, the storms, and the thunder—are but the actions of the Unknowable One. It is in the very latest hymns of the Veda that we find these daring guesses after truth,—this bold conception of one God.

And if such is the value of the Rig Veda to the historian of man, its value to the historian of Aryan nations is still greater. It is the oldest work in the Aryan world. It gives us a picture of the oldest civilization which the Aryans developed in any part of the world; and as we have said before, it enlightens and clears up much that is dark and obscure in the religions and myths of Aryan nations all over the world. It would be entirely foreign to our present object to illustrate this by instances, but some instances are so well known as to merely require a mention to illustrate our views.

Zeus or Jupiter is the Vedic Dyu, or the sky; Daphne and Athena are the Vedic Dahanâ and Ahanâ, the dawn; Uranus is Varuna, the sky; and probably, Prometheus and Hephaistos are the Vedic Pramantha and Yavishtha, the fire!

To the Hindus the Rig Veda is a work of still higher importance. It explains the whole fabric of the later Hindu religion; it clears all the complications of later mythology; it throws light on the history of the Hindu mind from its earliest stage of infancy to the latest

times. The Hindu learns from this ancient and priceless volume that Vishnu the supreme preserver, and his three steps covering the universe meant the sun at its rise, its zenith, and when setting; that the terrible god Rudra, the supreme destroyer, originally meant the thunder or thunder-cloud; and that Brahmâ the supreme creator, was originally prayer or the god of prayer. And lastly, he learns that Râma and Krishna, Durgâ and Lakshmî, Ganesa and Kârtikeya, are later creations of the Paurânik fancy, and were unknown to the first Aryans in India.

Historically, and socially too, the Hindu has much to learn from the Veda. For the Rig Veda gives us a picture of society when there were no caste distinctions, when widows were married, and women had their legitimate influence in the society in which they lived and moved.

The Veda consists of 1,028 hymns, comprising over ten thousand verses. The hymns are addressed to Nature-gods, of whom a full account will be given later on.

The hymns are generally simple, and betray a child-like and simple faith in the gods, to whom sacrifices are offered, and libations of the Soma juice are poured, and who are asked for increase of progeny, cattle, and wealth, and implored to help the Aryans in their still doubtful struggle against the black aborigines of the Punjab.

The hymns of the Rig Veda are divided into ten Mandalas or Books, and with the exception of the first and the last books, every one of the remaining eight books contains hymns said to have been composed or rather proclaimed by one Rishi,—by which we may understand one family or line of teachers. Thus the second book is by Gritsamada, who is said to be the same as Saunaka; the third by Visvâmitra; the fourth by Vâmadeva; the fifth by Atri; the sixth by Bhâradvâja; the seventh by Vasishtha; the eighth by Kanva; and the ninth by Angiras. The first book contains 191 hymns, which with scattered exceptions, are composed by fifteen

Rishis; and the tenth book also contains 191 hymns, which are mostly ascribed to fictitious authors.

The attempt to separate the older hymns from the new, and to assign a separate period for each, has not succeeded, and is never likely to succeed. Nevertheless, the most careless student of the Veda cannot help noticing that the tenth or last Mandala of the Rig Veda stands apart from the other nine, and looks like a later appendage; and most of the hymns of this book are comparatively recent hymns. One can almost lay his finger on many of the hymns of this book which are undoubtedly recent, comparatively speaking. They disclose a higher development of ideas, a more matured state of speculations, and often a grosser superstition, and a more artificial state of society. Such are the hymns which describe the future world, or lay down the rituals for marriage or funeral; and such are the obscure speculations about the unity of God. Such again are the Mantras against diseases, &c., similar to the hymns of the Atharva Veda, which is admittedly a later work. Most of the hymns of the tenth Book of the Rig Veda again are ascribed to gods, as if the real authors were anxious to conceal the late origin of the hymns by this device!

The hymns of the Rig Veda were handed down from father to son, or from teacher to pupil, for centuries together, and it was in a later age, in the Epic Period, that they were arranged and compiled. The whole, or greater portion of the tenth Book, seems to have been the production of this later period, but was thrown in and preserved with the body of the older hymns.

The arrangement and compilation of the Rig Veda hymns in their present shape must have been completed within the Epic Period. In Aitareya Aranyaka II, 2, we have fanciful derivations given of the names of the Rishis of the Rig Veda in the order in which the Mandalas are arranged. And this is followed by an account of a Sûkta or hymn, of a Rik or verse, of a half Rik, of a Pada or word, and of an Akshara or syllable. The Rig Veda Sanhitâ therefore had not only been arranged Mandala by Mandala, but had been care-

fully divided, subdivided, and analysed within the Epic Period.

By the close of the Epic Period, every verse, every word, every syllable of the Rig Veda had been counted. The number of verses, as computed, varies from 10,402 to 10,622, that of words is 153,826, that of syllables 432,000.

CHAPTER II.

AGRICULTURE, PASTURE, AND COMMERCE.

THE main industry of the ancient Hindus, as of the modern Hindus, was agriculture ; and, as might be expected, we have frequent allusions to it in the Rig Veda. The very name A'rya by which the Aryan conquerors of India have distinguished themselves from the aborigines or Dâsas, is said to come from a root which means to cultivate. Professor Max Müller has traced the progress of this word all over the Aryan world, from Iran or Persia,, to Erin or Ireland, and argues with considerable force that the word was invented in the primeval home of the Aryans in Central Asia, to indicate their partiality to cultivation, as distinguished from the nomadic habits of the Turanians, whose name indicates their rapid journies or the fleetness of their horse. Certain it is that the word A'rya is the one word in the Rig Veda which distinguishes the conquerors as a class, or even as a caste, from the aborigines of the country. And there are remarkable passages also which show that the new settlers, in calling themselves A'rya, had not altogether forgotten the real signification of the word. One instance will suffice :—

"O ye two Asvins ! you have displayed your glory by teaching the *A'rya* to cultivate with the plough and to sow corn, and by giving him rains for (the production of) his food, and by destroying the *Dasyu* by your thunderbolt." (I, 117, 21.)

There are two other words in the Rig Veda which are synonymous, not so much with the Aryan tribe, but rather with man generally ; and both of them come from roots which indicate cultivation. The words are *Charshana* (I, 3, 7, &c.) and *Krishti* (I, 4, 6, &c.), and both these words come from modifications of the same root *Krish* or *Chrish* to cultivate.

Thus the very names which the Aryan conquerors of India gave themselves, are names which indicate that useful occupation which distinguishes the civilized man from the barbarian, *viz.*, cultivation of the soil.

There are numerous direct allusions in the Rig Veda to agriculture, but the most remarkable among them is a hymn which is dedicated to a supposed god of agriculture, the Lord of the Field as he is called, and which we will translate in full :—

"1. We will win (cultivate) this field with the Lord of the Field ; may he nourish our cattle and our horses ; may he bless us thereby.

"2. O Lord of the Field ! bestow on us sweet and pure and butter-like and delicious and copious rain, even as cows give us milk. May the Lords of the Water bless us.

"3. May the plants be sweet unto us ; may the skies and the rains and the firmament be full of sweetness ; may the Lord of the Field be gracious to us. We will follow him uninjured by enemies.

"4. Let the oxen work merrily ; let the men work merrily, let the plough move on merrily. Fasten the traces merrily ; ply the goad merrily.

"5. O Suna and Sîra ! accept this hymn. Moisten this earth with the rain you have created in the sky.

"6. O fortunate Furrow ! proceed onwards, we pray unto thee ; do thou bestow on us wealth and an abundant crop.

"7. May Indra accept this Furrow ; may Pûshan lead her onwards. May she be filled with water, and yield us corn year after year.*

"8. Let the ploughshares turn up the sod merrily ; let the men follow the oxen merrily ; may Parjanya

* In these two remarkable verses, the furrow, Sîtâ, is addressed as a female, and asked to yield copious harvests. In the Yajur Veda also, the furrow is similarly worshipped. And when the Aryans gradually conquered the whole of India, and primeval jungles and waste lands were marked with the furrow, the furrow or Sîtâ assumed a more definite human character, and became the heroine of the Epic which describes the Aryan conquest of Southern India.

moisten the earth with sweet rains. O Suna and Sîra! bestow on us happiness." (IV, 57).

We shall seek in vain in the entire range of later Sanscrit literature for a passage in which the humble hopes and wishes of simple agriculturists are so naturally described. This is the unique charm of the Rig Veda as a literary composition. Whether it is an account of a battle with aborigines, or a prayer to friendly Indra to come and have a cup of Soma, or a song of the simple cultivator,—the Rig Veda hymn always takes us nearer to the simple workings of a simple but straightforward and manly heart, than anything in the literature of later times.

We will translate a portion of another hymn, also dedicated to agriculture :—

"3. Fasten the ploughs, spread out the yokes, and sow the seed on this field which has been prepared. Let the corn grow with our hymns; let the scythes fall on the neighbouring fields where the corn is ripe.

"4. The ploughs have been fastened; the labourers have spread the yokes; the wise men are uttering prayers to gods.

"5. Prepare troughs for the drinking of the animals. Fasten the leather-strings and let us take out water from this deep and goodly well which never dries up.

"6. The troughs have been prepared for the animals; the leather-string shines in the deep and goodly well which never dries up, and the water is easily got. Take out water from the well.

"7. Refresh the horses; take up the corn stacked in the field; and make a cart which will convey it easily. This well full of water for the drinking of animals, is one *drona* in extent, and there is a stone wheel to it. And the reservoir for the drinking of men is one *skanda*. Fill it with water." (X, 101.)

Irrigation and cultivation in the Punjab are only possible by means of wells, and wells are reserved also for the drinking of men and beasts; and it is not surprising therefore that we should find references to wells in the Rig Veda. Another remarkable fact which

appears from the passages translated above is that horses were used for cultivation in those days, a custom still common in Europe, but not in India in modern times.

In X, 25, 4, and in many other places we have allusions to wells. In X, 93, 13, we are told how water was raised from wells for irrigation. The contrivance is the same as is still in vogue in Northern India; a number of pots are tied to a string, and as the pots go up and down by the movement of a wheel, they are filled in the well and pulled up and emptied and sent down again. The contrivance is called *ghatichakra*, or the circle of pots, and bears the same name to the present day.

In X, 99, 4, we have another allusion to irrigation of fields by means of canals which were replenished with water by means of a *drona*. And in X, 68, 1, we are told that cultivators who irrigated their fields kept away birds by uttering loud cries.

As stated above, the allusions to pasture are by no means so frequent as the allusions to agriculture. Pûshan is the god of shepherds,—he is the sun as viewed by shepherds,—and is supposed to protect them and travellers generally in their wanderings over the country. And here and there in a hymn to Pûshan, we find that the Aryans of India had brought with them recollections and songs about those migrations which they occasionally undertook in Central Asia, if not after their settlement in India. We translate one such hymn below :—

"1. O Pûshan! help us to finish our journey, and remove all dangers. O Son of the Cloud, do thou march before us!

"2. O Pûshan! do thou remove from our path him who would lead us astray, who strikes and plunders and does wrong.

"3. Do thou drive away that wily robber who intercepts journeys.

"4. Do thou trample under thy foot the vile carcass of him who plunders us in both ways (by stealth and by force) and who commits outrages.

"5. O wise Pûshan, destroyer of enemies! we implore of thee the protection with which thou didst shield and encourage our forefathers.

"6. O Pûshan, possessed of all wealth, possessed of golden weapons, and chief among beings! bestow on us thy riches.

"7. Lead us so that enemies who intercept may not harm us; lead us by an easy and pleasant path. O Pûshan! devise means (for our safety) on this journey.

"8. Lead us to pleasant tracts covered with green grass; let there be no extreme heat by the way. O Pûshan! devise means (for our safety) on this journey.

"9. Be powerful (in thy protection); fill us (with riches); bestow on us (wealth); make us strong and give us food! O Pûshan! devise means (for our safety) on this journey.

"10. We do not blame Pûshan; but we extol him in our hymns. We solicit wealth from the handsome Pûshan." I, 42.

There is also another interesting hymn on the practice of taking out cattle to pasture fields, and then bringing them back. A few verses are worth translating:—

"4. We call the cowherd, let him take out these cows; let him pasture them in the fields; let him know and pick out the animals; let him bring them back to the house; let him pasture them on all sides.

"5. The cowherd seeks for the cows and brings them back to the house; he pastures them on all sides. May he come home safe.

"8. O cowherd! pasture the cows in all directions, and bring them back. Pasture them in various parts of the earth, and then bring them back." (X, 19.)

There are allusions in the preceding passages to robbers who infested outlying tracts of the country,—probably to the cattle-lifters and thieves among the aboriginal races, who hung around the Aryan villages and clearances, and lived by intercepting peaceful industry. We shall speak of them further on.

Allusions to trade and commerce must be necessarily rare in a collection of hymns to gods ; but, nevertheless, we are here and there surprised by passages which throw a curious light on the manners of the times. Loans and usury were well understood in those days, and Rishis (who, we should always remember, were worldly men in those days, and not hermits or anchorites) occasionally lament their state of indebtedness with the simplicity of primitive times. In one remarkable verse again, we are reminded of the finality of a sale-transaction, when once the sale is completed :—

" One sells a large quantity for a small price, and then goes to the purchaser and denies the sale, and asks for a higher price. But he cannot exceed the price once fixed on the plea that he has given a large quantity. Whether the price was adequate or inadequate, the price fixed at the time of sale must hold good." IV, 24, 9.

A passage like the above would indicate the existence of current money for the purposes of buying and selling. We have numerous instances of Rishis acknowledging the gift of a hundred pieces of gold (V, 27, 2, &c.), and there can be no doubt, pieces of gold of a certain fixed weight were used as money and indicated in these passages. Professor Wilson in his note on the above verse (V, 27, 2), thinks " that pieces of money are intended ; for if we may trust Arian, the Hindus had coined money before Alexander." We must admit, however, that there is no distinct allusion to *coined* money in the Rig Veda. The word *Nishka* (I, 126, 2, &c.) is often used in the Rig Veda in a dubious sense. In some passages it means money, in others it means a golden ornament for the neck ;—the two interpretations are not necessarily contradictory, for in India pieces of gold used as money have habitually been used as ornaments for the neck since time immemorial.

On the other hand, there are distinct references to voyages by sea, though of course, the words used may mean rivers only, and not the sea. The shipwreck of Bhujyu, and his deliverance by the gods Asvins, is constantly alluded to (I, 116, 3, &c.), and in 1, 25, 7, the

god Varuna is said to know the paths of the birds through the sky, and the paths of the ships over the sea. In IV, 55, 6, the poet refers to the "people who desiring to acquire wealth, pray to the sea before undertaking a voyage;" while in VII, 88, 3, Vasishtha says :—

"When Varuna and I went on a boat and took her out to sea, I lived in the boat floating on the water and was happy in it, rocking gracefully (on the waves)."

While there are these and other distinct allusions to voyages, there is absolutely no prohibition against voyages in the Rig Veda.

CHAPTER III.

FOOD, CLOTHING, AND THE ARTS OF PEACE.

BARLEY and wheat seem to have been the principal produce of the field, and the principal articles of food. The names of grain found in the Rig Veda are somewhat misleading, as they have come to bear a different signification in modern days from what they had in the ancient times. Thus the word *Yava*, which in modern Sanscrit implies barley only, was used in the Veda for implying food-grains generally, including wheat and barley. And the word *Dhâna* which, in Bengal at least, means paddy or rice, implies in the Rig Veda fried barley, which was used as food and offered to the gods. There is no allusion to *vrîhi* (rice) in the Rig Veda.

We also find mention of various kind of cakes prepared from these grains and used as food and offered to the gods. *Pakti* (from *pach*, to cook, or to prepare) means prepared cakes, and various other terms like *Purodâsa* and *Apûpa* and *Karambha*, are also used. (III, 52, 1 & 2; IV, 24, 7, &c.)

It may be easily imagined that animal food was largely used by the early Hindus of the Punjab. We have frequent allusions to the sacrifice and to the cooking of cows, buffaloes, and bulls. (I, 61, 12; II, 7, 5; V, 29, 7 and 8; VI, 17, 11; VI, 16, 47; VI, 28, 4; X, 27, 2; X, 28, 3, etc.)

In X, 89, 14, there is mention of slaughter-houses where cows were killed, and in X, 91, 14, there is an allusion to the sacrifice of horses, bulls, and rams. The allusions to the sacrifice of horses are extremely rare, showing that, although the custom was introduced into India by the early Aryans from their primitive home in Central Asia, the flesh of the horse as an article of food soon fell into disuse. In later times the sacrifice of the

horse at the *Asvamedha* was performed on rare occasions with great pomp and circumstance by powerful kings, after they had subdued their neighbours and assumed a title answering to the Imperial title in Europe. There can be no doubt this great imperial rite rose out of the simple sacrifice of the horse practised in primitive times when the horse was still an article of food. The pomp and ceremony, as well as certain revolting rites connected with horse-sacrifice in later days, were unknown in Vedic times.

A fairly complete account of the sacrifice of the horse, such as it prevailed in the Vedic times, is to be found in hymn 162 of the first Mandala of the Rig Veda. It is too long for translation, but a few verses may interest our readers :—

"2. The men have brought the prepared offering before the horse which is covered with gold trappings. The piebald goat bleats and goes towards the horse ; may it be an acceptable offering for Indra and Pûshan.

"11. O horse ! the gravy which comes out of your body when you are roasted, escaping from the roasting spit, should not fall to the ground nor get mixed with the grass. The gods are eager for the food ; let it be offered to them !

"12. Those who stand around and watch the cooking of the horse, those who say—Its smell is delicious, take it down now,—and those who beg a portion of the meat,—let the aims of all of them be in furtherance of our aims.

"13. The stick, which is dipped into the boiling pot, the vessels in which the gravy is kept, the covers which keep it warm, the cane by which the body of the horse is first marked, and the knife by which the body is dissected (along the lines marked), all these implements help in the cooking of the horse.

"18. The knife goes as a friend of the gods to separate the thirty-four ribs of the horse. Cut them out, so that the separate parts may not be cut or mangled.

With a loud voice, and with circumspection, cut away along the joints.

"20. Go to the gods, O horse! let not thy dear body pain thee; let not the knife rest long on thy limbs; let not a greedy and ignorant immolator cut thy body needlessly, disregarding the separate limbs."

Who could have believed that this simple horse sacrifice of the Rig Veda, the carving and the roasting and the boiling of the horse for worship and for the purposes of food, would have developed into the imperial ceremony of *Asvamedha* of later times? But many a practice which we see in its simple and natural aspect in the Veda has developed into mighty and often monstrous ceremonies in later days; and many a simple Vedic allegory relating to the striking phenomena of Nature has also developed into equally monstrous Pauranik legends. Herein constitutes the true value of the Veda; we trace in it Hindu rites and institutions and the Hindu religion itself to their simple natural beginnings.

The fermented juice of the plant called *Soma* appears to have been the only intoxicating drink used in the Vedic times. So much were the ancient Aryans addicted to this drink, that Soma was soon worshipped as a deity both in India and in Iran (under the name *Haoma* in the latter country), and we find one entire Mandala or Book of the Rig Veda dedicated to this deity. The Indo-Aryans appear to have been more addicted to fermented and intoxicating Soma than their peaceful brethren of Iran; and many are the allusions in the Zendavesta to the hateful customs of their Indian brethren. Some antiquarians think that this was one great reason of those dissensions which broke out among the southern Aryans, and which led to the final separation of the Iranians from the Hindus.

The process by which the Soma-juice was prepared has been fully described in IX, 66, and in other hymns. We will translate a few verses from this hymn:—

"2. O Soma! your two leaves alternated, and you attained a wonderful glory thereby.

"3. O Soma! the leaves covered thee—a creeper—on all sides, and you flourished in all seasons.

"7. O Soma! you have been crushed; you flow as a stream to Indra, scattering joy on all sides; you bestow immortal food.

"8. Seven women stir thee with their fingers, blending their voices in a song to thee; you remind the sacrificer of his duties at the sacrifice.

"9. You mix with water with a pleasing sound; and the fingers stir you over a woollen strainer, and filter you. Your particles are thrown up then, and a sound arises from the woollen strainer.

"11. The woollen strainer is placed on a vessel, and the fingers repeatedly stir the Soma, which sends out a sweet stream into the vessel.

"13. O Soma! you are then mixed with milk. Water runs towards thee with a pleasing sound."

From this description it would appear that the juice of Soma used to be taken—much as *Siddhi* is taken in our times—mixed with milk. The poets of the Rig Veda go into ecstasy over the virtues and the exhilarating powers of the Soma; and some of their descriptions have developed into strange Pauranik legends in subsequent times. One or two verses will illustrate this:—

"O Soma! there is nothing so bright as thou. When poured out, thou welcomest all the gods, to bestow on them immortality." (IX, 108, 3.)

"The praiseworthy Soma has from ancient times been the drink of the gods; he was milked from the hidden recesses of the sky; he was created for Indra and was extolled." (IX, 110, 8.)

"In that realm where there is perennial light, and where the heaven is placed, O Soma, lead me to that deathless and immortal realm! Flow thou for Indra." (IX, 113, 7.)

Such passages as these are to be found throughout the Ninth Book of the Rig Veda. Who could have guessed that the strange Pauranik legends of the churning of the ocean and the discovery of the *Amrita* or immortal

drink could have arisen from these simple Vedic descriptions of Soma? The sky in the Veda is considered watery, and is often confused with the sea, and the milking of Soma from the sky would, with the help of a strong Pauranik imagination, be translated into the churning of the ocean for the *Amrita!*

It would appear from many passages in the Rig Veda that many arts were carried to a high state of excellence. Weaving was well-known, of course, and deft female fingers wove the warp and the woof in ancient times as in modern days. (II, 3, 6; II, 38, 4, &c.) In one curious passage (VI, 9, 2), the Rishi laments his ignorance of the mysteries of religious rites by saying: "I know not the warp and I know not the woof" of religious rites; and in another place (X. 26, 6.) the weaving and bleaching of sheep's wool is attributed to the god Pûshan, who, as we have already seen, is the god of shepherds.

Every Aryan village had probably its barber then as now; and the clearances of forests by fire are in one passage somewhat mysteriously described as the *shaving* of the earth. (I, 164, 44.) Carpentry was also well known, and we have frequent allusions to the construction of carts and chariots. (III, 53, 19; IV, 2, 14; IV, 16, 20, &c.) The use of iron, of gold, and of other metals was well known; in V, 9, 5, we have a reference to the work of an ironsmith, and in VI, 3, 4, we are told of goldsmiths melting metal.

But we get a better idea of working in metals in the Vedic times from the description of various gold ornaments and iron utensils and implements of war which is to be found throughout the Rig Veda. The allusions are numerous, and we can therefore only make a selection here which will convey a fair idea of the manufactures of those days. We are told of armours used in war in I, 140, 10, in II, 39, 4, in IV, 53, 2, and in various other places. In II, 34, 3, we have reference to golden helmets, and in IV, 34, 9, there is mention of armour for the shoulders or arms, probably a shield. The lightning has been compared to a javelin (*rishti*)

in V, 52, 6, and in V, 54, 11; and also to a sword or battle-axe *(bâshi)*, and to bows and arrows and quivers in V, 57, 2. Three thousand mailed warriors are spoken of in VI, 27, 6; feathered, sharp-pointed, shining shafts are described in VI, 46, 11; and sharp-edged swords are spoken of in VI, 47, 10. And in verses 26 and 29 of the same hymn we are told of war-chariots and war-drums. And lastly, in the 75th hymn of the sixth Mandala, we have a spirited account of the arms and accoutrements of war which we will translate for our readers further on.

In IV, 2, 8, we have a reference to horses with golden caparisons, and in IV, 37, 4, V, 19, 3, and many other places, we have allusions to the *Nishka*, a golden ornament worn in the neck. In V, 53, 4, the lightning ornaments of the Maruts are compared with ornaments *(Anji)*, with necklaces *(Srak)*, with golden breastplates *(Rukma)*, and with bracelets and anklets *(Khadi)*. In V, 54, 11, we are again told of anklets for the feet, and golden breastplates for the breast, and of golden crowns *(Siprâh hiranmayih)* for the head.

Thus it will be seen that a very considerable advance was made in the manufacture of arms, weapons, and various kinds of ornaments. We have references also to skin vessels for curds (VI, 48, 18), and iron vessels (V, 30, 15), and in several places to iron towns, which must be taken in a figurative sense as signifying strong forts (VII, 3, 7; VII, 15, 14; VII, 95, 1, &c.). We have also references to a hundred stone-built towns in IV, 30, 20, and other places.

There can be no doubt that in the various rocky and mountainous tracts where the early Hindus extended their colonies, they soon learnt to utilize stone as a durable and cheap material for architecture; and there can be no difficulty in believing that in numerous Hindu towns many structures and surrounding walls were of stone. That the art of building was carried to some degree of excellence appears from many allusions to mansions with thousand pillars (II, 41, 5; V, 62, 6, &c); but at the same time it must be admitted that there is

no distinct allusion in the Rig Veda to the art of sculpture properly so-called. The researches of antiquarians have failed to discover in any part of India traces of sculptured stone of a time long previous to the Buddhist era; and in the numerous great museums of Europe—which are filled with the ancient stone monuments of Egypt and Babylon, of Greece, and of Rome—India is not represented by any such monuments dating much before the Buddhist Period.

Most of the animals domesticated at the present day were domesticated in India in the remote period of the Rig Veda. We have spirited accounts of the war-horse in several places. (VI, 46, 13, and 14, &c.)

Indeed, these war-horses were so highly prized by the early Aryans in their battles against the aborigines, that the horse under the name of *Dadhikrâ* soon became an object of worship; and in IV, 38, we have a spirited account of the respect paid to this god-like being.

In IV, 4, 1, we have a reference to a king riding with his ministers on an elephant. Among other domesticated animals, we have frequent mention of cows, goats, sheep, buffaloes, and dogs, which last were used in carrying burdens.

CHAPTER IV.

WARS AND DISSENSIONS.

As has been stated before, the early Hindus wrested the fertile tracts on the banks of the Indus and its tributaries from the primitive aborigines of the Punjab; but the aborigines did not give up their birthright without a struggle. Retreating before the more civilized organization and valour of the Hindus in the open field, they still hung round in fastnesses and forests near every Hindu settlement and village, harassed them in their communications, waylaid and robbed them at every opportunity, stole their cattle, and often attacked them in considerable force. Well might they exclaim with the Gaels of Scotland who had been similarly dispossessed of their fertile soil by the conquering Saxons and had similarly retreated to barren fastnesses:

"These fertile plains, that softened vale,
Were once the birthright of the Gael;
The stranger came with iron hand,
And from our fathers reft the land.
Where dwell we now? See rudely swell
Crag over crag, and fell o'er fell.

.

Pent in this fortress of the North,
Think'st thou we will not sally forth
To spoil the spoiler as we may,
And from the robber rend his prey?
Aye, by my soul! while on yon plain
The Saxon rears one shock of grain,
While, of ten thousand herds, there strays
But one along yon river's maze,—
The Gael, of plain and river heir,
Shall, with strong hand, redeem his share!"

Unfortunately, however, they had no poet to hand down to us their view of the case, and the only account we have of this long war of centuries, is from the conquering Hindus. It is needless to say that the conquerors viewed the aborigines with the contempt and hatred which have marked the conduct of all conquer-

ing tribes, whether on the banks of the Indus seventeen hundred years before Christ, or on the banks of the Mississipi seventeen hundred years after Christ! History repeats itself; and the Punjab was cleared of its non-Aryan aborigines just as the United States of America have, in modern times, been cleared of the many powerful and brave Indian races who lived and hunted and ruled within its primeval forests.

Of these wars with the aborigines we have frequent allusions in the Rig Veda; and a translation of some of these passages will give a better idea of these interminable hostilities than any account that we can give of them. The allusions are so numerous that our only difficulty is in making a selection.

"Indra, who is invoked by many, and is accompanied by his fleet companions, has destroyed by his thunderbolt the *Dasyus* and *Simyus* who dwelt on earth, and then he distributed the fields to his white-complexioned friends (Aryans). The thunderer makes the sun shine and the rain to fall." (I, 100, 18.) "Indra with his weapon (the thunderbolt), and full of vigour, destroyed the towns of the *Dasyus*, and wandered at his will. O holder of the thunderbolt! be thou cognizant (of our hymns), and cast thy weapon against the *Dasyu*, and increase the vigour and the fame of the *A'rya*." (I, 103, 3.)

In the very next hymn we come across a curious allusion to aboriginal robbers who dwelt on the banks of four small streams called the Sifâ, the Anjasî, the Kulisî, and the Vîrapatnî, whose courses cannot now be determined. These robbers issued from their fastnesses and harassed the civilized Aryan villages, much in the same way, we suppose, as a true descendant of those aborigines—the Bhil Tantia in our own time—is harassing the peaceful villages of Central India! We translate the two verses below:—

"Kuyava gets scent of the wealth of others and appropriates them. He lives in water and pollutes it. His two wives bathe in the stream; may they be drowned in the depths of the Sifâ river!

"Ayu lives in water in a secret fastness. He flourishes amidst the rise of waters. The rivers Anjasî, Kulsî and Vîrapatnî protect him with their waters. (I, 104, 3 & 4.)

We proceed with some more extracts :—

"Indra protects his *A'rya* worshipper in wars. He who protects him on countless occasions, protects him in all wars. He subdues the people who do not perform sacrifices for the benefit of men (Aryans). He flays the enemy of his black skin and kills him and reduces him to ashes. He burns down all who do injury, and all who are cruel. (I, 130, 8.)

"O destroyer of foes! collect together the heads of these marauding troops, and crush them with thy wide foot! Thy foot is wide!

"O Indra! destroy the power of these marauding troops! Throw them into the vile pit—the vast and vile pit!

"O Indra! thou hast destroyed three times fifty such troops! People extol this thy deed; but it is nothing compared to thy prowess!

"O Indra! destroy the Pishâchis who are reddish in appearance and utter fearful yells. Destroy all these Râkshasas."* (I. 133, 2 to 5.)

"O Indra! the poet prays to thee for pleasant food. Thou hast made the earth the bed (burial ground) of the *Dâsas*. Indra has beautified the three regions with his gifts; he has slayed *Kuyavâcha* for king *Daryoni*.

"O Indra! Rishis still extol that ancient deed of prowess! Thou hast destroyed many marauders to put an end to war; thou hast stormed the towns of enemies who worship no gods; and thou hast bent the weapons of foes who worship no gods. (I, 174, 7 & 8).

"O Asvins! destroy those who are yelling hideously like dogs, and are coming to destroy us! Slay those who wish to fight with us! You know the way to destroy them. Let each word of those who extol you

* Pishâchis and Râkshasas may mean imaginary demons. I would rather think, however, that they here refer to the aborigines.

bring wealth in return. O you truthful ones! accept our prayers. (I, 182, 4.)

"The far-famed and graceful Indra is gracious to men (Aryans)! The destroying and powerful Indra has cast down the head of the malignant *Dâsa!*

"Indra, who slayed Vritra and stormed towns has destroyed the troops of the black *Dâsas*, and has made the earth and the water for Manu.* May he fulfil the wishes of the sacrificer." (II, 20, 6 & 7.)

We know how the Spaniards, the conquerors of America, owed their successes, to a very great extent, to their horses,—animals previously unknown to the American aborigines, and therefore regarded with a strange terror. It would seem that the war-horses of the early Indo-Aryans inspired the aborigines of India with a similar fear. The following passages, translated from a hymn to *Dadhikrâ*, or the deified war-horse will, therefore be regarded with interest:—

"As people shout and raise a cry after a thief who has purloined a garment, even so the enemies yell and shout at the sight of Dadhikrâ! As birds make a noise at the sight of the hungry hawk on its descent, even so the enemies yell and shout at the sight of Dadhikrâ careering in quest of plunder of food and cattle!

"Enemies fear Dadhikrâ who is radiant and destroying as a thunderbolt. When he beats back a thousand men around him, he becomes excited and uncontrollable in his strength." (IV, 38, 5 & 8.)

It would seem from numerous passages in the Rig Veda that Kutsa was a powerful warrior and a mighty destroyer of the black aborigines. We are told in hymn 16 of the fourth Mandala, that Indra slew the "*Dasyu*, who is wily and impious," to bestow wealth on Kutsa (verse 9); that he helped Kutsa and came to his house with the common object of slaying the *Dasyu* (verse 10); and that he slew fifty thousand "black complexioned enemies" in the battle-

* Here, as elsewhere, Manu is spoken of as the ancestor of the Aryan man. In many places he is spoken of as the originator of cultivation and of the worship of fire which distinguished the Aryans.

(verse 13). In IV, 28, 4, we are told that Indra has made the *Dasyus* devoid of all virtues, and the object of hatred of all men; and in IV, 30, 15, we learn that Indra destroyed five hundred and a thousand *Dâsas*.

We have similar allusions to the subjugation and destruction of *Dasyus* or *Dâsas* in V, 70, 3; VI, 18, 3; and VI, 25, 2; while there is a curious reference to an unknown region inhabited by the *Dasyus* in VI, 47, 20, which deserves translation:—

"O ye gods! We have travelled and lost our way, and come to a region where cattle do not pasture. The extensive region gives shelter to *Dasyus* only. O Brihaspati! lead us in our search for cattle. O Indra! shew the way to your worshippers who have lost their way."

We have seen that the Aryan poets are sufficiently uncomplimentary in speaking of the shouts and yells of the aboriginal barbarians. The civilized conquerors could scarcely imagine that these yells could form a language, and have therefore in some places described the barbarians as without a language. (V, 29, 10, &c.)

We have spoken before of Kuyava and Ayu, two aboriginal robbers who dwelt in fastnesses surrounded by rivers, and harassed the Aryan villages. We have frequent allusions to another powerful aboriginal leader who is called Krishna, probably because of his black complexion. One of the passages relating to him deserves translation:—

"The fleet Krishna lived on the banks of the Ansumatî river with ten thousand troops. Indra of his own wisdom became cognizant of this loud-yelling chief. He destroyed the marauding host for the benefit of men.

"Indra said: 'I have seen the fleet Krishna. He is lurking in the hidden region near the Ausumati, like the sun in a cloud, O Maruts! I desire you to engage in fight, and to destroy him.'

"The fleet Krishna then appeared shining on the banks of the Ausumatî. Indra took Brihaspati as his ally, and destroyed the fleet and godless army." (VIII, 96, 13 to 15.)

Not only have the aborigines been described as fond of yells and devoid of a language, but they are in other places considered as scarcely human. We are told in one place :

"We are surrounded on all sides by *Dasyu* tribes. They do not perform sacrifices ; they do not believe in anything ; their rites are different ; they are not men ! O destroyer of foes ! kill them. Destroy the *Dâsa* race !" (X, 22, 8.)

In X 49, Indra proclaims that he has deprived the *Dasyu*-race of the name of *A'rya* (verse 3) ; that he has destroyed Navavâstva and Brihadratha of the *Dâsa* race (verse 6) ; that he cuts the *Dâsas* in twain, "it is for this fate that they have been born !" (verse 7.)

Such were the aborigines with whom the early Hindus carried on an interminable war, and such was the fate to which they consigned their less civilized neighbours, the primeval owners of the Indian soil ! It is abundantly evident that no love was lost between the conquerors and the conquered. It was by ceaseless fighting that the conquerors protected themselves in their newly-conquered country, gradually extended the limits of cultivation, built new villages, threw out new colonies in primeval jungles, and spread the light of civilization and the fame of their prowess around. They dreaded and hated the despised barbarians with a genuine hatred, killed numbers of them when they could, thinned their ranks with their cavalry, called them yelling hounds and men without a tongue and brutes below the rank of men, and almost believed they were born to be slain,—"it is for this fate that they have been born !". On the other hand the stubborn barbarians had their revenge too. Retreating before the more civilized valour of the Hindus, they hung about in every fastness and every bend of a river, they waylaid and robbed travellers, harassed villages, killed or stole cattle, and sometimes fell on the Hindus in great numbers. With that dogged tenacity which is peculiar to barbarians they disputed every inch of ground as they retreated, they interrupted the religious rites of

the conquerors, despised their gods, and plundered their wealth. But in spite of every resistance the colonies of the more civilized races extended on every direction, the area of civilization widened, jungles and wastes were brought under cultivation and dotted with villages and royal towns, and the kingdoms of the early Hindus extended over the whole of the Punjab. The barbarians were either exterminated, or retreated before the ever-advancing line of Aryan civilization into those hills and fastnesses which their children still inhabit.

It may be imagined, however, that some among the weaker barbarians preferred abject subjection to extermination or exile. We find traces accordingly in the Rig Veda of *Dasyus* who at last owned the domination of the more powerful race, and who adopted their religion and their rites and even their language. They learnt cultivation and the arts of civilized life; settled down in Arvan villages as Dâsas or serfs; and ministered to the wants of their masters,—the white men. There are frequent references to such *Dâsas* who had been subjugated by the Aryans. These, then, were the first *Hindu-ized aborigines* of India.

Our extracts on the subject of wars with the aborigines have been somewhat numerous, but we cannot refrain from quoting one or two passages more about the wars of the mighty conqueror Sudâs:

"8. The wily foes planned destruction, and broke down the embankment of A'dînâ river (to cause an inundation.) But Sudâs filled the earth with his prowess, and Kavi, the son of Chayamâna, fell like a victim.

"9. For the waters of the river flowed through their old channel and did not take a new course; and Sudâs' horse marched over the country. Indra subdued the hostile and talkative men and their children under Sudâs.

"11. Sudâs earned glory by killing twenty-one men of both regions. As the young priest cuts the kusa grass in the house of sacrifice, even so Sudâs cuts down his enemies. The hero Indra sent the Maruts for his succour.

"14. The sixty-six thousand six-hundred and sixty-six warriors of Anu and Druhya, who had desired for cattle, and were hostile to Sudâs, were laid low. These deeds proclaim the glory of Indra!

"17. It was Indra who enabled the poor Sudâs to achieve these deeds. Indra enabled the goat to kill the strong lion. Indra felled the sacrificial post with a needle. He bestowed all the wealth on Sudâs." VII, 18.

The poet who sings these deeds of Sudâs' glory is not unrewarded for his immortal verse. For in verses 22 and 23, he acknowledges with gratitude that the valiant conqueror and beneficent king had rewarded him with two hundred cows and two chariots and four horses with gold trappings!

In a subsequent hymn we are told how ten kings combined against Sudâs, and Sudâs was victorious over them all. A curious description of a battle in this hymn deserves translation :—

"2. Where men raise their banners and meet in battle, where nothing seems to favour us, where the men look up to the sky and tremble, then, O Indra and Varuna! help us and speak to us (words of comfort.)

"3. O Indra and Varuna! the ends of the earth seem to be lost, and the noise ascends to the skies! The troops of the enemy are approaching. O Indra and Varuna! who ever listen to prayers, come near us with your protection.

"4. O Indra and Varuna! you pierced the yet unassailed Bheda, and saved Sudâs. You listened to the prayers of the Tritsus. Their priestly vocation bore fruit in the hour of battle.

"5. O Indra and Varuna! the weapons of the enemy assail me in all directions, the foes assail me among marauding men. You are the owners of both kinds of wealth! Save us in the day of battle.

"6. Both parties invoked Indra and Varuna for wealth at the time of war. But in this battle you protected Sudâs with the Tritsus who were attacked by ten kings.

"7. O Indra and Varuna! the ten kings who did not perform sacrifices were unable, though combined, to beat Sudâs." (VII, 83.)

In VI, 47, there is an address to the war-drum on the eve of battle; and the poet asks that martial instrument to fill the earth and skies with its sound, to rouse movable and immovable objects, to instil fear into the enemy and to drive them away. The address ends with these portentous words: "The drum (*Dundubhi*) sounds loud to proclaim to all men (the hour of battle). Our leaders have mounted their steeds and have collected together. O Indra! let our warriors who fight in chariots win victory."

In a still more remarkable hymn, VI, 75, the preparations and weapons of war have been described in some detail, and a few extracts from it will convey to our readers some idea of military weapons in use in those days:—

"1. When the battle is nigh, and the warrior marches in his armour, he appears like the cloud! Warrior, let not thy person be pierced; be victorious; let thy armour protect you!

"2. We will win cattle with the bow, we will win with the bow; we will conquer the fierce and proud enemy with the bow! May the bow foil the desires of the enemy! We will spread our conquests on all sides with the bow!

"3. The string of the bow when pulled approaches the ear of the archer, making way in battle. It whispers words of consolation to him, and with sound it clasps the arrow, even as a loving wife clasps her husband.

"5. The quiver is like the parent of many arrows; the many arrows are like its children. It makes a sound, and hangs on the back of the warrior, and furnishes arrows in battle, and conquers the enemy.

"6. The expert charioteer stands on his chariot and drives his horses wheresoever he will. The reins restrain the horses from behind. Sing of their glory!

"7. The horses raise the dust with their hoofs, and career over the field with the chariots, with loud neigh-

ings. They do not retreat, but trample the marauding enemies under their feet.

"11. The arrow is feathered; the deer (horn) is its teeth. Well pulled and sent by the cow-leather-string, it falls on the enemy. Wherever men stand together or are separate, there the shafts reap advantage.

"14. The leather guard protects the arm from the abrasion of the bow-string, and coils round the arm like a snake in its convolutions. It knows its work, and is efficient, and protects the warrior in every way.

"15. We extol the arrow which is poisoned, whose face is of iron;* whose stem is of Parjanya." (VI, 75.)

Before concluding our extracts, we will make one more from a hymn about the coronation of kings. It belongs, like all hymns relating to pompous ceremonies, not to the earlier, but to the latest period of the Vedic Age:—

"1. O king! I place you in the station of a king. Be the lord of this country! Be immovable and fixed! Let all the subjects cherish thee! Let not your kingdom be destroyed!

"2. Remain here fixed as the mountain; do not be dethroned! Remain fixed like Indra, and support the kingdom!

"3. Indra has received the sacrificial offerings, and supports the newly-coronated king! Soma blesses him.

"4. The sky is fixed, the earth is fixed, the mountains are fixed, this universe is fixed. He also is fixed as king among his subjects!

"5. May King Varuna make you immovable! May the good Brihaspati make you immovable; may Indra and Agni support you and make you immovable.

"6. See, I mix these immortal offerings with the immortal Soma-juice. Indra has brought your subjects under your rule, and made them willing to pay you revenue!" (X, 173.)

* This passage shews that the arrow-heads were of iron. Parjanya is the god of rains. Stem of Parjanya probably means stem of reed growing in the rains. Verse 11 shews that arrow-heads were sometimes of deer-horn.

These extracts are enough. We have elsewhere shewn that the warriors used not only armours but helmets, and also protecting armours for the shoulder, probably shields. They used javelins and battle-axes, and sharp-edged swords, beside bows and arrows. All the weapons of wars known elsewhere in ancient times were known in India nearly four thousand years ago. Drums assembled men in battle, banners led them on in compact masses, and the use of war-horses and chariots was well-known. Tame elephants were in use too, and we have allusions to kings riding on richly caparisoned elephants with their ministers (IV, 4, 1); but it does not appear that elephants were regularly used in wars in the Vedic period, as they were in the third and fourth centuries before Christ when the Greeks came to India.

For the rest, it was a turbulent time when the Vedic warriors lived and fought. They had not only to wage an interminable war against the aborigines, but the Hindu States were divided among themselves, and a powerful leader was often bent on annexing his neighbour's state. Rishis engaged in sacrifices asked for prowess to conquer the foes, or prayed to the gods for a son who would win victory in battles. Every able-bodied man was a warrior, and was ever prepared to defend his home and his fields and his cattle with his strong right arm. Each Hindu colony or tribe, while attentive to the worship of the gods and to the cultivation of the various arts of peace, was at the same time alive to the fact, that its national existence depended on a constant preparedness for war. And the great conglomeration of Hindu tribes which spread from the banks of the Indus to the banks of the Sarasvatî consisted of hardy, brave, and warlike peoples, who maintained their footing in the land, and their independence and national existence by constant struggles, and a determination to win or die.

It is sad to contemplate this state of things. But where is the country in which, in ancient times, tribes and nations had not to maintain a ceaseless war for their aggrandizement, or even for their very existence?

And even in modern times, during the two thousand years which have elasped since Gautama Buddha and Jesus Christ preached their messages of peace, where shall we seek for the tribe or nation which could hope to reap the results of its peaceful industry without a constant struggle against its neighbours? If a generation has passed in Europe without a dreadful war, that period is marked in history as a period of exceptional bliss. And even in our own times, with the exception of a few countries advantageously situated, all the nations of Europe are armed to the teeth; all the individuals, by millions, of great kingdoms and empires, are eternally prepared for war, ready on a week's notice to leave their homes and occupations and march to the frontier! Civilization has done much for the cause of humanity; but civilization has not yet converted the sword into the scythe, or enabled man to reap the results of his peaceful industry without a struggle to the death against his neighbour.

CHAPTER V.

SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE—THE POSITION OF WOMEN.

IT was by such continuous wars against the aborigines of the soil that the Aryans at last conquered the whole of the Punjab from the Indus to the Sarasvatî, and from the mountains probably to the sea.

As might be expected, we have frequent allusions to the Indus and its five tributaries. Hymn 75 of the tenth Mandala is a remarkable instance, and we will give our readers a translation of the entire hymn :—

"1. O ye streams! The bard celebrates your excellent prowess in the house of the worshipper. They flow in three systems, seven streams in each system. The prowess of the Indus is superior to that of all others.

"2. O Indus! when you ran towards lands rich in food, Varuna opened out the way for you. You flow over a spacious path on the land. You shine above all flowing rivers.

"3. The mighty sound of the Indus ascends above the earth to the sky! She flows with mighty force and radiant form. Her mighty sound is heard as if rains are decending from the clouds with great noise. The Indus comes roaring like a bull.

"4. As cows bring milk to their calves, even thus, O Indus, the other streams come sounding to you with their waters! As a king marches with his forces to battle, even thus you march in front with two systems of rivers flowing by your side!*

"5. O Gangâ! O Yamunâ and Sarasvatî and Sutadrû (Sutlej) and Parushnî (Ravi)! share this

* *i.e.*, the tributaries coming from Cabul in the west, and the tributaries flowing through the Punjab in the east, as named in the two following verses.

my praise among you ! O river combined with Asiknî (Chinab) ! O Vitastâ (Jhilam) ! O A'rjîkîyâ (Beas), combined with Susomâ (Indus) ! hear my words.

"6. O Indus ! first thou flowest united Trishtâmâ with Susartu and Rasâ and the Svetî. You unite Krumu (Kurum river) and Gomatî (Gomal river) with Kubhâ (Cabul river) and Mehatnu. You proceed together with these rivers.

"7. The irresistible Indus proceeds straight, white and dazzling in splendour ! She is great, and her waters fill all sides with mighty force. Of all the flowing rivers, none is flowing like her ! She is wild like a mare, beautiful like a well developed woman !

"8. The Indus is ever young and beautiful. She is rich in horses, in chariots, and in garments ; she is rich in gold and is beautiously clad ! She is rich in corn and in wool and in straw, and has covered herself with sweet flowers.

"9. The Indus has fastened horses to her easy chariot, and has brought food therein to us. The greatness of the chariot is extolled as mighty ; it is irresistible and great and rich in its fame !"

The hymn is remarkable for its power and its beauty, and remarkable also for the extensive vision of the poet who, as Professor Max Müller says, takes in at one swoop three great river-systems, those flowing from the north-west into the Indus, those joining it from the north-east, and in the distance the Ganges and the Jumna with their tributaries. "It shows the widest geographical horizon of the Vedic poets, confined by the snowy mountains in the north, the Indus and the range of the Suleiman mountains in the west, the Indus or the sea in the south, and the valley of the Jumna and Ganges in the east. Beyond that the world, though open, was unknown to the Vedic poets."

The rivers of the Punjab are sometimes spoken of together as the "seven rivers," and it is explained in one place (VII, 36, 6), that the seven rivers have the Indus for their mother and the Sarasvatî as the seventh. The Indus and its five branches still water the prime-

val home of the early Hindus, but the Sarasvatî which was the most sacred of ancient rivers and was worshipped even in that remote time as a goddess, has since ceased to flow. Antiquarians state that it has been lost in the deserts of Rajputana.

There is one somewhat curious passage in which the Rishi Visvâmitra, encumbered with the chariots and horses and other rewards bestowed on him by king Sudâs, finds a difficulty in crossing the confluence of the Beas and the Sutlej, and pours out an entire hymn (III, 33) to appease the anger of the roaring flood! We have seen that this Sudâs was a mighty conqueror and subjugated ten surrounding kings, and was the victor of numerous battles which form the theme of some spirited hymns. This mighty conqueror seems also to have been a patron of learning and religion, and liberally rewarded the sages of the houses of Visvâmitra and of Vasishtha alike. As a consequence, there was jealousy between these two priestly houses to which we will allude further on.

While references to the rivers of the Punjab are thus frequent, allusions to the Ganges and the Jumna are rare. We have already translated a hymn in which both those rivers are named.

The only other passage in the Rig Veda where the Ganges is alluded to, is VI, 45, 31, where the high banks of the Ganges are the subject of a simile. The famed cattle in the pasture-fields along the banks of the Jumna are alluded to in V, 52, 17.

Thus the land of the five rivers was the earliest home of the Aryan settlers in India; and it would seem that the settlers along the five rivers gradually formed themselves into five tribes or nations. The "five lands" (*Pancha-Kshiti*) are alluded to in I, 7, 9; I, 176, 3; VI, 46, 7, and in other places. Similarly we read of the "five cultivating tribes" (*Pancha-Krishti*) in II, 2, 10; IV, 38, 10, , and other places, and we read of "five peoples" (*Pancha-jana*) in VI, 11, 4; VI, 51, 11; VIII, 32, 22, ; IX, 65, 23, and other places.

It was these "five tribes" of simple, bold, and enter-

prising Aryans, living by agriculture and by pasture on the fertile banks of the Indus and its tributaries, who were the progenitors of the great Hindu nation, which has spread from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin.

We now turn to the interesting and pleasing subject of the social and domestic rules and the home-life of these five tribes of the Punjab. The first thing that strikes us here is the absence of those unhealthy rules and restrictions, those marked distinctions between man and man and between class and class, which form the most unpleasant feature of later Hindu society. We have already seen that the sturdy Hindus of the Vedic times recognized no restrictions against the use of beef, and that they refer with pride to their merchants going to the sea. We have seen, too, that the Rishis did not form a separate and exclusive class, and did not pass their lives away from the world in penance and contemplation. On the contrary, the Rishis were practical men of the world, who owned large herds of cattle, cultivated fields, fought against the aboriginal enemies in times of war, and prayed to their gods for wealth and cattle, for victory in wars, and for blessings on their wives and children. Every father of a family was in fact a Rishi on a small scale, and worshipped his gods in his own house in his own humble fashion, and the women of the family joined in the worship, and helped in the performance of the ceremonies. Some among the community were of course prominent in the composition of hymns and the performance of great sacrifices; and kings and rich men sent for them on great occasions, and rewarded them handsomely. But even these great composers—these great Rishis of the Rig Veda—did not form an exclusive caste of their own. They were worldly men, mixed and married with the people, shared property with the people, fought the wars of the people, and were of the people.

One martial Rishi for instance (in V, 23, 2) prays for a son who will conquer enemies in war. Another (in VI, 20, 1) prays for wealth and corn-fields and a son who will destroy his foes. Another (in IX, 69, 8) prays

for wealth and gold, for horses and cows, for profuse harvests, and excellent progeny. Another Rishi, with naïve simplicity, says that his cattle are his wealth and his Indra! (VI, 28, 5.) Throughout the Rig Veda the Rishis are the people. There is not the shadow of any evidence that the Rishis or priests were a "caste" of their own, different from the fighters and cultivators.*

This will be considered by impartial judges to be very good evidence that the caste-system did not exist. It proves a negative much more convincingly than many positive facts can be proved. In a vast collection of hymns, composed during six hundred years and more, and replete with references to the habits and manners and customs of the people,—replete with allusions to agriculture and pasture and manufacture, to wars against aborigines, to marriage and domestic rules, and the duties and position of women, to religious observances and to elementary astronomy as then known,—we have not one single passage to show that the community was cut up into hereditary "*Castes.*" Is it possible to suppose that that wonderful system existed, and yet there is no allusion to that fundamental principle of society in the ten thousand verses of the Rig Veda? Is it possible to find a single religious work of later times, of one-tenth the dimensions of the Rig Veda, which is silent on that system?

So far, then, we have proved a negative in the only way in which a negative can be proved. But curiously enough there is positive proof, and various passages in the Rig Veda shew that the caste-system did not

*The solitary mention of the four castes, in X, 90, 12, will not be considered an exception, or weaken out argument. The hymn itself was composed centuries after the time when the Rig Veda hymns were generally composed, as is proved by its language and its ideas. It was composed after the Rik, and the Saman and the Yajur Vedas had been separately classified (verse 9), and after the idea of the Sacrifice of the Supreme Being (unknown elsewhere in the Rig Veda) had found a place in the Hindu religion. It was composed, as Colebrooke states, after the rude versification of the Rig Veda had given place to the more sonorous metre of a later age. Weber, Max Müller, Muir, and other scholars all agree as to this hymn being comparatively modern.

exist. The very word "*varna*" which in later Sanskrit indicates caste, is used in the Rig Veda to distinguish the Aryans and non-Aryans, and nowhere indicates separate sections in the Aryan community (III, 34, 9, &c.) The very word *Kshatriya*, which in later Sanskrit means the military caste, is used in the Veda simply as an adjective which means strong, and is applied to gods! (VII, 64, 2; VII, 89, 1, &c.) The very word *Vipra*, which in later Sanskrit means the priestly caste, is used in the Rig Veda merely as an adjective which means wise, and which is applied to gods! (VIII, 11, 6, &c.) And the very word *Brâhmana*, which in later Sanskrit means also the priestly caste, is used in a hundred places in the Rig Veda to imply the composers of hymns, and nothing else. (VII, 103, 8, &c.)

We would gladly multiply evidences, but our limits forbid. But we cannot help producing one piece of evidence. With that charming simplicity which is the characteristic beauty of the Rig Veda, one Rishi says pathetically of himself:—

"Behold, I am a composer of hymns, my father is a physician, my mother grinds corn on stone. We are all engaged in different occupations. As cows wander (in various directions) in the pasture-fields (for food), so we (in various occupations), worship thee, O Soma! for wealth. Flow thou for Indra!" (IX, 112, 3.) Those who suppose that the hereditary caste-system existed in the Vedic times will have a hard nut to crack in explaining passages like the above, where father, mother, and son are described as physician, corn-grinder, and composer of hymns!

Later asserters of the caste-system have sometimes tried to crack these nuts, and with the most wonderful results! Like most other Rishis of the Rig Veda (who, we have seen before, constantly prayed for warlike sons), Visvâmitra was a warrior and a composer of hymns. Later Hindus were shocked at this, and invented a beautiful Pauranik myth to explain how Visvâmitra was first a Kshatriya and then became a Brâhman. Needless endeavour, for Visvâmitra was neither a

Kshatriya nor a Brâhman! He was a Vedic Rishi, *i. e.*, a warrior and priest, long before the Brâhmans and the Kshatriyas, as such, were known!*

As we have seen, then, every father of a family was his own priest, and his home was his temple. There is no mention of idols in the Rig Veda, none of temples or places of worship where the people were to congregate. The sacred fire was lighted in the house of every householder, and he chanted the beautiful and simple hymns which were the national property. We have a pleasing picture of women who assisted at these sacrifices, who ordered the necessary things, prepared them with pestle and mortar, extracted the Soma-juice, stirred it with their graceful fingers and strained it through a woollen strainer. In numerous places we find mention of wives joining their husbands, and performing the sacrifice together. They offer the oblations together, and hope thereby to go to heaven together (I, 131, 3; V, 43,15, &c.) A few verses from a pious hymn on this subject will no doubt interest our readers.

"5. O ye gods! The married couple who prepare oblations together, who purify the Soma-juice and mix it with milk.

"6. May they obtain food for their eating, and come united to the sacrifice. May they never have to go in quest of food.

"7. They do not make vain promises of offerings to the gods, nor withhold your praise. They worship you with the best offerings.

"8. Blest with youthful and adolescent offspring, they acquire gold, and they both attain to a mature age.

* It gives us much pleasure to be able to cite here the authority of two scholars who have devoted their lifetime to the study of the Veda:—

"If, then, with all the documents before us, we ask the question, does caste, as we find it in Manu, and at the present day, form part of the most ancient religious teaching of the Vedas? We can answer with a decided 'No.'"—Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop, Vol. II*, (1867), p. 307.

"There are no castes as yet, the people are still one united whole, and bear but one name, that of *Visas*."—Weber, *Indian Literature* (translation), p. 38.

"9. The gods themselves covet the worship of such a couple who are fond of sacrifices, and offer grateful food to the gods. They embrace each other to continue their race, and they worship their gods!" (VIII, 31.)

Still more grateful to us is the picture of cultured ladies who were themselves Rishis, and composed hymns and performed sacrifices like men. For there were no unhealthy restrictions against women in those days, no attempt to keep them secluded or uneducated or debarred from their legitimate place in society. There is mention of veiled wives and brides, but no allusion to women being kept in seclusion. On the contrary, we meet them everywhere in their legitimate spheres of action, taking a share in sacrifices, and exercising their influence on society. We cherish the picture of the cultured lady Visvavârâ, which has been handed down to us through thousands of years,—a pious lady who composed hymns, performed sacrifices, and with simple fervency invoked the god Agni to regulate and keep within virtuous bounds the mutual relations of married couples. (V, 28, 3.) We meet with the names of other ladies also who were Rishis of the Rig Veda.

In a society so simple as that of the Vedic times, the relations of life were determined by the needs and requirements of individuals rather than by cast-iron rules as in later days; and there was no religious obligation therefore, that every girl must be married. On the contrary, we find allusions to unmarried women who remained in the homes of their fathers, and naturally claimed and obtained a share of the paternal property. (II, 17, 7.) On the other hand, we have frequent references to careful and industrious wives who superintended the arrangements of the house, and like the dawn roused and sent every one in the house to his work in the morning (I, 124, 4), and who possessed those domestic virtues for which Hindu wives have always been noted from the earliest. to the present times. Occasionally we have allusions to women who went astray (II, 29, 1); of maidens who had no brothers to watch over their morals; and wives who were faithless to

their husbands. (IV, 5, 5; X, 34, 4.) And we are told of the wife of a ruined gambler who becomes the object of other men's lust. (X, 34, 4.)

It would seem that girls had some voice in the selection of their husbands. Their selection was not always happy, for "many a woman is attracted by the wealth of him who seeks her. But the woman who is of gentle nature and of graceful form selects, among many, her own loved one as her husband." (X, 27, 12.) We can almost imagine we see the *Svayamavra* system of later times foreshadowed in the above verse. There can be no doubt, however, that fathers always exercised a wise control in the selection of husbands for their daughters, and as at the present day, fathers gave away their girls gracefully adorned and decked with golden ornaments. (IX, 46, 2; X, 39, 14.)

The ceremony of marriage was an appropriate one, and the promises which the bridegroom and bride made to each other were suitable to the occasion. We will translate some verses from a hymn in the later portion of the Rig Veda, in which we find a pleasing picture of the ceremony. The first two among the following verses will shew that the unnatural custom of early marriage was unknown, and that girls were married after they had attained their youth.

"21. O Visvavasu! (god of marriage), arise from this place, for the marriage of this girl is over. We extol Visvavasu with hymns and prostrations. Go to some other maiden who is still in her father's house and has attained the signs of the age of marriage. She will be your share, know of her.

"22. O Visvavasu! arise from this place. We worship thee, bending in adoration. Go to an unmarried maiden whose person is well developed; make her a wife and unite her to a husband.

"23. Let the paths by which our friends go in quest of a maiden for marriage be easy and free of thorns. May Aryaman and Bhaga lead us well. O gods! may the husband and wife be well united.

"24. O maiden! the graceful sun had fastened thee

with ties (of maidenhood), we release thee now of those ties. We place thee with thy husband in a place which is the home of truth and the abode of righteous actions.

"25. We release this maiden from this place (her father's house), but not from the other place (her husband's house). We unite her well with the other place. O Indra! may she be fortunate and the mother of worthy sons.

"26. May Pûshan lead you by the hand from this place. May the two Asvins lead you in a chariot. Go to your (husband's) house and be the mistress of the house. Be the mistress of all, and exercise your authority over all in that house.

"27. Let children be born unto thee, and blessings attend thee* here. Perform the duties of thy household with care. Unite thy person with the person of this thy husband; exercise thy authority in this thy house until old age.

"40. First Soma accepts thee; then Gandharva accepts thee; Agni is thy third lord; the son of man is the fourth to accept thee.*

"41. Soma bestowed this maiden to Gandharva, Gandharva gave her to Agni, Agni has given her to me with wealth and progeny.

"42. O bridegroom and bride! Do ye remain here together; do not be separated. Enjoy food of various kinds; remain in your own home, and enjoy happiness in company of your children and grandchildren.

"43. (The bride and bridegroom say), May Prajapati bestow on us children; may Aryaman keep us united till old age. (Address to the bride), O bride! Enter with auspicious signs the home of thy husband. Do good to our male servants and our female servants, and to our cattle.

"44. Be thy eyes free from anger; minister to the happiness of thy husband; do good to our cattle. May thy mind be cheerful; and may thy beauty be bright. Be the mother of heroic sons, and be devoted to the

* This, and the following verse would shew that the bride was offered to the three gods before she was united to the bridegroom.

gods. Do good to our male servants and our female servants, and to our cattle.

"45. O Indra! make this woman fortunate and the mother of worthy sons. Let ten sons be born of her, so that there may be eleven men (in the family) with the husband.

"46. (Address to the bride), May thou have influence over thy father-in-law and over thy mother-in-law, and be as a queen over thy sister-in-law and brother-in-law.

"47. (The bridegroom and bride say), May all the gods unite our hearts; may Mâtarisvan and Dhâtri and the goddess of speech unite us together." (X, 85.)

Our extract has been somewhat lengthy, but our readers will not regret it. The extract shews at once the appropriate nature of the ceremony that was performed, and the position which the young bride occupied in the home and the affections of her lord.

Polygamy was allowed among kings and the rich people in Vedic times, as it was allowed in olden times in all countries and among all nations. Domestic dissensions were the natural result in such instances, and we have hymns in the latter part of the Rig Veda, in which wives curse their fellow-wives. (X, 145; X, 159.) The evil seems, however, to have grown in the latter part of the Vedic age, for there are scarcely any allusions to it in the earlier hymns.

We need scarcely allude to hymns suited to the occasions of conception and childbirth. (X, 183; X, 184; X, 162; V, 78, 7 to 9.) These hymns also belong to the last portion of the Vedic age when superstition and priestly influence were gaining on the people, and ceremonies multiplied. We must allude, however, to two curious verses which seem to lay down the law of inheritance, and is therefore of peculiar interest. We give a translation below:

"1. The father who has no son honours his son-in-law, capable of begetting sons, and goes (*i. e.*, leaves his property) to the son of his daughter. The (sonless) father trusts in the daughter's offspring, and lives content.

"2. A son does not give any of his father's property to a sister. He gives her away to be the wife of a husband. If a father and mother beget both son and daughter, then one (*i.e.*, son) engages himself in the acts and duties of his father, while the other (daughter) receives honour." (III, 31.)

This is the first germ of the Hindu law of inheritance, which makes the son, and not the daughter, the inheritor of his father's property and religious duties, and which allows the property to go to the daughter's son only in the absence of male issue. We think we discover the first germs of the Hindu law of adoption, too, in such passages as the following :—

"As a man who is not indebted gets much wealth, so we too shall get the treasure that endures (*i. e.*, a son). O Agni! let us not have a son begotten of another. Do not follow the ways of the ignorant.

"A son begotten of another may yield us happiness, but can never be regarded or accepted as one's own. And verily he ultimately goes back to his own place. Therefore, may a son be newly born unto us who will bring us food and destroy our foes." (VII, 4, 7 & 8.)

As we have spoken in this chapter of marriage and inheritance, it is necessary to complete our account of social and domestic customs and speak of the funeral ceremony also. Yama in the Rig Veda is not the god of hell, but the god of the heaven of the righteous, the god who rewards the virtuous man after his death, in a happy land. His two dogs however are objects to be avoided or propitiated. The following verses are taken from a hymn composed, it is needless to say, not in the earlier but in the latest period of the Vedic age when ceremonies multiplied :

"7. O thou deceased! proceed to the same place where our forefathers have gone, by the same path which they followed. The two kings, Yama and Varuna, are pleased with the offerings ; go and see them.

"8. Go to that happy heaven and mix with the early forefathers. Mix with Yama and with the fruits of thy virtuous deeds. Leave sin behind, enter thy home.

"9. O ye ghosts! leave this place, go away, move away. For the forefathers have prepared a place for the deceased. That place is beautified with day, with sparkling waters and with light; Yama assigns this place to the dead.

"10. O thou deceased! these two dogs have four eyes each, and a strange colour. Go past them quickly. Then proceed by the beautiful path to those wise forefathers, who spend their time in joy and happiness with Yama." (X, 14.)

The above passages give us an idea of the belief in future happiness as it was developed in the latest period of the Vedic era.

There are some passages which shew that burial, without cremation, was practised in those times.

"10. O thou deceased! go to the extended earth who is as a mother; she is extensive and beautiful. Her touch be soft as that of wool or of a female. You have performed sacrifices, let her save thee from unrighteousness.

"11. O earth! rise up above him, do not give him pain. Give him good things, give him consolation. As a mother covers her child with the hem of her cloth, so cover the deceased.

"12. Let the earth, raised on him as a mound, lie light. Let a thousand particles of dust rest on him. Let them be to him as a house filled with butter, let them form a shelter to him." (X. 18.)

That cremation was also practised in the Vedic times will be shewn by the following extract:—

"O fire! do not reduce this deceased into ashes; do not give him pain. Do not mangle his skin or his person. O fire! send him to the home of our fathers as soon as his body is burnt in thy heat." (X. 16, 1.)

It remains only to allude to one more remarkable verse of the 18th hymn which distinctly sanctions the marriage of widows.

"Rise up, woman, thou art lying by one whose life is gone, come to the world of the living, away from thy

husband, and become the wife of him who holds thy hand, and is willing to marry thee." (X, 18, 8.)

The translation is based on Sâyana's rendering of the passage in the *Taittirîya A'ranyaka*, and there can be no doubt as to its correctness, because the word Didhishu used in the passage has only one meaning in the Sanskrit language, *viz.*, the second husband of a woman. We quote here with pleasure the following remarks with which Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra winds up a paper on Funeral Ceremony in Ancient India: "That the re-marriage of widows in Vedic times was a national custom, can be established by a variety of proofs and arguments; the very fact of the Sanskrit language having, from ancient times, such words as Didhishu, 'a man that has married a widow,' Parapûrvâ, 'a woman that has taken a second husband,' Paunarbhava, 'a son of a woman by her second husband,' are enough to establish it."

It is with pain and regret that we will in conclusion refer to another passage also belonging to this remarkable hymn, and which is perfectly harmless in the Rig Veda itself, but which was altered and mistranslated in later times to sanction the barbarous custom of *Suttee*, or the burning of the widow on the pyre of her husband. That most cruel of all human institutions finds no sanction in the Rig Veda. There is a perfectly harmless passage (X, 18, 7,) which refers to a procession of women at a funeral ceremony. The passage may be thus translated:—

"May these women not suffer the pangs of widowhood. May they who have good and desirable husbands, enter their houses with collyrium and butter. Let these women, without shedding tears, and without any sorrow, first proceed to the house, wearing valuable ornaments."

There is not a word in the above relating to the burning of widows. But a word in it *Agre* was altered into *Agne*, and the text was then mistranslated and misapplied in Bengal to justify the detestable custom of widow-burning. In the words of Professor Max Müller,

"This is perhaps the most flagrant instance of what can be done by an unscrupulous priesthood. Here have thousands of lives been sacrificed and a fanatical rebellion been threatened on the authority of a passage which was mangled, mistranslated and misapplied." The censure is strong, but is deserved; it does not matter whether the alteration in the text and the mistranslation were made in recent times or a few hundred years ago.

CHAPTER VI.

VEDIC RELIGION.

AN account of the social life and the civilization of the early Hindus will not be complete without some account of their religion. The religion of the Rig Veda is well known. It is pre-eminently the worship of Nature in its most imposing and sublime aspects. The sky which bends over all, the beautiful and blushing dawn which like a busy housewife wakes men from slumber and sends them to their work, the gorgeous tropical sun which vivifies the earth, the air which pervades the world, the fire which cheers and enlightens us, and the violent storms which in India strike terror into the boldest, but usher in those copious rains which fill the land with plenty,—these were the gods whom the early Hindus loved to extol and to worship. And often when an ancient Rishi sang the praises of any of the gods with devotion and fervour, he forgot that there was any other god besides, and his sublime hymn has the character and the sublimity of a prayer to the one God of the universe. This is what makes many scholars often pause and hesitate before they give the Vedic religion any other name than Monotheism. Indeed the Rishis themselves often rose higher than the level of their primitive Nature-worship, and boldly declared that the different gods were but different manifestations or different names of the One Primal Cause. Towards the end of the Rig Veda, we often come across hymns sung to the One Being. The landmarks between Nature-worship and Monotheism have been passed, and the great Rishis of the Rig Veda have passed from Nature up to Nature's God.

This is the characteristic beauty of the Rig Veda as compared with other religious works of other nations. We do not find in the Veda any well defined system of

religion or any one particular stage of thought or civilization. On the contrary we watch with interest how the human mind *travels*, travels from an almost childlike but sincere invocation of the rising sun or the beneficent sky to the sublimer idea that neither the sun nor the sky is the Deity,—that the Deity is greater and higher than these, and has created these objects. We know of no other work in any language which possesses such interest for the philosophic enquirer into the progress of the human mind, or which shows, as the Rig Veda does show, how human intelligence travels step by step, higher and higher, until from the created objects it grasps the sublime idea of the Creator.

The sky was naturally the most prominent object of worship, and as the sky assumes various aspects, various names were given to it, and the conception of various deities was formed. The oldest propably is Dyu (literally the shining), the Zeus of the Greeks, the first syllable of Jupiter among the Romans, the Tiu of the Saxons, and the Zio of the Germans. This common name among many Aryan races indicates that the deity was worshipped by the ancestors of all these nations in their first primeval abode in Asia.

But while Zeus and Jupiter maintained their supremacy among the gods of Greece and Rome, in India he soon lost his place, and the sky *in one of its peculiar functions* soon usurped his place. For in India the annual rise of rivers, the fertility of land, and the luxuriance of crops depend, not on the sky which shines above us, but on the *sky that rains*, and *Indra*, which means the rain-giver, soon became the first among the Vedic gods.

Another ancient name of the sky was Varuna, the Uranus of the Greeks. The word signifies to cover; and Varuna was the sky which covered the earth, probably the sky without light, the nightly sky. For we find another name for the bright sky of day, *viz.*, Mitra, the Mithra of the Zendavesta. Sanskrit commentators naturally explain Varuna as night and Mitra as day, and the Iranians worshipped the sun under the name

of Mithra, and gave the name of Varuna to a happy region, if not the sky.

These facts show that the idea and name of Varuna as a god of sky was known to the ancestors of Aryan nations before those nations separated and migrated to Greece, to Persia, and to India. Indeed the eminent German scholar Dr Roth and many others are of opinion that before the Indo-Aryans and the Iranians separated, Varuna was the highest and holiest of the gods of their common ancestors, and represented the spiritual side of their religion. After the separation had taken place, this deity of righteousness was, it is alleged, translated in Iran into Ahura Mazd, the Supreme Deity. And although in India, Varuna yielded the foremost place among gods to the young and vigorous rain-giver Indra, still he never became divested of that sanctity and holiness which entered into his first conception, and the holiest hymns of the Rig Veda are his, not Indra's. Whatever be the value of these opinions, the fact of Varuna's pre-eminent sanctity in the Rig Veda cannot be denied, and we will give a few short translations from the hymns to Varuna to illustrate this:

"6. O Varuna! the birds that fly have not attained thy power, or thy vigour; the water which flows ceaselessly and the moving wind do not surpass thy speed.

"7. King Varuna of unsullied power remains in the firmament, and holds on high the rays of light. Those rays descend downwards, but proceed from above. May they sustain our existence.

"8. King Varuna has spread out the path for the course of the sun. He has made the path for the sun to traverse in pathless space. May he rebuke our enemies who pierce our hearts.

"9. O King Varuna! a hundred and a thousand medicinal drugs are thine; may thy beneficience be vast and deep. Keep unrighteousness away from us, deliver us from the sins we have committed.

"10. Yonder stars * which are placed on high, and are seen by night,—where do they go by day? The acts of Varuna are irresistible; the moon shines brightly by his mandate." (I, 24.)

"3. O Varuna! with an anxious heart I ask thee about my sins. I have gone to learned men to make inquiry; the sages have all said to me:—'Varuna is displeased with thee.'

"4. O Varuna! what have I done that thou wishest to destroy thy friend, thy worshipper? O thou of irresistible power, declare it to me, so that I may quickly bend in adoration, and come unto thee.

"5. O Varuna! deliver us from the sins of our fathers. Deliver us from the sins committed in our persons. O royal Varuna! deliver Vasishtha, like a calf from its tether, like a thief who has feasted on a stolen animal.

"6. O Varuna! all this sin is not wilfully committed by us. Error or wine, anger or dice, or even thoughtlessness has begotten sin. Even an elder brother leads his younger astray, sin is begotten even in our dreams.

"7. Freed from sin, I will faithfully serve as a slave, the Varuna who fulfils our wishes and supports us. We are ignorant, may the A'rya god bestow on us knowledge. May the wise deity accept our prayer and bestow on us wealth." (VII, 86.)

"1. O King Varuna! may I never go to the earthen home. O thou of great power! have mercy, have mercy.

"2. O Varuna with thy weapons! I come trembling even like a cloud driven by the wind. O thou of great power! have mercy, have mercy.

* The word used in the text is Riksha, which may either mean stars generally, or the stars of the constellation Great Bear. The root *rich* means to shine, whence in course of time the word Riksha came to have two meanings—the shining stars of a particular constellation, and an animal with bright eyes and shining glossy hair. By a natural confusion of ideas, therefore, the constellation itself ultimately came to be called the Bear. The question is discussed with remarkable eloquence and learning by Max Müller in his Science of Language, and he explains that "the surprise with which many a thoughtful observer has looked at these seven bright stars, wondering why they were ever called the Bear, is removed by reference to the early annals of human speech."

"3. O rich and pure Varuna! I have been driven against righteous acts through weakness. O thou of great power! have mercy, have mercy.

"4. Your worshippers hath thirsted even when living in water. O thou of great power! have mercy, have mercy.

"5. O Varuna! we are mortals. In whatever way we have sinned against gods, in whatever manner we have through ignorance neglected thy work—O! do not destroy us for these sins." (VII, 89.)

These and many other hymns show that Varuna was never divested in India of that idea of holiness which is said to have entered into his original conception. But nevertheless, Varuna like Dyu was supplanted in power by the younger Indra, a god who is peculiarly Indian, and is unknown to other Aryan nations.

One of the most famous legends about Indra, the most famous legend probably in the Aryan world, is about the production of rain. The dark heavy clouds to which man looks up with wistful eyes, but which often disappoint him in seasons of drought, are called by the ancient name of Vritra.

Vritra is supposed to confine the waters, and will not let them descend until the sky-god or rain-god Indra strikes the monster with his thunderbolt. The captive waters then descend in copious showers, rivers rise almost instantaneously, and gods and men rejoice over the changed face of nature. Many are the spirited hymns in the Rig Veda in which this combat is narrated with much glee and rejoicing. The storm-gods, Maruts, help Indra in the combat, the sky, and earth tremble at the noise, Vritra long wages an unequal combat, and then falls and dies,—the drought is over, and rains begin.

We have said that Indra is a peculiarly Indian name, and is unknown to other Aryan nations. But the legend given above and the name of Vritra, appear in various shapes among various Aryan nations. Vritraghna, or the slayer of Vritra, is worshipped in the Zendavesta as Verethraghna, and we also find in the same work an account of

the destruction of Ahi, which in the Veda is another name for Vritra. Thryetana is the slayer of Ahi, and the genius of the great French scholar Burnouf has recognized this identical Thryetana in the Ferudin of Ferdusi's Shah Nama,—translated from mythology to history after thousands of years! It will probably surprise modern readers more to know that scholars have traced this Ahi of the Veda and the Zendavasta in the dragon Echis and Echidna of Greek mythology; that in the dog Orthros, the offspring of Echidna, they have recognized our old friend Vritra or the rain-cloud, and Hercules therefore, the slayer of Orthros is the counterpart of Thryetana of Zendavesta, and of Indra of the Rig Veda!

It would be easy to multiply such legends, but our limits forbid such a course. We will therefore only make a passing mention of one more legend, *viz.*, that about the recovery of light by Indra after the darkness of night. The rays of light are compared to cattle which have been stolen away by the powers of darkness, and Indra (the sky) seeks for them in vain. He sends *Saramâ, i.e*, the dawn, after them, and Saramâ finds out the *Bilu*, or fortress, where the *Panis*, or powers of darkness, have concealed the cattle. The Panis try to tempt Saramâ, but in vain. Saramâ comes back to Indra, and Indra marches with his forces, destroys the fort and recovers the cattle; darkness is gone, and it is day! This is a well-known Vedic legend, and there are constant allusions to it in the hymns to Indra.

Professor Max Müller maintains that the story of the siege of Troy is a development of this simple Vedic myth, and is "but a repetition of the daily siege of the East by the Solar powers that every evening are robbed of their brightest treasures in the west." Ilium according to the Professor is *Bilu*, the cave or the fortress of the Rig Veda. Paris is the *Panis* of the Veda who tempt, and Helena is the Vedic *Saramâ* who resists the temptation in the Veda, but succumbs to it in Greek mythology.

Historical evidence of an actual siege of Troy need not necessarily disprove this theory, for nothing is more common in ancient history than the blending of mythical names and incidents with historical events. Arjuna the hero of a historical Kuru Panchâla war is a myth, and is a name of the rain-god Indra ; and it is not impossible that the poet who sang of a historical seige of Troy blended with it a solar myth with its names and incidents. We will now make short extracts from the Rig Veda illustrating these two legends :—

" 1. We sing the heroic deeds which were performed by Indra the thunderer. He destroyed Ahi (cloud) and caused rains to descend, and opened out the paths for the mountain streams to roll.

" 2. Indra slayed Ahi resting on the mountains, Tvashtri had made the far-reaching thunderbolt for him. Water in torrents flowed towards the sea, as cows run eagerly towards their calves.

" 3. Impetuous as a bull, Indra quaffed the Soma-juice ; he drank the Soma libations offered in the three sacrifices. He then took the thunderbolt, and thereby slayed the eldest of the Ahis.

" 4. When you killed the eldest of the Ahis, you destroyed the contrivances of the artful contrivers. You cleared the sun and the morning and the sky, and left no enemies behind.

" 5. Indra with his all destructive thunderbolt slayed the darkling Vritra (cloud), and lopped his limbs. Ahi now lies touching the earth like the trunk of a tree felled by the axe.

" 6. The proud Vritra thought that he had no equal, and defied the destroyer and conqueror Indra to combat. But he did not escape destruction, and Indra's foe fell, crushing the rivers in his fall.

" 8. Glad wâters are bounding over the prostrate body as rivers flow over fallen banks. Vritra when alive had withheld the water by his power, Ahi now lies prostrate under that water.

" 10. The prostrate body lies concealed and nameless under ceaseless and restless waters, and the

waters flow above. Indra's foe sleeps the long sleep." (I, 32.)

The above is one of the hymns relating to the legend of Vritra. We now turn to a hymn relating to the legend of Saramâ.

1. The *Panis* say:—"O Saramâ! why hast thou come here? It is a long distance. He who looks back cannot come this way. What have we with us for which thou hast come? How long hast thou travelled? How didst thou cross the Rasâ?

2. *Saramâ* replies:—"I come as the messenger of Indra. O Panis! it is my object to recover the abundant cattle which you have hidden. The water has helped me, the water felt a fear at my crossing, and thus I crossed the Rasâ.

3. *Panis.*—"What is that Indra like, whose messenger thou art, and hast come from a long distance? How does he look? (To one another:) Let her come, we will own her as a friend. Let her take and own our cows.

4. *Saramâ.*—"I do not see any one who can conquer the Indra whose messenger I am, and have come from a long distance. It is he who conquers everybody. The deep rivers cannot restrain his course. O Panis! you will surely be slain by Indra and will lie down.

5. *Panis.*—"O beautiful Saramâ! thou hast come from the farthest ends of the sky, we will give thee without any dispute these cows as thou desirest. Who else would have given the cattle without a dispute. We have many sharp weapons with us.

9. *Panis.*—"O Saramâ! thou hast come here because the god threatened thee and sent thee here. We will accept thee as a sister, do not return. O beautiful Saramâ! we will give thee a share of this cattle.

10. *Saramâ.*—"I do not comprehend your words about brothers and sisters. Indra and the powerful sons of Angiras know all. They sent me here to guard the cattle until recovery. I have come here under their shelter. O Panis! run away far, far from here." (X, 108.)

It will be seen from the few extracts we have made, that the hymns to Indra are characterized by force and vigour, as those to Varuna are marked with a feeling of righteousness. Indra is, in fact, the most vigorous of Vedic gods, fond of Soma wine, delighting in war, leading his comrades, the Maruts, to fight against drought, leading hosts of Aryans against the black aborigines, and helping them to carve out for themselves, with their strong right arm, the most fertile spots along the five rivers of the Punjab. The sky and earth gave him birth as a cudgel for the enemies. (III, 49, 1.) The young and vigorous infant went to his mother Aditi for food, and saw Soma wine on her breast; he drank Soma before he drank from his mother's breast. (III, 48, 2 & 3.) And the great drinker and fighter often hesitates between the temptation of Soma libations at sacrifices, and the temptation of his home where a beautiful wife awaits him. (III, 53, 4 to 6.)

We have so long spoken of Dyu and Varuna and Mitra and Indra as the principal sky-gods of the Rig Veda. All these gods may however also be considered as gods of light, as the idea of the bright light of sky enters into the conception of all the deities, even of Varuna in some passages. We will now, however, speak of some deities who have more distinctly a solar character, and some of whom are grouped together under the common name of A'dityas or sons of Aditi, and this brings us to the most remarkable name that occurs in the Rig Veda mythology. Unlike Indra, which comes from *Ind* to rain, and Dyu which comes from *Dyu* to shine, the word Aditi involves a more complicated idea. Aditi means the undivided, the unlimited, the eternal. It is in reality, as has been stated, the earliest name invented by man to express the Infinite,—the visible infinite, the endless expanse, beyond the earth, beyond the clouds, beyond the sky. The fact that such an idea should enter into the conception of a deity argues a remarkable advance in the culture and thought of the early Hindus. The word has no counterpart among the names of the deities of other

ancient Aryan nations, and must have been coined in India after the Indo-Aryan section had settled in this country. It means, according to the eminent German scholar Dr. Roth, the eternal and inviolable principle, the celestial light.

There is much confusion in the Rig Veda as to who are the A'dityas,—the sons of this celestial light. In II, 27, Aryaman and Bhaga and Daksha and Ansa are named besides Varuna and Mitra of whom we have spoken before. In IX, 114, and in X, 72, the A'dityas are said to be seven in number, but are not named. We have seen before that Indra is called a son of A'diti. Savitri, the sun, is often described as an A'ditya, and so are Pûshan and Vishnu, who are also different names of the sun. We will therefore leave alone the word A'ditya and make a few remarks on the different names by which the sun, in its different aspects, was worshipped.

Sûrya and Savitri are the most common names of the sun in the Rig Veda, the former word answering to the Greek Helios, the Latin Sol, the Tuton Tyr, and the Iranian Khorshed. Commentators draw a distinction between Savitri the rising or the unrisen sun, and Sûrya the bright sun of day. The golden rays of the sun were naturally compared with arms, until a story found its place in the Hindu mythology, that Savitri lost his arm at a sacrifice, and it was replaced by a golden arm. The same story reappears in a different form in German mythology, in which the sun-god Tyr placed his hand in the mouth of a tiger and lost it!

The only extract we will make from the hymns to the sun will be that most celebrated of all the verses in the Rig Veda, the Gâyatrî, or the morning hymn of the later Brâhmans. But the Rig Veda recognized no Brâhmans, the caste system was not formed then, and the sublime hymn was the *national* property of the early Hindus who dwelt on the banks of the Indus. We give the original verse and Dr. Wilson's translation:

"*Tat savitur varenyam bhargo devasya dhîmahi*
" *Dhiyo yo nah prachodayât.*"

"We mediate on the desirable light of the divine Savitri who influences our pious rites." (III, 62. 10.)

Pûshan is the sun as viewed by shepherds in their wanderings in quest of fresh pasture lands. He travels in a chariot yoked with goats, guides men and cattle in their travels and migrations, and knows and protects the flocks. The hymns to Pûshan therefore often breathe a simplicity which is truly pastoral. A few extracts from such hymns have been given before.

Vishnu has obtained such a prominent place as the Supreme Deity in later Hinduism, that there is a natural reluctance among orthodox modern Hindus to accept him in his Vedic character as a mere sun-god. Yet such he is in the Rig Veda, and he is quite an inferior deity in the Vedic pantheon, far below Indra or Varuna, Savitri or Agni. It was not till the days of the Satapatha Brâhmana that Vishnu obtained some prominence among gods; and it was not till the Pauranik times, long after the Christian Era, that Vishnu was considered as a Supreme Deity. In the Veda Vishnu is said to traverse space in three steps, *viz.*, the sun at rising, at zenith and at setting. In the Purânas this simple metaphor has led to a long story.

Fire was an object of worship among all ancient nations, and in India sacrificial fire received the highest regard. As no sacrifice could be performed without fire, Agni or fire was called the invoker of the gods. He was called Yavishtha, or the "youngest" among the gods, because he was kindled anew at each time of sacrifice by the friction of *arani*, or the sacrificial wood. For this reason, he also received the name of Pramantha, *i.e.*, produced by friction.*

* According to Mr. Cox, many of the Greek and Latin deities owe their name to the Sanscrit names of Fire. "In this name, Yavishtha, which is never given to any other Vedic god, we may recognize the Hellenic Hephaistos. *Note.*—Thus, with the exception of Agni, all the names of the Fire and the Fire-gods were carried away by the Western Aryans; and we have Prometheus answering to Pramantha, Phoronus to Bharanyu, and the Latin Vulcanus to the Sanscrit Ulka."—*Cox's Mythology of Aryan Nations.*

"Agni is the god of fire; the Ignis of the Latins, the Ogni of the Sclavonians."—*Muir's Sanscrit Texts.*

So high was the esteem in which fire was held among the gods of the Rig Veda, that when the ancient commentator Yâska, tried to reduce the number of the Vedic gods into three, he named Agni or fire as the god of the earth, Indra or Vâyu as the god of the firmament, and the Sun as the god of the sky

But Agni is not only terrestrial fire in the Rig Veda; he is also the fire of the lightning and the sun, and his abode was the invisible heaven. The Bhrigus discovered him there, Mâtarisvan brought him down, and Atharvan and Angiras, the first sacrificers, first installed him in this world as the protector of men.

Vâyu, or the air, has received less consideration from the Vedic bards, and there are but few hymns assigned to him. But the Maruts or the storm-gods are oftener invoked, as we have seen before, probably because they inspire more terror, and they are considered as the companions of Indra in obtaining rain from the reluctant clouds! The earth trembles as they move in their deer-yoked chariots, and men see the flashing of their arms or the sparkle of their ornaments, the lightning. But they are benevolent all the same, and they milk from the udder of their mother Prisni (cloud) copious showers for the benefit of man. Rudra, a fierce deity, is the father of the Maruts, loud-sounding as his name signifies, and a form of fire as the commentators Yâska and Sâyana explain. There can be no doubt, therefore, as to the correctness of Dr. Roth's conclusion, that the original meaning of this loud-sounding fire, this father of storms, is thunder. Nevertheless Rudra, though awful, is not a malevolent deity, he is beneficent and helpful and knows many remedies.

Like Vishnu, Rudra is a second rate deity in the Rig Veda, and only a few hymns are assigned to him. But like Vishnu, Rudra has attained prominence in later times, and is one of the Hindu Trinity of the Pauranik religion, a portion of the Supreme Deity. In some of the Upanishads we find the names Kâlî, Karâlî, &c., used as the names of different kinds of flame, and in the White Yajus Sanhitâ, we find Ambikâ spoken of as

the sister of Rudra. But when Rudra assumed a more distinct individuality in the Purânas, all these names were construed as the different names of his wife ! We have only to add that none of these goddesses, nor Lakshmî, the wife of Pauranik Vishnu, is so much as mentioned even by name in the Rig Veda.

Another god who has also changed his character in the Purânas (and very much for the worse !) is Yama, the king of the dead. In the Purânas he is called the child of the Sun, and there are some reasons (which Professor Max Müller explains with his usual eloquence), for supposing that the original conception of Yama in the Rig Veda is the conception of the departing sun. The sun sets and disappears, just as a man's life ends : and the imagination of a simple race would easily conjure up an after world, where that departed deity would preside over departed spirits.

According to the Rig Veda, Vivasvat the sky is the father, and Saranyu the dawn is the mother of Yama and his sister Yamî.

Who can be the offspring of the sky and the dawn but the sun or the day ? It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the twins Yama and Yamî are, as Professor Max Müller explains, day and night in their original conception. There is a curious passage in the Rig Veda in which the amorous sister Yamî desires to embrace her brother as her husband, but the brother declines such union as unholy (X, 10). It is not difficult to fathom the import of this conversation :—Day and Night, though eternally pursuing each other, can never be united.

But whatever the original conception of Yama may be, there is no doubt that even in the Rig Veda itself, that deity has attained a distinct individuality, and he is the king of the departed. So far his Vedic character agrees with his Pauranic character, but here the parallel ends. In the Veda, he is the beneficient king of the happy world where the virtuous live and enjoy themselves in after-life. Clothed in a glorious body, they sit

by the side of Yama in the realms of light and sparkling waters, they enjoy endless felicity there, and are adored here below under the name of Pitris or fathers. How different is the character which Yama bears in the Purânas as the cruel and dread Punisher of the guilty!

The following extract embodies the Vedic idea of future happiness. We will only remark here, that allusions to the future world are brief and rare in the earlier portions of the Veda, and that there is no description of future life, like the one we quote below, except in the very latest hymns.

"1. Worship Yama the son of Vivasvat with offerings. All men go to him. He takes men of virtuous deeds to the realm of happiness. He clears the way for many.

"2. Yama first discovered the path for us. That path will not be destroyed again. All living beings will, according to their acts, follow by the path by which our forefathers have gone." (X, 14.)

We may also quote here another passage from a hymn to Soma, which contains a fuller allusion to the future world. Soma it is well known was the juice of a plant made into wine, and used as libation in sacrifices. Soma soon attained the rank of a deity, and all the hymns of the ninth Mandala are dedicated to him.

"7. O flowing Soma! take me to that immortal and imperishable abode where light dwells eternal, and which is in heaven. Flow, Soma! for Indra.

"8. Take me where Yama is king, where there are the gates of heaven, and where mighty rivers flow. Take me there and make me immortal. Flow, Soma! for Indra.

"9. Take me where there is the third heaven, where there is the third realm of light above the sky, and where one can wander at his will. Take me there and make me immortal. Flow, Soma! for Indra.

"10. Take me where every desire is satiated, where Pradhma has his abode, where there is food and con-

tentment. Take me there and make me immortal. Flow, Soma ! for Indra.

" 11. Take me where there are pleasures and joys and delights, where every desire of the anxious heart is satiated. Take me there, and make me immortal. Flow, Soma ! for Indra." (IX, 113.)

We have spoken above of Yama and Yamî as the twin children of Vivasvat the sky, by Saranyu the dawn. It is remarkable that the same parents begot another twin offspring, the two Asvins. There can be little doubt that they, too, like Yama and Yamî, were in their original conception the day and the night, or the dawn and the evening.

But whatever the original conception of the Asvins may be, they appear in the Rig Veda as great physicians, healers of the sick and the wounded, and tending many persons with kindness. Long lists of the kind acts of the two Asvins are given in several hymns, and the same cures are spoken of over and over. On their three-wheeled chariot, they make the circuit of the world day by day, and succour men in their distress.

Brihaspati or Brahmanaspati is the lord of hymns, Brahman in the Rig Veda meaning hymn. The conception of this deity arose in much the same way as the conception of the deities Agni and Soma. As there is power in the flame and the libation of the sacrifice, so there is power in the prayer uttered ; and this power of prayer is personified in the Vedic god Brahmanaspati.

He is quite a second rate god in the Rig Veda, but has a great future. For in course of centuries, the thinkers of the Upanishads conceived of a Supreme Universal Being, and gave him the Vedic name Brahmâ. Then, when Buddhism flourished in the land, the Buddhists themselves tolerated Brahmâ as a gentle and beneficent spirit in their pantheon. And when at last Pauranik Hinduism supplanted Buddhism in India, the Pauranik thinkers gave the name of Brahmâ to the Supreme Creator of the Universe. Thus by

looking into our national records of the farthest antiquity, we trace the simple beginnings of that gorgeous Pauranik mythology which has for over a thousand years swayed the opinions and conduct of hundreds of millions of our countrymen and countrywomen. It is like tracing one of our great Indian rivers which spreads for miles together at its mouth, to its very source, where a narrow but pure and crystal streamlet issues from the eternal mountains! Ideas develope in the course of time, just as rivers expand and receive fresh supplies of water in their course, until they lose all their primitive character, although still bearing the same names. And we can no more recognize the simple Vedic character of Brahmâ the prayer, of Vishnu the sun, and of Rudra the thunder, in the Supreme Creator, the Preserver and the Destroyer of the Purânas, than we can recognize the crystal streamlet at Hardwar in the sea-like expanse of the Ganges where it mingles with the Bay of Bengal.

These are the important gods of the Rig Veda. Of the goddesses there are only two who have any marked individually, *viz.*, Ushas, the dawn, and Sarasvatî, the goddess of the river of that name, and afterwards the goddess of speech.

There is no lovelier conception in the Rig Veda than that of the dawn There are no hymns in the Veda more truly poetical than those dedicated to her, and nothing more charming is to be found in the lyrical poetry of any ancient nation. We can make room here for only a few extracts:

"20. What mortal knoweth thee, O immortal Ushas fond of our praise! Whom, O mighty one, dost thou favour?

"21. Far-extending, many-tinted, brilliant Ushas! we know not thy abode, whether it be nigh or remote.

"22. Daughter of the sky! accept these offerings, and perpetuate our welfare." (I, 30.)

"7. Auspicious Ushas has harnessed her chariots from afar, before the rising of the sun! She comes in

radiance and glory on us in her hundred chariots." (I, 48.)

"7. She, the young, the white-robed daughter of the sky, the mistress of all earthly treasure, dawns upon us, dissipating darkness! Auspicious Ushas! shine upon us to-day in this spot.

"8. Following the path of mornings that have passed, to be followed by endless mornings to come, bright Ushas dispels darkness, and awakens to life all beings, unconscious like the dead in sleep.

"10. How long have the Dawns risen? How long will the Dawns arise? The present morning pursues those that are gone, future mornings will pursue this resplendent Ushas.

"11. Mortals who beheld the pristine Ushas have passed away; we behold her now; and men will come after us who will behold Ushas in the future." (I, 113.)

"4. Ahanâ gently proceeds to every house; she comes ever diffusing light, and blesses us and accepts our offerings.

"11. Radiant as a bride decorated by her mother, thou displayest thy person to the view. Auspicious Ushas! remove the investing darkness; no other dawns but thee will disperse it." (I, 123.)

The Dawn was known by various names, and most of these names and the legends connected with them were brought by the Hindus from their original abode, since we find phonetical equivalents of these names, and a repetition of some of the legends, too, in Greek mythology. Ushas is the Eos of the Greeks and the Aurora of the Latins. Arjunî (the white one) is the Greek Argynoris, Brisayâ is Briseis, Dahanâ is Daphne, Saramâ is phonetically equivalent to the Greek Helena, and Saranyu, the mother of Yama and of the Asvins, is the Greek Erinys, and Ahanâ is the renowned goddess Athena.

We have already alluded to the legend of Saranyu running away from her husband Vivasvat, and then giving birth to the twin Asvins. We find the same legend among the Greeks who believed in Erinys

Demeter running away in the same manner, and giving birth to Areion and Despoina. The idea in both cases is the same, it is the dawn disappearing as the day advances. The same idea has given rise to another beautiful Greek legend whose origin, too, we trace in the Rig Veda. In many passages (I, 115, 2, for instance,) we find allusions of the sun pursuing the dawn as a man pursues a woman. The Greek Apollo in the same way pursues the Greek Daphne, until she is metamorphosed, *i. e.*, the dawn disappears!

Sarasvatî, as her name signifies, is the goddess of the river of that name, which was considered holy because of the religious rites performed on its banks and the sacred hymns uttered there. By a natural development of ideas, she was considered the goddess of those hymns, or, in other words, the goddess of speech, in which character she is worshipped now. She is the only Vedic goddess whose worship continues in India to the modern day; all her modern companions, Durgâ, Kalî, Lakshmî and others, are creations of a later day.

Such is the nature-worship of the Rig Veda; such were the gods and goddesses whom our forefathers worshipped near four thousand years ago on the banks of the Indus. The conception of the nature-gods, and the simple and manly fervency with which they were adored, argue the simplicity and vigour of a manly conquering race, as well as the culture and thoughtfulness of a people who had already made considerable progress in civilization. Again, the very conception of the Vedic gods argues an elevated sentiment, a high tone of morality in the men who conceived such deities. As M. Barth justly observes, the Vedic gods are masters close at hand, and require a due performance of duty by man. "He must be sincere towards them, for they cannot be deceived. Nay he knows that they in turn do not deceive, and that they have a right to require his affection and confidence as a friend, a brother, a father. How could it be permitted to men to be bad when the gods are good, to be unjust while they are just, to be deceitful when they never

deceive. It is certainly a remarkable feature of the hymns that they acknowledge no wicked divinities, and no mean and harmful practices. We must acknowledge then that the hymns give evidence of an exalted and comprehensive morality, and that in striving to be 'without reproach before Aditi and the A'dityas' the Vedic minstrels feel the weight of other duties besides those of multiplying offerings to the gods." *

There are no indications in the Rig Veda of any "temples reared by mortal hands" and consecrated as places of worship. On the contrary, every householder, every patriarch of his family lighted the sacrificial fire in his own home, and poured libations of the Soma-juice, and prayed to the gods in the hymns which were then the common property of the nation, for happiness to his family, for abundant crops and wealth of cattle, for immunity from sickness and victory over the black aborigines. There was no separate priestly caste, and men did not retire into forests, and subject themselves to penances in order to meditate on religion, and chant these hymns. On the contrary, the old Rishis, the real Rishis as we find them in the Rig Veda, and not the fabled ones of whom we have legendary stories in the Purânas, were worldly men, men with considerable property in crops and in cattle and surrounded by large families, men who in times of danger exchanged the plough for the spear and the sword, and defended against the black barbarians those blessings of civilization which they solicited from their gods, and secured with so much care.

But though each householder was himself the priest, the warrior and the cultivator, yet we find evidence of kings and rich men performing rites on a large scale by men specially proficient in the chanting of hymns and other religious rites, and engaged and paid for the purpose. And as we go towards the later hymns of the Rig

* *The Religions of India.* (Translation). p. 32, *et seq.*

Veda, we find this class of professional priests gaining in reputation and in wealth, honoured by chiefs and kings, and rewarded by gifts of cattle and cars. We find mention of particular families specially proficient in the performance of religious rites, and in the composition of hymns; and many of the existing hymns of the Rig Veda were composed by members of these families, and were traditionally learnt by rote and preserved in those families.

The hymns of the Rig Veda are divided into ten *mandalas*, so arranged according to the Rishis by whom they were composed. The first and the last mandalas contain hymns composed by numerous Rishis, but the remaining eight mandalas belong, each of them, to a particular Rishi, or rather to a particular house or school of Rishis. Thus the second mandala is a collection of hymns composed by Gritsamada of the house of Bhrigu and his descendants, the third mandala belongs to Visvâmitra, the fourth mandala belongs to Vâmadeva, the fifth to Atri, the sixth to Bhâradvâja, the seventh to Vasishtha, the eighth to Kanva, and the ninth to Angiras. All these names are familiar to modern Hindus through the numberless legends which have surrounded them in Pauranik times, and modern Hindus still love to trace their descent from these ancient and revered houses. We shall have something to say about these Rishis and their legends in our next chapter.

It is to these and other venerable houses that the Aryan world owes the preservation of the most ancient compositions of the Aryan race. From century to century the hymns were handed down without break or intermission, and the youths of the priestly houses spent the prime of their life in learning by rote the sacred songs from the lips of their grey-headed sires. It was thus that the inestimable treasure, the Rig Veda, was preserved for hundreds of years by memory alone.

With the progress of civilization, and as religious rites were more and more monopolized by professional priests, the simple religion of the earlier times underwent a change. Priests boldly grappled with the

deeper mysteries of nature, they speculated about creation and about the future world, and while continuing the worship of the nature-gods, they attained to the conception of the Supreme Deity. We find evidence of all this in the last portions of the Veda. We have already quoted some verses about the future world, we will add here some about creation and about the great Creator :—

" 1. That all wise Father saw clearly, and after due reflection, created the sky and the earth in their watery form, and touching each other. When their boundaries were stretched afar, then the sky and the earth became separated.

" 2. He who is the all-creator (Visvakarman) is great ; he creates and supports all ; he is above all and sees all. He is beyond the seat of the seven Rishis. So the wise men say, and the wise men obtain fulfilment of all their desires.

" 3. He who has given us life, he who is the creator, he who knows all the places in this universe—*he is one, although he bears the names of many gods.* Other beings wish to know of him.

" 7. You cannot comprehend him who has created all this ; he is incomprehensible to your mind. People make guesses, being shrouded in a mist ; they take their food for the support of their life, and utter hymns and wander about." (X. 82.)

The incomprehensible nature of the Deity has never been more clearly put than in the preceding hymn composed over three thousand years ago.

" 1. At that time what is, was not, and what is not, was not. The earth was not, and the far-stretching sky was not. What was there that covered ? Which place was assigned to what object ? Did the inviolate and deep water exist ?

" 2. At that time death was not nor immortality ; the distinction between day and night was not. There was only ONE who lived and breathed without the help of air, supported by himself. Nothing was, except HE.

" 3. At first darkness was covered in darkness. All

was without demarcation ; all was of watery form. The world that was a void was covered by what did not exist and was produced by meditation.

" 4. Desire arose on the mind, the cause of creation was thus produced. Wise men reflect, and in their wisdom ascertain the birth of what is from what is not.

" 5. Males with generating seed were produced, and powers were also produced. Their rays extended on both sides and below and above, a self-supporting principle beneath, an energy aloft.

" 6. Who knows truly ? Who will describe ? When was all born ? Whence were all these created ? *The gods have been made after the creation.* Who knows whence they were made ?

" 7. Whence all these were created, from whom they came, whether any one created them or did not create,—is known only to Him who lives as Lord in the highest place. If he knows not (no one else does.)" (X. 129.)

Such is the first recorded attempt among the Aryan nations of the earth to pierce into the mysteries of creation ; such are the bold and sublime if somewhat vague ideas which dawned in the minds of our forefathers over three thousand years ago, regarding the commencement of this great universe. One more hymn we will quote here, a remarkable hymn, shewing how the later Rishis soared beyond the conception of the nature-gods to the sublime idea of One Deity.

" 1. In the beginning he of the golden womb (Hiranyagarbha) existed. He was the Lord of all from his birth. He placed this earth and sky in their respective places. Whom shall we worship with offerings ?

" 2. Him who has given life and strength ; whose will is obeyed by all the gods ; whose shadow is immortality, and whose slave is death. Whom shall we worship with offerings ?

" 3. Him who by his power is the sole king of all the living beings that see and move ; him who is the Lord of all bipeds and quadrupeds. Whom shall we worship with offerings ?

" 4. Him by whose power these snowy mountains

have been made, and whose creations are this earth and its oceans. Him whose arms are these quarters of space. Whom shall we worship with offerings?

"5. Him who has fixed in their places this sky and this earth; him who has established the heavens and the highest heaven; him who has measured the firmament. Whom shall we worship with offerings?

"6. Him by whom the sounding sky and earth have been fixed and expanded; him whom the resplendent sky and earth own as Almighty; him by whose support the sun rises and gains its lustre. Whom shall we worship with offerings?" (X, 121.)

We now see the force of the remark that the religion of the Rig Veda is a progressive religion, that it travels from nature up to nature's God. We see the entire journey of the human mind in this wonderful book, from the simple childlike admiration of the ruddy dawn, to the deep and sublime attempt to grasp the mysteries of creation and its great Creator.

But unfortunately this progress was not unattended with evils. As the priestly class rose in power and in knowledge, in worldly influence and in true wisdom, the worship of the ancestral gods fell almost entirely into their hands, and the people lost their manly self-reliance and sank under priestly influence. In the concluding portions of the Rig Veda, therefore, we find evidences on the one hand of the high thought and bold speculations of the priests, and, on the other hand, of the growing superstition of the people. The numerous mantras prescribed for snake-bite, for diseases and evil omens, all belong to the last period of the Vedic Age, and betoken a growing superstition and a greater dependence on the priestly class. At the close of the Rig Veda, therefore, we discern the first germs of all that was the glory, and all that was the shame of Hindu civilization. The first speculations of philosophy and science have commenced,—and the subjection of the nation to a priestly class has also commenced!

CHAPTER VII.

VEDIC RISHIS.

WE have stated in the last chapter that certain pious and learned families obtained pre-eminence in the Vedic Period by their knowledge of performing religious sacrifices and their gift of composing hymns ; that kings and wealthy lords delighted to honor and reward these families ; and that it is to them that the Aryan world is indebted for handing down the Vedic hymns from generation to generation. Modern Hindus take a pride in tracing their descent from these ancient families, and their names are a household word in modern Hindu society. Some account of these ancient Rishis,—the revered pioneers of the Hindu religion,—will therefore not be unwelcome to Hindu readers.

Pre-eminent among the Vedic Rishis, or rather Rishi families, stand the Visvâmitras and the Vasishthas. The learned and industrious scholar Dr. Muir has, in the first volume of his Sanscrit Texts, collected many legends about these Rishis from later Sanscrit literature ; but there is no Hindu who has not read in books or heard from his boyhood, innumerable legends of this kind, connected with those revered names.

The Vasishthas and the Visvâmitras were both honored by the powerful conqueror, Sudâs. The hymns of the third mandala are ascribed to the Visvâmitras, and in the 53rd hymn we find the following passage : "The great god born, god commissioned Rishi, the beholder of men, has stayed the watery current. When Visvâmitra sacrificed for Sudâs, then Indra was propitiated through the Kausikas." Again, the hymns of the seventh mandala are ascribed to the Vasishthas, and in the 33rd hymn we find the following passage : "The Vasishthas in white robes, with their hair knots on the right, devoted to sacred rites, have gladdened

me. Rising up, I call the people round the sacrificial grass. Let not the Vasishthas depart from my door." And in the celebrated 83rd hymn, we find the well known passage: "Ye, O Indra and Varuna, have succoured Sudâs, when hemmed in on every side in the combat of the ten kings, where the white robed Tritsus with braided hair adored you reverently with prayers."

There was naturally some jealousy between these two priestly houses, and hard words were exchanged. The following verses in III, 53, are said to contain an imprecation against the Vasishthas:

"21. Indra, approach us to-day with many excellent succour: be propitious to us. May he who hates us fall low; and let the breath of life forsake him whom we hate.

"22. As the tree suffers from the axe; as the Simbala flower is broken; as the cauldron boiling over casts forth foam; so may the enemy, O Indra.

"23. The might of the destroyer is not perceived. Men lead away the Rishi as if he were a beast. The wise do not condescend to ridicule the fool. They do not lead the ass before the horse.

"24. These sons of Bhârata have learnt to turn away from, not to associate with (the Vasishthas). They urge the horse against them as against a foe. They bear about the bow in battle."

Two other verses in the same hymn are also supposed to refer to the same hostility between the two families, though no imprecation is apparent in them.

"15. The daughter of the sun, given by Jamadagni, everywhere diffusing herself and removing darkness, has produced a great sound, and has conveyed imperishable food for the gods.

"16. May she, everywhere diffusing herself, speedily supply abundant food to these men of the five tribes,—she, the daughter of the sun, possessing new life, and given by Jamadagni to me."

Vasishtha is supposed to have hurled back the imprecations in the following verses of VII, 104:

"13. Soma does not bless the wicked nor the ruler

who abuses his power. His slays the demon ; he slays the untruthful man ; both are bound by the fetters of Indra.

"14. If I had worshipped false gods, or if I had called upon the gods in vain,—but why art thou angry with me O Jâtavedas? May vain talkers fall into thy destruction.

"15. May I die at once if I be a Yâtudhana, or if I hurt the life of any man. But may I be cut off from his ten friends who falsely called me a Yâtudhana.

"16. He who called me a Yâtudhana, when I am not so, or who said I am a bright devil,—may Indra strike him down with his great weapon, may he fall the lowest of all beings."

So far the jealousy of the two angry priests is intelligible and even natural, however unbecoming of their great learning and sanctity. But when we proceed from the Rig Veda to later Sanscrit literature, incidents which are human and natural become lost in a cloud of miraculous and monstrous legends.

It is assumed from the commencement in these later legends, that Vasishtha was a Brâhman and Visvâmitra was a Kshatriya, although the Rig Veda justifies no such assumption and knows no Brâhmans and Kshatriyas as castes. On the contrary, Visvâmitra is the composer of some of the finest hymns cherished by later Brâhmans, including the sacred Gâyatrî, or the sacred morning prayer of modern Brâhmans.

Having assumed that Visvâmitra was born a Kshatriya, the Mahâbhârata, the Harivansa, the Vishnu Purâna, and other later works repeat an amusing story to account for the sage's attaining Brâhmanhood. Satyavati, a Kshatriya girl, had been married to Richîka, a Brâhman. Richîka prepared a dish for his wife, which would make her conceive a son with the qualities of a Brâhman, and another dish for his mother-in-law (a Kshatriya's wife) which would make her conceive a son with the qualities of a Kshatriya. The two ladies however exchange dishes; and so the Kshatriyanî conceived and bore Visvâmitra with the qualities of a

Brâhman, and the Brâhman's wife Satyavatî bore Jamadagni, whose son, the fiery Parasurâma, though a Brâhman, became a renowned and destructive warrior! Such were the childish stories which the later writers had to invent to remove the difficulty they had created for themselves by assuming that Vedic Rishis belonged to particular castes!

But the Vedic account of the jealousy between Vasishtha and Visvâmitra has led to wilder legends. A legend is told in the Râmâyana and the Mahâbhârata that Visvâmitra, a king's son, went out hunting and came to the hermitage of Vasishtha. He was received with honor and entertained with delicious food and drink, and presented with precious jewels and dresses, all obtained by the sage from his wonder-working cow! The prince coveted this wonderful cow, and failing to persuade the Brâhman to relinquish it, wished to take it by force. But the might of the Kshatriya was unavailing against the power of the Brâhman; and the humbled Visvâmitra then began his austerities which continued for thousands of years (!) until he became a Brâhman.

In the celebrated legend of Harischandra, Visvâmitra appears as a rapacious Brâhman. He not only made the king give up his whole empire, but compelled him to sell his queen, his boy and himself as slaves to pay the inexorable Brâhman's fee! If such stories are invented to teach respect and duty due to Brâhmans, they fail in their object and inspire other sentiments. The bereaved Harischandra was, however, rewarded in the end, and Visvâmitra anointed his son as king, and Harischandra went to heaven. Vasishtha became angry and cursed Visvâmitra to be a Vaka or crane, and Visvâmitra, too, transformed Vasishtha into an Ari bird! The two birds began a furious contest which shook the whole world, until Brahmâ had to interpose, and restored the saints to their own forms, and reconciled them!

In the legend of Trisanku, we are told that that prince wished to go bodily to heaven. Vasishtha declared the thing impossible, and in return for the king's angry

words changed him to a Chandâla. The fiery Vishvâmitra now appeared on the scene. He declared the thing quite possible, and began a great sacrifice and proceeded with it in spite of Vasishtha's absence. Trisanku ascended to heaven, but Indra refused to receive him, and threw the intruder, head downwards, towards the earth. The irrepressible Visvâmitra however threatened to create another heaven with Indra and gods and stars! The gods had to give in, and Trisanku ascended to heaven, and shone like a star beyond the sun's course, but in a somewhat uncomfortable position, with his head still downwards!

The legend of Sunahsepha has arisen out of some hymns in the first mandala which are ascribed to him. The later legend says that he was the son of Richîka (and therefore nephew of Visvâmitra), and was sold by his father to be the victim of a sacrifice. He was bound to the stake and was about to be sacrificed when he repeated the hymns alluded to above, which his maternal uncle Visvâmitra had taught him, and was released. We shall have to allude to Sunahsepha's story in a later chapter, and examine some theories about the prevalence of human sacrifice which have been built on it.

In the legend of Kalmâshapâda, we are told that Visvâmitra caused that king to kill a hundred sons of Vasishtha. In various other legends which have almost become household stories for Hindu boys and girls, these two sages continually appear, in defiance of chronology and date, and are always at enmity with each other. The rival priests appear in courts of kings, twenty, thirty, or fifty generations removed from each other, and there is hardly a classical composition of note about a royal house, or a semi-divine hero, in which we do not find mention of Vasishtha and Visvâmitra, eternally the rivals of each other. Thus the Vishnu Purâna makes Vasishtha the priest of Ikshvâku's son Nimi, as well as the priest of Sagara who was 37th in descent from Ikshvâku; and the Râmâyana makes Vasishtha the priest of Râma who was 61st in descent from Iksh-

vâku! Such is the use which later romancers have made of the simple materials furnished by the Rig Veda, and such is the manner in which they have piled story upon story, and myth upon myth, in connection with incidents which, in the ancient Veda, are simple, natural and human. Not only the Rishis of the Veda but every deity, and we may almost say every simile or allegory in the Rig Veda about a natural phenomenon, has received such treatment in the hands of later imaginative Hindus.

But while a hundred wild stories were invented in later days to account for Visvâmitra's attaining Brâhmanhood, there was no thought of denying that accepted fact. Every legend, every learned disquisition, every sacred tale, every great work, from the Mahâbhârata to Manu and the Purânas,—admit that Visvâmitra was a Kshatriya and a Brâhman. Yudhisthira in the Anusâsana Parva (section 3) of the Mahâbhârata enquires of Bhîshma how Visvâmitra had not only become a Brâhman but had established "the great and wise family of the Kusikas *which included Brâhmans and hundreds of Brâhman Rishis.*" The question would be a difficult one to answer in the Pauranik Age in which the Mahâbhârata received its last touches. The question would not be difficult of solution in the Epic Age when the caste-system was still a pliable institution. And the question would not arise at all in the Age of Visvâmitra himself, *i. e.*, in the Vedic Age, when caste as such did not exist.

Again in the same Anusâsana Parva (section 52), Yudhisthira enquires how Parasurâma, the son of the Brâhman Jamadagni, was possessed of the qualities of a Kshatriya. Later legends have made Jamadagni's son the converse of Visvamitrâ. Parasurâma is represented to have been a fiery Brâhman who killed his mother, and then destroyed the Kshatriya race twenty-seven times, just as Visvâmitra is represented as a pious Kshatriya who rose to Brâhmanhood by his holiness and austerities. We have seen one attempt to solve the difficulty by the story that Visvâmitra's mother and Parasuramâ's grandmother exchanged dishes! But it

is scarcely necessary to descend to such childish tales if we only remember the fact that both Visvâmitra and Jamadagni were Vedic Rishis; and they bore arms and composed hymns when Kshatriyas and Brâhmans, as such, were unknown.

Jamadagni's name occurs in the Rig Veda, but not that of his renowned son Parasurâma. That character therefore is a later invention, and the story of his wars with Kshatriyas is probably based on actual hostilities which may have taken place early in the Epic Age between stalwart priests and proud kings, just when the caste-system was forming itself. An institution like this is not formed in a day, and some centuries must have elapsed, even after the commencement of the Epic Period, before professions became absolutely hereditary. Even in the Mahâbhârata which, however altered in later ages, is based on the traditions of the Epic Age, we find the most holy and religious character is Yudhisthira, a Kshatriya, and the most renowned strategist and warrior is Drona, a Brâhman.

From the legends of the Visvâmitras and the Vasishthas let us now turn to the scarcely less renowned houses of the Bhrigus, the Kanvas, the Bhâradvâjas and the Angirases. All these are families of Vedic Rishis, composers of Vedic hymns; and later writers therefore feel somewhat uncertain about their caste. They are sometimes called Brâhmans with the character of Kshatriyas, sometimes Kshatriyas with the character of Brâhmans; and occasionally the bold truth is conjectured, that these Rishis lived before the institution of caste was formed.

The Angirases are the reputed authors of the ninth mandala of the Rig Veda. About the Angirases, the Vishnu Purâna (IV, 2, 2) has the following: "The son of Nabhâga was Nâbhâga; his son was Ambarisha; his son was Virûpa; from him sprang Prishadasva, and from him Rathînara. On this subject there is this verse: These persons *descended from a Kshatriya stock and afterwards known as Angirases* were the chief of the

Rathînaras, *Brâhmans possessing also the character of Kshatriyas.*"

The Vishnu Purâna in another place (IV, 3, 5) traces the descent of the Angiras Hâritas *from the Kshatriya king Ikshvâku.* The Vâyu Purâna says of the Hâritas that "they were sons of Angiras *and Brâhmans with the properties of Kshatriyas.*" The Linga Purâna also maintains that they were the followers of Angiras, "*and Brâhmans with the properties of Kshatriyas.*" He will be a wise reader who will unravel from these statements the caste of the Angirases!

Vâmadeva and Bhâradvâja are reputed to be the authors of the fourth and the sixth mandalas of the Rig Veda. The Matsya Purâna includes them (section 132) among the Angirases of whom we have spoken before.

To the Gritsamadas are attributed the hymns of the second mandala of the Rig Veda. The commentator Sâyana says of him, that he was formerly the son of Sunahotra of the Angiras race, but he afterwards became Gritsamada, son of Sunaka, of the Bhrigu race. This somewhat mystic legend is elaborated in the Mahâbhârata Anusâsana Parva (section 30), in which we are told that Vîtahavya, a Kshatriya king, had taken shelter with Bhrigu, and Bhrigu, in order to save the fugitive from his pursuer, stated "there is no Kshatriya here, all these are Brâhmans." The word of Bhrigu could not prove unture, and the fugitive Kshatriya Vîtahavya forthwith bloomed into Brâhmanhood and became Gritsamada! It must be allowed that this was an easier process than the penance of thousands of years which Visvâmitra had to go through,—not to mention that his mother had exchanged dishes with a Brâhman's wife!

But the story of Gritsamada's change of caste is not universally accepted. The Vishnu Purâna and the Vâyu Purâna conjecture the bold truth that Gritsamada lived before the caste institution was formed. "From Gritsamada was decended Saunaka *who originated the four castes.*" (*Vish. Pur.*, IV, 8.) "The son of Gritsamada was Sunaka from whom sprang Saunaka. *In this race*

were born Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sûdras." (*Vâyu Purâna.*) The Harivansa (section 29) repeats this statement.

But the Vishnu and the Vâyu Purânas and the Harivansa are scarcely consistent, for we find elsewhere in these works that the four castes originated with Bhârgabhûmi who was the *twentieth in descent* from the brother of Gritsamada. Both these accounts, however, point to the ancient tradition that Gritsamada lived before the caste-system was instituted.

If we turn from the Gritsamadas to the Kanvas, authors of the eighth mandala of the Rig Veda, we find the same uncertainty about their caste. The Vishnu Purâna (IV, 19), and the Bhâgavata Purâna (IX, 20, 6, 7), maintain that Kanva was the son of Apratiratha or of Ajamîdha, both being descendants of Puru a Kshatriya. Nevertheless the Kanvas were regarded as Brâhmans. "From Ajamîdha sprang Kanva, and from him Medhâtithi, *from whom were descended the Kanvanaya Brâhmans.*" (*Vish. Pur.*, IV, 19.)

Of the same race we read in the Vishnu Purâna (IV, 21), that "*the race which gave origin to Brâhmans and Kshatriyas*, and was purified by regal sages shall terminate with Kshemaka in the Kali age." Again in (IV, 19), we read of Garga of the same race, that "from Garga sprang Sivi; from him were descended the Gârgyas and Saivyas, *who, having the character of Kshatriyas, became Brâhmans.*" Regarding Garga's brother Mahâvîrya, we read (IV, 19) that he had three grandsons, Trayaruna, Pushkari, and Kapi, who *attained to Brâhmanhood.*" And of Bali, one of the descendants of Anu, brother of Puru, we read in the Matsya Purâna and in the Vâyu Purâna, that *he established the four castes*; and the Harivansa (section 31) repeats this story.

And lastly, if we turn from the Kanvas to Atri, the reputed author of the fifth mandala of the Rig Veda, we find the name connected by later legends with the creation of the human race itself. Thus the Vishnu Purâna (IV, 6), calls him the son of Brahmâ, and the

grandfather of Pururavas *who belonged to the Kshatriya race.*

These extracts are enough The extracts are made from works composed or revised two or three thousand years after the time of the Vedic Rishis, but those extracts enable us to comprehend the status and position of the Vedic religious leaders and warriors, and are therefore not out of place in an account of the Vedic Period. Writing at such a long distance of time from the Vedic Age, the modern authors often misapprehended ancient facts and traditions. But nevertheless, the unswerving loyalty to the past which has ever characterised Hindu writers, prevented them from tampering with such traditions. Those traditions pointed to a state of society which had long past away, and which had become almost unintelligible. Pauranic writers could scarcely comprehend that priests and warriors could spring from the same race, that a Rishi could be a warrior, or that a warrior could be a priest. They tried to explain such traditions by a hundred different theories and legends, but nevertheless they have faithfully and piously handed down the traditions unchanged and unaltered. Thus to make only one more extract, the Matsya Purâna enumerates 91 Vedic Rishis, and concludes with the following suggestive passage, (section 132) : "Thus 91 persons have been declared, by whom the hymns have been given forth. *They were Brâhmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas*, all sons of Rishis. They were the offspring of the Rishikas, sons of Rishis, Vedic Rishis."

Thus the Purâna faithfully preserves the ancient tradition, that the Vedic hymns were the common property of the entire Aryan population. And when the writers tell us that the composers of those hymns were Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas, we have little difficulty in discovering in that statement, a dim recollection of the truth that the hymns were composed by the *undivided ancestors of those castes.*

For the rest, these invaluable traditions—that priests and warriors were descended from the same races, and

that the same Rishis were often both priests and warriors,—enable us to comprehend the true position of Vedic Rishis. For, divested of their miraculous and legendary character, what do these traditions indicate? They indicate that the venerable families of the olden times,—like those of the Vasisthas, the Visvâmitras, the Angirases and the Kanvas,—furnished renowned warriors and eminent priests at the same time. A Percy or a Douglas might be an ambitious priest or a fiery warrior, and so might a Kanva or an Angiras. To be sure, the Hindu houses were pre-eminently priestly as the European houses were military, but *caste* was as unknown to the one as to the other. Many a baron of mediæval Europe whose name is still preserved in the history of the crusades, had his father or uncle, son or nephew, immured in the solitude of holy monasteries; and many a Vasishtha or Visvâmitra, whose religious hymns we still cherish and revere, had his son or nephew, engaged in the wars of the Vedic Period, in the unending contests against the aborigines of the soil. These facts are proved by the texts of the Rig Veda itself which we have quoted in a previous chapter; and they are confirmed by the legends and traditions which we have quoted in this chapter from later Sanscrit literature. The Vedic Rishis composed their hymns, fought their wars, and ploughed their fields; but were neither Brâhmans, nor Kshatriyas, nor Vaisyas. The great Rishi houses of the Vedic Age furnished priests and soldiers, but were no more Brâhmans or Kshatriyas than the Percies or Douglases of mediæval Europe were Brâhmans or Kshatriyas.

BOOK II.

EPIC PERIOD B.C. 1400 TO 1000.

CHAPTER I.

LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD.

We have closed our account of the Vedic Age, when the Hindu Aryans crossed the Indus and gradually conquered and occupied the whole tract of country watered by the Indus and its five tributaries. We have seen that the sole work of this period which remains to us is the collection of hymns known as the Rig Veda Sanhitâ, and we have also seen how these hymns illustrate the civilization of the Vedic Period. We now proceed to describe the civilization of the Epic Period, when the Hindus crossed the Sutlej, moved down the basin of the Ganges and the Jumna, and founded powerful kingdoms along the entire valley as far down as modern Benares and North Behar. And as in the case of the Vedic Age, so in the case of the Epic Age, we will base our account on contemporaneous literature.

What is the contemporaneous literature of the Epic Age? And what is the contemporaneous literature of the Philosophical or Rationalistic Age that followed? The Brâhmanas, the A'ranyakas, and the Upanishads which constantly refer to the actions of the Kurus, the Panchâlas, the Kosalas, and the Videhas *living in the valley of the Ganges*, form the literature of the Epic Age. The Sûtras which presuppose the rise of rationalism in India, and which were composed when the Aryans *had expanded all over Southern India*, form the literature of the Rationalistic Age.

About thirty years ago Professor Max Müller published his great work on Sanskrit literature and gave

reasons, which have since generally been accepted for considering the mass of Sûtra literature as subsequent to the Brâhmana literature. He shewed that the Sûtra literature presupposed and quoted the Brâhmana literature, and the converse was never the case. He shewed that the Brâhmana literature reflected an age of priestly supremacy and unquestioning obedience on the part of the people, which was anterior to the practical and philosophical and sceptical age of the Sûtras. He shewed that the Brâhmana literature down to the Upanishads was considered *revealed* in India, while all Sûtra works were ascribed to human authors. And he enforced these and similar arguments by a wealth of illustrations and a degree of erudition which left nothing to be desired.*

It is needless to say that we cannot enter into the details of these learned discussions. True to the plan of the present work, we will make only a few remarks not on the *literary*, but on the *historical* bearings of the facts stated above. What is the *historical* import of this sequence in the different classes of Ancient Sanskrit literature? What is the *historical* reason of this sequence?

* Later researches have confirmed the view that not only are the Sûtras of a particular school subsequent to the Brâhmanas of the same school, but that the body of the Sûtra literature as a whole is subsequent to the body of the Brâhmana literature. Thus to quote one instance only, Dr. Bulher, who does not altogether agree with Max Müller on this point, nevertheless points out in his introductions of the Dharma Sûtras, that those Sûtras repeatedly quote from Brâhmanas of different schools. He shews that the oldest Dharma Sûtra extant presupposes an A'ranyaka of the black Yajur Veda, a Brâhmana of the Sâma Veda, and even an Upanishad of the Atharva Veda! He points out that Vasishtha's Dharma Sûtra quotes from a Brâhmana of the Rig Veda, an A'ranyaka of the Black Yajur Veda and a Brâhmana of the White Yajur Veda, and also mentions an Upanishad of the Atharva Veda. So also Baudhâyana's Dharma Sûtra quotes from the Brâhmanas both of the Black and the White Yajur Veda. On the other hand, no Brâhmana ever quotes from any Sûtra work.

No scholar maintains that the last Brâhmana work was composed before the first Sûtra work was written. But there can be little doubt on the evidence now before us, that there was a period when the *prevailing style* of writing was the prose style of the Brâhmanas, and that this period was followed by a period when the *prevailing style* was aphorisms or Sûtras.

Why did the Ancient Hindus compose their works in one particular form, the Vedic hymns, for a number of centuries? Why did they gradually abandon that style of composition, and write the prolix and dogmatic prose Brâhmanas, for some succeeding centuries? And why again did they gradually change this for the concise aphorisms of the Sûtras during the next few centuries? What is there in the nature of things that would induce the Ancient Hindus to take up different styles of composition at different periods of their history,—as if to afford the future historian a clue to the dates of their writings?

The question is more easily asked than answered. It may be answered, however, by a counter question. What is there in the nature of things which prevented the Chronicles and Romances of Mediæval Europe being composed after the 14th and 15th centuries? Why did not Hume and Gibbon compose Chronicles? Why did not Fielding and Scott compose Mediæval Romances? The subjects were still the same;—why was the composition so different that it would be possible to demarcate the feudal ages from the modern period on the testimony of European literature, even if every vestige of European history was destroyed?

An Englishman would answer: it was impossible that Chronicles and feudal Romances should be continued after Elizabeth had reigned and Shakespeare and Bacon had written. A new light had dawned on Europe. The human mind had expanded. Religion was purified. A new world had been discovered. Modern philosophy had taken its rise. Commerce and maritime enterprise had received a wonderful development. Feudalism had died a natural death. The face of the European world had been changed.

Were it possible to bring before the reader the history of Hindu civilization as vividly as he has before him the history of European civilization, he would give similar replies with regard to the epochs of Indian History. It was impossible, in the nature of things, that hymns like those of the Rig Veda should be com-

posed after the Hindus had achieved the elaborate civilization, and adopted the pompous religious rites of the Epic Period. The simple fervency with which the Punjab Aryans looked up to the Sky, the Dawn, or the Sun, had passed, once and for ever. Simple natural phenomena did not excite the wonder and religious admiration of the cultured and somewhat artificial Gangetic Aryans engaged in solemn rites and pompous sacrifices. The fervent prayer to the rain god Indra, or the loving address to the blushing goddess Ushas (Dawn) was almost impossible. The very import and object of the old simple hymns were forgotten, and sacrifices of various descriptions, from the simple morning and evening libations, to the elaborate royal sacrifices lasting for many years, formed the essence of the later religion.. The rules of the sacrifices, the import and object of every minute rite, the regulations for each insignificant observance,—these occupied the religious minds of the people, these formed the subject of discussions between learned kings and royal priests, these formed the bulk of the Brâhmana literature. It was as impossible for the cultured writers and thinkers of the day to go back to the buried past and disinter the simple faith of the Vedic Hymns, as it was impossible for the erudite schoolmen of Mediæval Europe to produce the wild and simple Norwegian Sagas of a bygone age.

Again, the elaborate and dogmatic trifling of the scholastic philosophy of Europe was impossible after Descartes had lived and Bacon had written. In the same way, and for the same reason, the elaborate trifling and priestly pedantry of the Brâhmanas was impossible in the Hindu world after Kapila had taught and Gautama Buddha had preached. The human mind in India had received a new impetus. A new world had been discovered beyond the Vindhya range, though the name of the Indian Columbus, who first planted the Hindu flag in a southern kingdom, is forgotten. The earnest and fervent Upanishads had been written and marked a strong reaction against priestly pedantry.

Kapila—the Descartes of India—had startled the Hindu world by his Sânkhya philosophy ; and Gautama—the Luther of India—had proclaimed a reformed faith for the poor and the lowly, and protested against the privileges of priests. New sciences had started into existence. A new light had dawned in the Hindu world.

The Brâhmana literature died a natural death. The elaborate and unmeaning dogmas were left in the shade ; the rules for the performance of the ancient sacrifices were condensed for practical purposes. It was a practical age when everything was condensed and codified. The rules of life were codified. Philosophy was condensed into aphorisms, science and learning in every department were condensed. Treatises were composed in every branch of human knowledge in a concise style, in which teachers could teach and learners could learn by rote. And thus it is that we have the entire literature of Rationalistic Age in the shape of aphorisms,—or Sûtras.

This is the historical import of the three different classes of Ancient Sanskrit literature, which represent three distinct epochs of Hindu history. The hymns reflect the manly simplicity of the Vedic Age. The Brâhmanas reflect the pompous ceremonials of the Epic Age. The Sûtras reflect the science and learning, and even the scepticism of the Rationalistic Age.

We have said before that the tide of Hindu colonization rolled eastward and southward in each successive period, and the different classes of Sanskrit literature spoken of above attest to this onward movement. In Europe feudal literature and modern literature were developed on the same arena, in Italy and Germany, in France and England. In India, the case was different. For the Aryans of India went on conquering through successive periods, and the literature of each period speaks of the portion of India under the Aryan influence and domination in that particular period. This in itself is an invaluable index to the dates of the different classes of literature. The hymns of the Rig Veda speak of the Punjab and Cabul alone,—India

beyond the Punjab is unknown to the Rig Veda. The banks of the distant Ganges and the Jumna are rarely alluded to; the scene of all the wars and social ceremonies and religious sacrifices of the Rig Veda are the banks of the Indus and its tributaries and the Sarasvatî. This was the Hindu world when the hymns were composed.

But the Hindus soon threw out colonies all over Northern India. In course of centuries these colonies rose into importance and formed powerful kingdoms, and by their progress and learning threw the mother-country, the Punjab, into shade. In the Brâhmanas we hear of the mighty Kurus in the tract of the country round modern Delhi; we hear of the powerful Panchâlas in the country round modern Kanouj; we read of the Videhas in the country now known as North Behar, we read of the Kosalas in Oude, and we read of the Kâsîs in the country round modern Benares. These colonists developed pompous sacrificial rites, had illustrious and learned courts like those of Janaka and Ajâtasatru and Janamejaya Pârikshita, they founded schools or parishads in villages and towns, and they developed a new social system based on caste distinctions. It is of these colonists and their civilization that we mostly read in the Brâhmanas:—the Punjab is almost forgotten, and Southern India is still unknown, or is referred to as the home of wild beasts and wild men.

On the other hand, the Sûtra literature makes us familiar with great Hindu kingdoms in Southern India, and some of the existing Sûtras were composed in Southern India, and lay down rules for the conduct of Southern Hindus.

We have spoken of the Vedic period and the Rig Veda Hymns in the First Book of this work. We will speak of the Epic period and the Brâhmana literature in this Second Book. And we will speak of the Rationalistic Period and the Sûtra literature in the Third Book.

We have seen before that the Rig Veda Hymns were *composed* in the Vedic Age and were finally

compiled in the Epic Age. The other three Vedas known as the Sâma Veda, the Yajur Veda (White and Black), and the Atharva Veda, were also compiled in this Epic Age.

The reasons which led to the compilation of the Sâma Veda and the Yajur Veda have been ascertained with a fair degree of certainty. We find mention in the hymns of the Rig Veda of different classes of priests who performed different duties at sacrifices. The Adhvaryus were entrusted with the material performance of sacrifice. They measured the ground, built the altar, prepared the sacrificial vessels, fetched wood and water, and immolated animals. The Udgâtris on the other hand were entrusted with the duty of singing, as according to ancient custom, some parts of the sacrifice had to be accompanied by songs. The Hotris had to recite hymns. And lastly, the Brahmans presided at sacrifices over all the rest.

Of these four classes of priests, neither the Brahman nor the Hotri required any special manual. For the Brahman was required to know the entire ceremonial, to be able to superintend the performance of the sacrifice, to advise the other priests on doubtful points, and to correct their mistakes. The Hotri, too, had simply to recite, and if he knew the hymns of the Rig Veda, he did not require any separate compilation. But the duties of the Adhvaryu and the Udgâtri required special training. Special sacrificial formulas must have existed for the former, and a stock of the Rig Veda Hymns, set to music, must have also existed for the latter in the Vedic Period, for we find the names Yajus and Sâman in the Rig Veda Hymns. These formulas and chants were however separately collected and compiled at a later age in the Epic Period; and these separate compilations, in the shape which they last took, are the Yajur Veda and the Sâma Veda as we have them now.

No name has been handed down to us as the compiler of the Sâma Veda. Professor Benfey has pointed out, what Dr. Stevenson previously suspected, that all

the verses of the Sâma Veda, with the exception of a few, are to be found in the Rig Veda; and it is supposed that these few verses, too, must have been contained in some other recension of the Rig Veda now lost to us. It is quite clear, therefore, that the Sâma Veda is only a selection from the Rig Veda set to music for a special purpose.

Of the compilers of Yajur Veda, we have some information. The more ancient or Black Yajur Veda is called the Taittirîya Sanhitâ from Tittiri, who probably compiled or promulgated it in its present shape. In the Anukramanî of the A'treya recension of this Veda, however, we are told that the Veda was handed down by Vaisampâyana to Yâska Paingi, by Yâska to Tittiri, by Tittiri to Ukha, and by Ukha to A'tṛeya. This would shew that the existing oldest recension of the Yajur Veda was not the first recension.

We have fuller information with regard to the more recent White Yajur Veda. It is called the Vâjasaneyi Sanhitâ, from Yâjnavalkya Vajasaneya, the compiler or promulgator of that Veda. Yâjnavalka held the influential position of chief priest in the court of Janaka, king of the Videhas, and the promulgation of this new Veda proceeded probably from the court of that learned king.

There is a striking difference in arrangement between the White Yajur Veda and the Black Yajur Veda. In the latter, the sacrificial formulas are followed by dogmatic explanation, and by accounts of ceremonials belonging to them. In the former, the formulas only find place in the Sanhitâ, the explanation and the ritual being assigned to the Brâhmana. It is not improbable, as has been supposed, that it was to improve the old arrangement, and to separate the exegetic matter from the formulas, that Yâjnavalkya, of the court of Janaka, founded the new school known as the Vâjasaneyins, and that their labors resulted in a new (Vâyasaneyi) Sanhitâ and an entirely separate (Satapatha) Brâhmana.

But although the promulgation of the White Yajur Veda is ascribed to Yâjnavalkya, a glance at its

contents will show that it is not the compilation of any one man or even of one age. Of its 40 chapters only the first 18 are cited in full and explained in due order in the first nine books of the Satapatha Brâhmana; and it is the formulas of these 18 chapters only which are found in the older Black Yajur Veda. These 18 chapters, then, are the oldest portion of the White Yajur Veda, and may have been compiled or promulgated by Yâjnavalkya Vajasaneya. The next 7 chapters are very likely a later addition. The remaining 15 chapters are undoubtedly a still later addition, and are expressly called Parisishta or Khila, *i.e.*, supplement.

Of the Atharva Veda, we need only state that it was not generally recognised as a Veda till long after the period of which we are speaking, though a class of literature known as the Atharvângiras was growing up during the Epic Period, and is alluded to in the later portions of some of the Brâhmanas. Throughout the first three Periods of Hindu history, and even in Manu and other metrical codes, three Vedas are generally recognised. And although the claims of the Atharvan were sometimes put forward, still the work was not generally recognised as a fourth Veda till long after the Christian era. Hundreds of passages recognising three Vedas only could be cited from the literature of the period of which we are now speaking; but we are unable to make room for such passages. We will only refer our readers to a few passages, *viz.*, Aitareya Brâhmana V, 32; Satapatha Brâhmana IV, 6, 7; Aitareya Âranyaka III, 2, 3; Brihadâranyaka Upanishad I, 5; and Chhândogya Upanishad III and VII; and in this last work, after the three Vedas are named, Atharvângiras is classed with Itihâsa. It is only in the Brâhmana and Upanishads of the Atharva Veda itself that we find a uniform recognition of this work as a Veda. For instance, it is the principal object of the Gopatha Brâhmana to show the necessity of four Vedas. A carriage, we are told, does not proceed with less than four wheels, an animal cannot walk with less than four feet, nor can sacrifice be perfect with less than

four Vedas! Such special pleading only proves that the fourth Veda was not yet recognised generally, even in the comparatively recent times when the Gopatha Brâhmana was composed.

Atharvan and Angiras are, as Professor Whitney remarks, half mythical names of ancient and venerated Indian families, and it was sought to bring the recent composition into connection with these ancient names! The Veda is divided into twenty books, and contains nearly six thousand verses, and a 6th of this is in prose. Of the remaining, one-sixth is found among the hymns of the Rig Veda, mostly in the tenth book. The 19th book is a kind of supplement to the previous 18, while the 20th book is made up of extracts from the Rig Veda.

The entire Veda principally consists of formulas intended to protect men against the baneful influences of divine powers, against diseases, noxious animals, and curses of enemies. It knows a host of "imps and hobgoblins," and offers homage to them to prevent them from doing harm. The Mantra brings from the unwilling hands of gods the favours that are wanted. The book is full of incantations calculated to procure long life or wealth or recovery from illness. It also contains invocations for good luck in journeys, in gaming, &c. These hymns resemble similar hymns in the last book of the Rig Veda; only as Professor Weber has pointed out, in the Rig Veda they are apparently additions made at the time of the compilation, while in the Atharva Veda they are the natural utterance of the present.

We must now hasten to an account of those compositions called the Brâhmanas, after which the literature of this Age has been named the Brâhmana literature. We have seen that in the Black Yajur Veda the texts are, as a rule, followed by their dogmatic explanations. These explanations were supposed to elucidate the texts and to explain their hidden meanings, and they contained the speculations of generations of priests. A single discourse of this kind was called a Brâh-

mana ; and in later times collections or digests of such discourses were called Brâhmanas.

The Rig Veda has two Brâhmanas, *viz.*, the Aîtareya and the Kaushîtaki. The composition of the former is attributed to Mahidâsa Aitareya, son of Itarâ, one of the many wives of a Rishi. The story is given by Sâyana in his introduction to the Aitareya Brâhmana. In the Kaushîtaki Brâhmana, on the other hand, special regard is paid to the sage Kaushîtaka, whose authority is considered to be final. For the rest, these two Brâhmanas seem to be only two recensions of the same work, used by the Aitaryins and the Kaushîtakins respectively, and they agree with each other in many respects, except that the last ten chapters of the Aitareya are not found in the Kaushîtaki, and belong probably to a later age.

The Sâma Veda has the Tândya or Panchavinsa Brâhmana, the Sadvinsa Brâhmana, the Mantra Brâhmana and the Upanishad. Pandit Sâmasramin has pointed out that these works, comprising 40 chapters, form the real Brâhmanas of the Sâma Veda.

The Black Yajur Veda or Taittirîya Sanhitâ has its Taittirîya Brâhmana, and the White Yajur Veda or Vâjasaneyi Sanhitâ has its voluminous Satapatha Brâhmana. We have already stated that the Satapatha Brâhmana is attributed to Yâjnavalkya, though it is more likely the handiwork of the school he founded, as he is often quoted in the work. Nor does the work belong entirely to one school or to one age. On the contrary, as in the case of the White Yajur Veda Sanhitâ, so in the case of its Brâhmana, there are reasons to think that the work belongs to different periods. The first 18 chapters of the Sanhitâ are the oldest part of the work, and the first nine books of the Brâhmana, which comment on these 18 chapters, are the oldest part of the Brâhmana. These nine books contain 60 chapters, and were called Shashtipatha in the time of Patanjali, as Professor Weber has pointed out. The remaining five books with their 40 chapters are of later date than the first nine books.

Even in the first nine books Yâjnavalkya is not always quoted as the final authority. His opinions are authoritative in the first five books, while the remaining four quote Sândilya. The two lines of teachers meet in their common successor Sanjîvîputra (named after his mother according to the custom of the times), and it is supposed that Sanjîvîputra reconciled the two schools, and finally adjusted the first nine books. Thus this famous Brâhmana seems to have been first started by the school of Yâjnavalkya, and the work of that school appears to have been combined with the work of the school of Sândilya; and to the nine books thus formed, five more books were added at a later age.

The Atharva Veda has its Gopatha Brâhmana—a comparatively recent production—the contents of which are a medley, derived to a large extent from other sources.

Next after the Brâhmanas come the A'ranyakas, which may, indeed, be considered as the last portions of the Brâhmanas. They are so-called, as Sâyana informs us, because they had to be read in the forest, while the Brâhmanas were for use in sacrifices performed by householders in their homes. We scarcely meet with any allusions to retirement in forests in the Hymns of the Rig Veda, and forest life and retirement are undoubtedly a far later institution than sacrifices in the householder's own fireside.

The Rig Veda has its Kaushîtaki A'ranyaka and its Aitareya A'ranyaka, the latter ascribed to Mahidâsa Aitareya. The Black Yajur Veda has its Taittirîya A'ranyaka, and the last book of the Satapatha Brâhmana is called its A'ranyaka. The Sâma Veda and the Atharva Veda have no A'ranyakas.

What gives these A'ranyakas a special importance, however, is, that they are the proper depositories of those celebrated religious speculations known as the Upanishads. The Upanishads which are the best known, and which are undoubtedly ancient, are the Aitareya and the Kaushîtaki, found in the A'ranyakas of those names, and belonging to the Rig Veda; the Chhândogya and the Talavakâra (or Kena) belonging

to the Sâma Veda; the Vâjasaneyi (or Isa) and the Brihadâranyaka belonging to the White Yajur Veda, and the Taittirîya belonging to the Black Yajur Veda. The Katha, too, is said to belong to the Black Yajur Veda, but more probably belongs to the Atharva Veda, together with the Mundaka and the Prasna. These ten are the ancient Upanishads to which Sankarâcharya principally appeals in his great commentary on the Vedânta Sûtras. But once after the Upanishads had come to be considered sacred and authoritative works, new compositions of the class began to be added until the total number reaches 200 or more. The later Upanishads, which are generally known as the Atharva Upanishads, come down as far as the Pauranik times, and as Professor Weber points out, enter the lists in behalf of sectarian views, instead of being devoted to an inquiry into the nature of Brahman or the Supreme Spirit, like the old Upanishads. Indeed, the later Upanishads come down to a period long subsequent to the Mahommedan Conquest of India, and the idea of a universal religion which was cherished by the great Emperor Akbar finds expression in an Upanishad called the Allah Upanishad! We need hardly say that we will refer in this work only to the ten ancient Upanishads, and not to the later Upanishads.

With the Upanishads the Epic Period ends, and the so-called revealed literature of India ends also. Other classes of works, besides those named herein, undoubtedly existed in the Epic period, but have now been lost to us, or more frequently replaced by newer works. A fragment only of the vast literature of the Epic Period has come down to us, and the principal works which remain have been detailed above.

Of the Epics themselves, the Mahâbhârata and the Râmâyana, we will speak in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER II.

KURUS AND PANCHALAS, B.C. 1400 TO 1200.

THE tide of Aryan conquests rolled onward. If the reader will refer to a map of India, he will find that from the banks of the Sutlej to the banks of the Jumna there is not a very wide strip of country to cross. The Aryans who had colonized the whole of the Punjab were not likely to remain inactive on the banks of the Sutlej or of the Sarasvatî. Already in the Vedic Period bands of enterprising colonists had crossed those rivers and explored the distant shores of the Jumna and the Ganges, and those noble streams, though alluded to in the hymns as on the very horizon of the Hindu world, were not unknown. In course of time the emigrants to the fertile banks of the two rivers must have swelled in number, until the colonists founded a powerful kingdom of their own in the country near modern Delhi,—the kingdom of the Kurus.

From what part of the Punjab the Kuru colonists came, is a question still involved in obscurity. In the Aitareya Brâhmana (VIII, 14,) it is stated that the Uttara Kurus and the Uttara Mâdras lived beyond the Himâlaya. In later works, the Mahâbhârata (I, 47, 19, &c.) and the Râmâyana (IV, 44, 88, &c.), the land of the Uttara Kurus, has already become a mythical country. Uttara Kuru is identified with Ottorakorra of Ptolemy, and Lassen places the country somewhere east of modern Kashgar; but we would place the Uttara Kuru alluded to in the Aitareya Brâhmana somewhere north of the Sub-Himalayan range, *i.e.*, in Kashmir. In the Rig Veda itself, we find mention of the Kuru-Krivis; and Professor Zimmer supposes that they lived in the valleys of Kashmir. There are reasons, therefore, for supposing that the Kurus originally lived among the hills in the extreme north of the Punjab; and that large

numbers of this tribe moved southwards until they formed a powerful colony or kingdom between the Jumna and the Ganges. We assume that this kingdom rose to prowess and fame about 1400 B. C.

When the Hindus had once begun to colonize the fertile banks of the Jumna and the Ganges, swarms of the colonists would naturally march down the course of those streams and soon occupy the whole of the Doab, *i.e.*, the tract of country between those rivers. And this was what they did. While we find the Kurus settling down in the country near modern Delhi, we find another adventurous tribe, the Panchâlas occupying the tract of country near modern Kanouj. The original seat of the Panchâlas is still less known than that of the Kurus. Professor Zimmer thinks that they also came from the northern hills like the Kurus. Indeed, it has been supposed that the allied tribes known in the Rig Veda as the Kuru-Krivis were the ancestors of the allied tribes of the Doab, known as the Kuru Panchâlas. The Panchâla kingdom probably rose to distinction about the same time as the kingdom of the Kurus, and the Brâhmana literature frequently refers to these allied tribes as forming the very centre of the Hindu world, and renowned by their valour, their learning, and their civilization. Many of the Brâhmanas allude to the culture of their schools (Parishads), the sanctity of their priests, the ostentatious religious sacrifices of their kings, and the exemplary lives of the people.

For centuries had elapsed since the Aryans had first settled on the banks of the Indus, and the centuries had done their work in progress and civilization. The Kurus and the Panchâlas were no longer like the warrior-cultivators who battled against the black aborigines and won the banks of the Indus and its tributaries. Manners had changed, society had become more refined and polished, learning and arts had made considerable progress. Kings invited wise men in their polished courts, held learned controversies with their priests, performed elaborate sacrifices according to the dictates of religion, led respectable and trained

armies to the field, appointed duly qualified men to collect taxes and to administer justice, and performed all the duties of civilized administrators. The relations and friends of the king and all the warriors of the nation learnt archery and riding and driving the war chariot from their early youth, and also learned the Vedas and all the holy learning that was handed down from generation to generation. The priests multiplied religious rites and observances, preserved the traditional learning of the land, and instructed and helped the people in their religious duties. And the people lived in their towns and villages, cherished the sacred sacrificial fire in their houses, cultivated the arts of peace, trained their boys from early youth in the Vedas and in their social and religious duties, and gradually developed those social customs which in India have the force of laws. Women had their legitimate influence in society, and moved without restriction or restraint. Society in India, fourteen hundred years before Christ, was more polished and refined than that of the preceding Vedic Age, and had more of healthy life and vigour than Hindu society has had in succeeding ages.

Civilization, however, does not necessarily put a stop to wars and dissensions; and of the political history of the Kurus and the Panchâlas, the only reminiscences we possess are those of a sanguinary war in which many neighbouring tribes took part, and which form the subject of one of the two great epics of India. There is a passage in the 13th book of the Satapatha Brâhmana, in which Bhârata the son of Duhshanta and Sakuntalâ, Dhritarâshtra the king of the Kâsis, and Janamejaya Pârikshita and his three brothers Bhîmasena, Ugrasena and Srautasena are named, *and these last are absolved by a horse-sacrifice from all guilt, all Brahmahatyâ.* Again, in the 14th Book we find an account of a discussion between Yâjnavalkya and his rivals in Janaka's court, and one of the questions put to Yâjnavalkya by one of his rivals is, "*Whither have the Pârikshitas gone?*" *and Yâjnavalkya answers,* "*Thither where all Asvamedha Sacrificers go.*"

Professor Weber's remarks on these passages are worthy of reflection. He says: "The Pârikshitas must at that time have been altogether extinct. Yet their life and end must have been still fresh in the memory of the people, and a subject of general curiosity. It almost seems as though their guilt, their *Brahmahatyâ* had been too great for the people to believe that it could have been atoned for by sacrifices, were they ever so holy." *

On the whole, Professor Weber adopts Lassen's view that there was a destructive conflict between the Kurus and the Panchâlas, and that this feud is the leading and central fact round which the stories of the great epic Mahâbhârata have since grown. Professor Weber further maintains that this war must have taken place after the Satapatha Brâhmana had been commenced, and before the final books of that work were written. For in the earlier books of the Brâhmana, "we find the Kurus and the Panchâlas still in full prosperity, and also united in the closest bonds of friendship as one people. Consequently, this internecine strife cannot have taken place. On the other hand, in the latest portions of the Brâhmana, we find the prosperity, the sin, the expiation, and the fall of Janamejaya Pârikshita and his brothers Bhîmasena, Ugrasena and Srautasena, and of the whole family of the Pârikshitas, apparently still fresh in the memory of the people and discussed as a subject of controversy." †

Without assenting to the inference that the Satapatha Brâhmana was commenced before the war, we think there can be little doubt as to the war itself in which the Kurus, the Panchâlas, and other races were engaged. There can be as little doubt that this war was the subject of the Mahâbhârata in its original shape, and that this original Mahâbhârata began to be composed within a few centuries after the war, probably within the Epic Period. The name of Mahâbhârata occurs in

* *Indian Literature* (translation), p. 120.
† *Indian Literature* (translation), p. 135.

A'svalâyana's Grihya Sûtra, and scholars like Max Müller, Goldstücker, and Weber agree in maintaining that the original Mahâbhârata existed in A'svalâyana's time, *i. e.*, in the Rationalistic Age which immediately followed the Epic Period.

What a historical treasure, what an invaluable record of the manners and customs and annals of the Epic Period we have lost in that original Epic of India. Where is the Indian historian who would not willingly sacrifice one-half of the voluminous later literature of the Paurânik Period to get this single work back again in its integrity? But this may not be. Every later poet and editor has contributed his mite towards enlarging, altering and distorting the ancient epic; every new sect has been careful to incorporate its new-fangled tenets in this national work; and Krishna-worship, which is of later origin, has been bodily transplanted into the ancient narrative of the Kuru-Panchâla war!

As a historical narrative of the principal incidents of the war, the present epic is utterly valueless. For the events and incidents have been changed, and the names of the heroes are later interpolations. The very geography of the ancient work has been changed. Sahadeva in the existing epic travels as far south as Mysore and Ceylon, which countries it is needless to state were unknown to the Hindus at the time when the war was waged.

The heroes of the existing epic are the five sons of Pându, called the Pândavas, and these heroes are myths and later interpolations. The literature of the time which makes frequent mention of Janamejaya Pârikshita and numerous other kings of the time, has not a word to say about the Pândavas who are entirely unknown to Ancient Sanskrit literature! In the Buddhist work, Lalita Vistâra, the Pândavas are described as a wild mountain tribe; but if so, how do they come to be enrolled as heroes in a war among Aryan nations? We will not try to conjecture an answer.

The five heroes of the existing epic are myths pure and simple. Yudhisthira, the eldest, represents virtue;

Bhîma, the second, represents untrained valour; Arjuna, the third, represents skill in war; and the other two brothers similarly represent distinct qualities. It is remarkable that in the Epic Period, when the war took place, Arjuna was still a name of Indra, and Indra's Vedic combats with the rain cloud have thus been mixed up with the facts of a historical war! To take one more instance, Janamejaya Pârikshita was, according to contemporaneous testimony, himself stained with the guilt of the war. In the modern epic, Janamejaya is the great grandson of Arjuna who was engaged in the war.

And if the heroes of the modern epic are mythical, the heroine is still more so. Draupadî the daughter of the king of the Panchâlas, marries the Pândavas in the modern epic,—yes, marries all five of them! And yet polyandry was not only unknown to the Hindus at the time of the Kurus and the Panchâlas, but that barbarous custom was not known to the Indo-Aryans in any age or period within the four thousand years of their history. We know enough of the manners of the polished court of the Panchâlas to be able boldly to assert that the king of that race would not have given his daughter to *five husbands*, to save his empire or even his head! Draupadî is only a myth, or perhaps an allegory representing the alliance of the Panchâla king with the Pândava tribe or party.

Thus the existing epic is utterly valueless as a record of the incidents and characters of the real war. Nevertheless this work, so changed and altered, has a unique value as a record of the manners and civilization of the ancient time. The generations of authors who have tampered with this ancient epic, who have been assiduous in altering characters and incidents, in preaching new cults and amassing ancient and modern legends, have not had the time or the motive to wipe out many a lifelike picture of the manners of the Kurus and the Panchâlas which has been preserved to us. We still see in this venerable volume how the Hindus lived and fought, acted and felt, three thousand

years ago. We find how young princes were early trained to arms, and how Kuru mothers and sisters and wives came out in public and witnessed with pride the tournaments in which their sons and brothers and husbands distinguished themselves! We find how girls married at an advanced age, and princesses famed for their beauty often selected their husbands among the princes who came to seek their hands. We find how jealousies among kings broke out into sanguinary wars, and how the bitterness of such feuds was restrained by the laws of chivalry. Victors in such wars performed the great horse-sacrifice, and all the princes of the Hindu world were invited to those grand imperial festivities.

It is because the story of the existing epic throws such valuable side lights on the state of the society of the ancient Hindus that we think it necessary to briefly narrate it here. Let the reader attach no value to the names which are mostly myths, or to the incidents which are mostly imaginary; let him only endeavour to draw from it a picture of Hindu life in the Epic Period, *i.e.*, the period of Aryan expansion in the Gangetic Valley.

The capital of the Kurus at the time of which we are speaking was the city of Hastinâpura, the supposed ruins of which have been discovered on the upper course of the Ganges about 65 miles to the north-east of Delhi. Sântanu, the old king of Hastinâpura, died, leaving two sons, Bhîshma who had taken a vow of celebacy, and a younger prince who became king. This young prince died in his turn, leaving two sons, Dhritarâshtra the blind, and Pându who ascended the throne.

Pându died, leaving five sons who are the heroes of the epic. Dhritarâshtra remained virtually the king during the minority of the five Pândavas and of his own children, while Dhritarâshtra's uncle Bhîshma, a renowned warrior, remained the chief councillor and friend of the state.

The account of the training of the young Pândavas and the sons of Dhritarâshtra to arms throws much light on the manners of royal houses. Drona was a

Brâhman, and a renowned warrior, for caste had not yet completely formed itself, Kshatriyas had not yet obtained the monopoly of the use of arms, nor Brâhmans of religious learning. He had been insulted by his former friend the king of the Panchâlas, and had retired in disgust to the court of the Kurus and undertook to train the princes in arms.

Yudhisthira, the eldest of the Pândavas, never became much of a warrior, but became versed in the religious learning of the age, and is the most righteous character in the epic. Bhîma the second, learnt to use the club, and was renowned for his gigantic size and giant strength, and is indeed the Hercules of the poem. The third Pândava, Arjuna, excelled all other princes in the skill of arms, and aroused the jealousy and hatred of the sons of Dhritarâshtra, even in their boyhood. Nakula, the fourth, learned to tame horses, and Sahadeva became proficient in astronomy. Duryodhana, the eldest son of Dhritarâshtra, was proficient in the use of the club, and was a rival to Bhîma.

At last the day came for a public exhibition of the proficiency which the princes had acquired in the use of arms. A spacious area was enclosed. Seats were arranged all round for the accommodation of ancient warriors and chieftains, of ladies and courtiers. The whole population of Kuruland flocked to see the skill of their young princes. The blind king Dhritarâshtra was led to his seat; and foremost among the ladies were Gândhâri, the queen of Dhritarâshtra, and Kuntî, the mother of the first three Pândavas. The last two were Pându's sons by another wife.

There was shooting of arrows at a butt, and there were fights with swords and bucklers and clubs. Duryodhana and Bhîma soon began to fight in right earnest, and rushed towards each other like mad elephants. Shouts ascended to the sky, and soon the fight threatened to have a tragic end. At last the infuriated young men were parted, and peace was restored.

Then the young Arjuna entered the lists in golden mail, with his wondrous bow. His splendid

archery surprised his most passionate admirers and thrilled the heart of his mother with joy, while shouts of admiration rose from the multitude like the roar of the ocean. He played with his sword which flashed like lightning, and also with his sharp-edged quoit or chakra and never missed his mark. Lastly, he brought down horses and deer to the ground by his noose, and concluded by doing obeisance to his worthy preceptor Drona, amidst the ringing cheers of the assembled multitude.

The dark cloud of jealousy lowered on the brow of Dhritarâshtra's sons, and soon they brought to the field an unknown warrior Karna, who was a match for Arjuna in archery. Kings' sons could only fight with their peers like the knights of old, and Duryodhana therefore knighted the unknown warrior, or rather made him a king, on the spot, so that Arjuna might have no excuse for declining the fight. To awkward questions which were put to him, the haughty Karna replied that rivers and warriors knew not of their origin and birth,—their prowess was their genealogy. But the Pândavas declined the fight, and the haughty Karna retired in silence and in rage.

Drona now demanded the reward of his tuition. Like doughty warriors of old he held revenge to be the dearest joy of a warrior, and for his reward he asked the help of the Kurus to be revenged on Drupada, king of the Panchâlas, who had insulted him. The demand could not be refused. Drona marched against Drupada, conquered him and wrested half his kingdom. Drupada swore to be avenged.

Dark clouds now arose on the horizon of Kuru land. The time had come for Dhritarâshtra to name a Yuvarâja,—or a prince who would reign during his old age. The claim of Yudhisthira to the throne of his father could not be gainsaid, and he was appointed Yuvarâja. But the proud Duryodhana rebelled against the arrangement, and the old monarch had to yield, and sent the five Pândavas in exile to Vâranâvata, said to be the modern Allahabad, and then the very frontier

of Hindu settlements. The vengeance of Duryodhana pursued them there, and the house where the Pândavas lived was burnt to ashes. The Pândavas and their mother escaped by an underground passage, and for a long time roamed about disguised as Brâhmans.

Heralds now went from country to country, and proclaimed in all lands that the daughter of Drupada, king of the Panchâlas, was to choose for herself a husband among the most skilful warriors of the time. As usual on such occasions of *Svayamvara*, or self-choice of a husband by a princess, all the great kings and princes and warriors of the land flocked to the court of Drupada,—each hoping to win the lovely bride who had already attained her youth and was renowned for her beauty. She was to give her hand to the most skilful archer, and the trial ordained was a pretty severe one. A heavy bow of great size was to be wielded, and an arrow was to be shot through a whirling chakra or quoit into the eye of a golden fish, set high on the top of a pole!

Not only princes and warriors, but multitudes of spectators flocked from all parts of the country to Kâmpilya, the capital of the Panchâlas. The princes thronged the seats, and Brâhmans filled the place with Vedic Hymns. Then appeared Draupadî with the garland in her hand which she was to offer to the victor of the day. By her appeared her brother, Dhrishtadyumna, who proclaimed the feat which was to be performed.

Kings rose and tried to wield the bow, one after another, but in vain. The skilful and proud Karna stepped forth to do the feat, but was prevented from doing it.

A Brâhman suddenly rose and drew the bow, and shot the arrow through the whirling chakra into the eye of the golden fish. A shout of acclamation arose! And Draupadî, the Kshatriya princess, threw the garland round the neck of the brave Brâhman who led her away as bride. But murmurs of discontent arose like the sound of troubled waters from the Kshatriya

ranks at this victory of a Brâhman, and the humiliation of the warriors; and they gathered round the bride's father and threatened violence. The Pândavas now threw off their disguise, and the victor of the day proclaimed himself to be Arjuna, a true born Kshatriya!

Then follows the strange myth that the Pândavas went back to their mother and said, a great prize had been won. Their mother, not knowing what the prize was, told her sons to share it among them. And as a mother's mandate cannot be disregarded, the five brothers wedded Draupadî as their wife. It is needless to say that the story of Draupadî herself and of the five Pândavas is an allegory. The Pândavas now formed an alliance with the powerful king of the Panchâlas, and forced the blind king Dhritarâshtra to divide Kuru land between his sons and the Pândavas. The division, however, was unequal; the fertile tract between the Ganges and the Jumna was retained by the sons of Dhritarâshtra, while the uncleared jungle in the west was given to the Pândavas. The jungle Khândava Prastha was soon cleared by fire, and a new capital called Indraprastha was built,—the supposed ruins of which are shewn to every modern visitor to Delhi.

Military expeditions were now undertaken by the Pândavas on all sides, but these need not detain us, specially as the accounts of these distant expeditions are very modern interpolations. The scene of action of the Kurus and the Panchâlas was the Doab, and the country beyond the basin of the Ganges and the Jumna was yet almost unknown to Hindus.

We do not even hear that the Kosalas and the Videhas took any active part in the Kuru-Panchâla war, and this shews that Oude and North Behar, if already colonized by Aryans, had not risen to power and fame. When, therefore, we find in the Mahâbhârata accounts of expeditions to Ceylon, to Bengal, to Dvârikâ in Guzerat, we may unhesitatingly put them down as later interpolations.

And now Yudhishthira was to celebrate the Râjasûya or coronation ceremony, and all the princes of the

land, including his kinsmen of Hastinâpura, were invited. The place of honor was given to Krishna, king of Dvârikâ in Guzerat ; but Sisupâla of Chedi violently protested, and Krishna killed him on the spot. The whole story of Krishna,—a deity and a king,—appears to us to be a very modern interpolation.

The tumult having subsided, the consecrated water was sprinkled on the newly-created monarch, and Brâhmans went away loaded with presents.

But the newly-created king was not long to enjoy his kingdom. With all his righteousness, Yudhishthira had a weakness for gambling, like the other chiefs of the time, and the unforgiving and jealous Duryodhana challenged him to a game. Kingdom, wealth, himself, and his brothers, and even his wife were staked and lost,—and behold now, the five brothers and Draupadî the slaves of Duryodhana ! The proud Draupadî refused to submit to her position, but Duhsâsana dragged her to the assembly-room by her hair, and Duryodhana forced her down on his knee in the sight of the stupified assembly. The blood of the Pândavas and the other chieftains was rising, when the old Dhritarâshtra was led to the assembly-room and stopped a tumult. It was decided that the Pândavas had lost their kingdom, but should not be slaves. They agreed to go in exile for twelve years, after which they should remain concealed for a year. If the sons of Dhritarâshtra failed to discover them during the year, they would get back their kingdom.

Thus the Pândavas again went in exile ; and, after twelve years of wanderings in various places, disguised themselves in the thirteenth year and took service under the king of Virâta. Yudhishthira was to teach the king gambling ; Bhîma was the head cook ; Arjuna was to teach dancing and music to the king's daughter, Nakula and Sahadeva were to be master of horse and master of cattle respectively, and Draupadî was to be the queen's hand-maid. A difficulty arose. The queen's brother was enamoured of the new attendant of superb beauty, and insulted her and was resolved to

possess her. Bhîma interfered and killed the lover in secret.

Cattle-lifting was not uncommon among the princes of those days, and the princes of Hastinâpura carried away some cattle from Virâta. Arjuna, the dancing master, could stand this no longer, he put on his armour, drove out in a chariot, and recovered the cattle, but was discovered! The question whether the year of secret exile had quite expired was never settled.

And now the Pândavas sent an envoy to Hastinâpura to claim back their kingdom. The claim was refused, and both parties prepared for a war, the like of which had never been seen in India. All the princes of note joined one side or the other, and the battle, which was fought in the plains of Kurukshetra, north of Delhi, lasted for 18 days, and ended in fearful slaughter and carnage.

The long story of the battle with its endless episodes need not detain us. Arjuna killed the ancient Bhîshma unfairly, after that chief was forced to desist from fighting. Drona, with his impenetrable "squares" or phalanxes, killed his old rival Drupada, but Drupada's son revenged his father's death and killed Drona unfairly. Bhîma met Duhsâsana who had insulted Draupadî in the gambling room, cut off his head, and in fierce vindictiveness drank his blood! Lastly, there was the crowning contest between Karna and Arjuna who had hated each other through life; and Arjuna killed Karna unfairly, when his chariot wheels sank into the earth, and he could not move or fight. On the last or eighteenth day, Duryodhana fled from Bhîma, but was compelled by taunts and rebukes to turn round and fight, and Bhîma by a foul blow (because struck below the waist) smashed the knee on which Duryodhana had once dragged Draupadî. And the wounded warrior was left there to die. The bloodshed was not yet over, for Drona's son made a midnight raid into the enemy's camp and killed Drupada's son, and thus an ancient feud was quenched in blood.

The remainder of the story is soon told. The Pândavas

went to Hastinâpura, and Yudhishthira became king. He is said to have subdued every king in Aryan India and at last celebrated the Asvamedha ceremony or the Imperial horse-sacrifice. A horse was let loose and wandered at its will for a year, and no king dared to stop it. This was a sign of submission of all the surrounding kings, and they were then invited to the great horse-sacrifice. We have seen that in the Vedic times the horse was sacrificed simply for eating; in the Epic Period the horse-sacrifice became a means of expiation of sin, and of the assumption of the Imperial title.

Such is the story of the great Epic divested of its numerous legends and episodes, its supernatural incidents and digressions. Krishna, the island-born compiler of the Vedas (not Krishna, the king of Dvârikâ), is said to have been the son of the unmarried girl who afterwards married Sântanu. He was therefore half brother of Bhîshma. He often appears on the scene abruptly and in a supernatural manner, and imparts instruction and advice. The story has a historical interest, and shews that the three ancient Vedas were compiled before the time of the Kuru-Panchâla war.

For the rest, it will appear from the above brief account that the first Hindu colonists of the Gângetic Valley had not yet lost the sturdy valour and the stubborn warlike determination of the preceding Vedic Age. Kings now ruled over larger countries and peoples, manners were more polished, the rules of social life and of chivalry were more highly developed, and the science of war itself was better organized. But nevertheless the stern and relentless determination of the Vedic warriors to quell the foe breaks through the polished manners of the Kurus and the Panchâlas, and those nations, if they had gained in civilization, had scarcely yet lost much in the vigour of national life. How imperfectly the caste-system flourished among these sturdy races is shewn by many facts which still loom out in bold outline amidst the interpolations and additions of later writers. Sântanu, the ancient

king of Hastinâpura, had a brother Devâpi, who was a priest. The most learned character in the epic, Yudhishthira, is a Kshatriya, and the most skilful warrior, Drona, is a Brâhman. And the venerable compiler of the Vedas, Krishna Dvapiâyana himself—was he a Brâhman or a Kshatriya?

CHAPTER III.

VIDEHAS, KOSALAS AND KASIS.

B.C. 1200 TO B. C. 1000.

THE tide of Aryan conquests rolled onward. Soon after the country between the Jumna and the Ganges had been completely conquered, peopled and Hinduized, new bands of adventurous settlers crossed the Ganges and marched further eastwards to found new colonies and new Hindu kingdoms. Stream after stream was crossed, forest after forest was explored and cleared, region after region was slowly conquered, peopled and Hinduized in this onward march towards the unknown east. The history of the long struggles and the gradual development of the Hindu power in these regions has been lost to us; and we only see, in the literature which has been preserved, the establishment of powerful and civilized Hindu kingdoms east of the Ganges,—the kingdom of the Kosalas in the country known as modern Oude, of the Videhas in North Behar, and of the Kâsîs in the country round modern Benares.

Some recollections of this eastern march has been preserved in stray passages, and attention was directed many years ago by Professor Weber to one such passage in the Satapatha Brâhmana.

"10. Mâdhava the Videgha carried Agni Vaisvânara in his mouth. The Rishi Gotama Râhûgana was his family priest. When addressed (by the latter) he made no answer fearing lest Agni might fall from his mouth.

"13. Still he did not answer. (The priest continued): 'Thee O butter sprinkled one, we invoke!' (Rig Veda V, 26, 2.) So much he uttered when, at the very mentioning of butter, Agni Vaisvânara flashed forth from the king's mouth; he was unable to hold him back; he issued from his mouth and fell down on this earth.

"14. Mâdhava the Videgha was at that time on the (river) Sarasvatî. He (Agni) thence went burning along this earth towards the east; and Gotama Râhûgana and the Videgha Mâdhava followed after him as he was burning along. He burnt over (dried up) all these rivers. Now that (river) which is called Sadânîra (Gunduck river) flows from the northern (Himâlaya) mountain: that one he did not burn over. That one the Brâhmans did not cross in former times, thinking it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaisvânara.

"15. Now-a-days, however, there are many Brâhmans to the east of it. At that time it (the land east of the Sadânîra) was very uncultivated, very marshy, because it had not been tasted by Agni Vaisvânara.

"16. Now-a-days, however, it is very cultivated, for the Brâhmans have caused (Agni) to taste it through sacrifices. Even in late summer that (river) as it were rages along; so cold it is, not having been burnt over by Agni Vaisvânara.

"17. Mâdhava the Videgha then said (to Agni), 'Where I am to abide?' To the east of this (river) be thy abode!' said he. Even now this river forms the boundary of the Kosalas and Videhas; for these are the Mâdhavas (or descendants of Mâdhava)." (Satapatha Brâhmana, I, 4, 1.)

Here then we have an account, in a legendary form, of the gradual march of the colonists from the banks of the Sarasvatî eastwards until they came to the Gunduck. That river formed the boundary between the two kingdoms; the Kosalas lived to the west of it, and the Videhas to the east of it.

In course of years, probably of centuries, the kingdom of the Videhas rose in power and in civilization, until it became the most prominent kingdom in Northern India.

Janaka, king of the Videhas, is probably the most prominent figure in the history of the Epic Period in India! That monarch had not only established his power in the farthest confines of the Hindu dominions in India, but he gathered round him the most learned

men of his time; he entered into discussion with them, and instructed them in holy truths about the Universal Being. It is this that has surrounded the name of Janaka with undying glory. King Ajâtasatru of the Kâsîs, himself a learned man and a most renowned patron of learning, exclaimed in despair, "Verily, all people run away, saying, Janaka is our patron!" (Brihadâranyaka Upanishad, II, 1, 1.)

The great fame of Janaka is partly owing to the culture and learning of the chief priest of his court Yâjnavalkya Vâjasaneyin. Under the royal auspices of Janaka this priest probably conceived the bold conception of revising the Yajur Veda as it then existed, of separating the formulas from the exegetic matter, of condensing the former in the shape of a new Yajur Veda (the White Yajur Veda known as the Vâjasaneyi Veda), and of amplifying the latter into a vast body of Brâhmana known as the Satapatha Brâhmana. Generations of priests laboured at this stupendous work, but the glory of starting the work belongs to the founder of the school, Yâjnavalkya Vâjasaneyin and his learned patron, King Janaka of the Videhas.

But Janaka has a still higher claim to our respect and admiration. While the priestly caste was still multiplying rituals and supplying dogmatic and ridiculous explanations for each rite, the royal caste seems to have felt some impatience at priestly supremacy and pedantry, and also at the ridiculous dogmas which were so authoritatively preached. Thinking and earnest Kshatriyas must have asked themselves if these rites and dogmas were all that religion could teach. Learned Kshatriyas, while still conforming to the rites laid down by priests, gave a start to healthier speculations, and inquired about the destination of the human soul and the nature of the Supreme Being. So bold, so healthy and vigorous were these new and earnest speculations, that the priestly classes, who were wise in their own esteem, at last felt their inferiority, and came to Kshatriyas to learn something of the wisdom of the new school. The Upanishads contain the healthy and earnest specu-

lations which were started at the close of the Epic Period; and King Janaka of Videha is honored and respected,—more than any other king of the time,—as an originator of the earnest speculations of the Upanishads.

The teaching of the Upanishads will be dwelt on more fully in a subsequent chapter of this book, but an account of Janaka and of the other kings of the period and their place in Hindu literature, will not be complete unless we cite a few passages here, illustrating their relations with their priests, and their labours in the cause of earnest philosophical speculations in India.

"Janaka of Videha once met some Brâhmans who had just arrived. They were Svetaketu A'runeya, Somasushma Satyayajni and Yâjnavalkya. He said to them: 'How do you perform the Agni hotra?'"

The three Brâhmans replied as best they could; but not correctly. Yâjnavalka came very near the mark, but was not quite correct. Janaka told them so, and mounted his car and went away!

The priests said: "This fellow of a Râjanya has insulted us." Yâjnavalkya mounted his car, followed the king, and had the difficulty explained. (Satapatha Brâhmana, XI, 4, 5.)

We find in Chhândogya Upanishad, V, 3, that one of the three Brâhmans named above, Svetaketu A'runeya came to an assembly of the Panchâlas, and Pravâhana Jaivali, a Kshatriya, asked him some questions which puzzled him. He came back sorrowful to his father and said: "That fellow of a Râjanya asked me five questions, and I could not answer one of them." The father, Gautama, was himself puzzled and went to the Kshatriya to have his difficulty removed. Pravâhana Jaivali replied: "Gautama, this knowledge did not go to any Brâhman before you, and therefore this teaching belonged in all the worlds to the Kshatra class alone." And then he imparted the knowledge to Gautama.

In another place in this Upanishad (I, 8,) this Pravâhana silenced two boastful Brâhmans and then imparted true knowledge of the Highest Brahman to them.

A story is told in the Satapatha Brâhmana (X, 6, 1, 1), and is repeated in the Chhândogya Upanishad (V, 11) that five Brâhman householders and theologians became anxious to know, 'What is our Self and what is Brahman?' They came to Uddâlaka A'runi to obtain the knowledge, but A'runi had his misgivings, and therefore took them to the Kshatriya king, Asvapati Kaikeya, who courteously invited them to stay at a sacrifice he was going to perform. He said: "In my kingdom there is no thief, no miser, no drunkard, no man without an altar in his house, no ignorant person, no adulterer, much less an adulteress. I am going to perform a sacrifice, Sirs, and as much wealth as I give to each Ritvik priest, I shall give to you, Sirs. Please to stay here."

They stayed and told him what they had come for, and "on the next morning they approached him, carrying fuel in their hands (like students, and he, without any preparatory rites," imparted to them the knowledge they had come for.

It is curious how we meet the same names over and over in the different Upanishads, and often the same story too in different forms, showing that the old recognised Upanishads were composed at much the same time. We find Uddâlaka A'runi, also called Gautama and his son Svetaketu, again in the Kaushîtaki Upanishad; and the father and the son went to Chitra Gângyâyani, fuel in hand, to learn the truth. Chitra, a Kshatriya king, said: "You are worthy of Brâhman, O Gautama, because you were not led away by pride. Come hither, I shall make you know clearly." (I, 1.)

A celebrated story is told in the Kaushîtaki Upanishad (IV), of a conversation between Gârgya Bâlâki, a celebrated man of learning, and Ajâtasatru, the learned king of the Kâsîs. The boastful Brâhman challenged the king; but in course of the learned dispute which followed, he collapsed and became silent. Ajâtasatru said to him: 'Thus far do you know O Bâlâki?' 'Thus far only,' replied Bâlâki. Then Ajâtasatru said to him: 'Vainly did you challenge me, saying, shall I tell you Brahman?' 'O Bâlâki, He who is the maker of

those persons (whom you mentioned), He of whom all this is the work, He alone is to be known.'

"Then Bâlâki came, carrying fuel in his hand, saying: 'May I come to you as a pupil?' Ajâtasatru said to him: 'I deem it improper that a Kshatriya should initiate a Brâhman. Come, I will make you know clearly."

This story as well as the story of Svetaketu A'runeya and the Kshatriya King Pravâhana Jaivali are repeated in the Brihadâranyka Upanishad.

There are numerous such passages in the Upanishads in which the Kshatriyas are represented as the wisest teachers and the boldest speculators. But it is needless to multiply instances here. What we have said is enough to indicate the place which belongs to the royal caste at the close of the Epic Period in the history of Hindu religion and philosophy. The Upanishads mark a new era in the history of human knowledge, and this knowledge which dates about 1000 B. C. "did not belong to any Brâhman before," "it belonged in all the worlds to the Kshatra class alone."

These are real claims of Janaka, king of the Videhas, to the admiration and gratitude of posterity. Curiously enough, posterity remembers him and the Videhas and the Kosalas also, through a myth which has clung round their revered names. That myth relates to the Aryan conquest of Southern India; and with a fervid and blind gratitude poets of subsequent ages have connected that great historical event with the names of ancient kings who had nothing to do with the conquest! Historical knowledge in Europe, even in the dark ages, was never so dim as to allow a poet to conjecture the conquest of Jerusalem by Charlemagne or Alfred the Great! But the second great epic of India conceives and describes the conquest of Ceylon by a king of the Kosalas who had married the daughter of Janaka king of the Videhas.

It is not possible with our present knowledge to state when the Râmâyana was composed in its original shape. We find references to the Mahâbhârata in the Sûtra

literature, but we find no such reference to the Râmâyana. The discovery and conquest of Ceylon by Vijaya from Bengal took place in the fifth century B. C., and at first sight one would be inclined to refer the first conception of the epic, which has its scene of action in that island, to that date. On the other hand, there is nothing to shew that the existence of the island was utterly unknown before its conquest by Vijaya. It seems on the contrary very probable that the island was darkly known, and believed to be inhabited by monsters and giants for centuries before it was conquered by the Hindus. And the composition of the Râmâyana which makes no allusion to Vijaya's conquest, may with greater probability be referred to an age anterior to Vijaya, when the darkness of ignorance and myths still obscured the island from the Hindus.

That this view is more probable appears from the fact that the whole of India, south of the Vindhya chain, is described in the Râmâyana as one interminable forest, inhabited by barbarous aborigines, who are described as monkeys and bears of different kinds. Now we know that the banks of the Godâvarî and even of the Krishnâ river were colonized by the Aryans early in the Rationalistic Period, and great empires like that of the Andhras rose to power and started new schools of science and learning several centuries before Christ. The first conception of the Râmâyana must be referred to a period anterior to these movements in the South, for the Râmâyana speaks of no Aryan civilization south of the Vindhyas.

The Râmâyana in its original shape must therefore be referred to a period anterior to the Aryan subjugation of Southern India, and must therefore belong to the close of the period of which we are now speaking, *i. e.*, the Epic Period. What was the original shape of the Râmâyana and what incidents have been bodily added at a latter period are questions which we are unable to discuss here.

The Râmâyana then, like the Mahâbhârata, is utterly valueless as a narrative of historical events and inci-

dents. As in the Mahâbhârata, so in the Râmâyana, the heroes are myths, pure and simple.

Sîtâ, the field furrow, had received divine honors from the time of the Rig Veda, and had been worshipped as a goddess. When cultivation gradually spread towards Southern India, it was not difficult to invent a poetical myth that Sîtâ was carried to the South. And when this goddess and woman—the noblest creation of human imagination,—had acquired a distinct and lovely individuality, she was naturally described as the daughter of the holiest and most learned king on record, Janaka of the Videhas!

But who is Râma, described in the epic as Sîtâ's husband and the king of the Kosalas? The later Purânas tell us that he was an incarnation of Vishnu,—but Vishnu himself had not risen to prominence at the time of which we are speaking! Indra was still the chief of the gods of the Epic Period. And in the Sûtra literature (*e.g.*, Pâraskara Grihya Sûtra II, 17, 9.) we learn that Sîtâ, the furrow goddess, is the wife of Indra. Is it then an untenable conjecture that Râma, the hero of the Râmâyana, is in his original conception like Arjuna, the hero of the Mahâbhârata, only a new edition of Indra of the Rig Veda battling with the demons of drought? The myth of Indra has thus been mixed up with the epic which describes a historic war in Northern India, and the epic which describes the historic conquest of Southern India!

But though the Râmâyana is utterly valueless as a narrative of events, still like the Mahâbhârata it throws side-lights of the state of ancient society in India, and the story of the epic therefore needs be briefly told. Only we must premise that even as a picture of life, the Râmâyana is long posterior to the Mahâbhârata, and belongs (in its first conception) to the very close of the Epic Period. We miss in the Râmâyana the fiery valour and the proud self-assertion of the Kshatriyas of the Mahâbhârata; and the subordination of the people to the priestly caste is more complete. Janaka himself is not described as the

proud asserter of Kshatriya learning and dignity that he was, but as a humble servant of the priests. And Râma himself, the hero of the epic, though he encounters and defeats a Brâhman warrior, Parasu Râma, does so with many apologies and due submission! The story of Parasurâma probably conceals a great historic truth. He is said to have fought against the Kshatriyas and exterminated the caste twenty-seven times, and then he was conquered by the Kshatriya Râma, the hero of the epic. It would seem that this story indicates the real rivalry and hostilities between the priestly and warrior castes,—indications of which we have found in a literary form in the Upanishads.

For the rest, one feels on reading the Râmâyana that the real heroic age of India had passed, and that centuries of residence in the Gangetic Valley had produced an enervating effect on the Aryans. We miss the heroic, if somewhat rude and sturdy manners and incidents which mark the Mahâbhârata. We miss characters distinguished by fiery valour, and battles fought with real obstinacy and determination. We miss men of flesh and blood, and pride and valour and stern determination like Karna and Duryodhana and Bhîma; and the best developed characters in the Râmâyana are women like the proud and scheming Kaikeyî or the gentle and ever suffering Sîtâ. The heroes of the Râmâyana are somewhat tame and commonplace personages, very respectful to priests, very anxious to conform to the rules of decorum and etiquette, doing a vast amount of fighting work mechanically, but without the determination, the persistence of real fighters! A change had come over the spirit of the nation; and, if princes and men had become more polished and law-abiding, they had become less sturdy and heroic. For a picture of Hindu life of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, when the hardy and conquering Kurus and the Panchâlas ruled in the Doab, we would refer our readers to the Mahâbhârata. For a picture of Hindu life of the tenth century, when the Kosalas and the Videhas had, by a long residence in the Gangetic

Valley, become law-abiding and priest-ridden, learned and polished, enervated and dutiful, we would refer our readers to the Râmâyana. The two epics represent the change which Hindu life and society underwent from the commencement to the close of the Epic Age.

We proceed now with the story of the Râmâyana. The people who lived in the wide tract of country between the Ganges and the Gunduck were known by the general name of the Kosalas as we have seen before. Dasaratha, a distinguished king of this nation, had his capital in Ayodhyâ (or Oude), the ruins of which ancient town are still shown to travellers in some shapeless mounds. Dasaratha had three queens honored above the rest, of whom Kausalyâ bore him his eldest born Râma, Kaikeyî was the mother of Bharata, and Sumitrâ of Lakshmana and Satrughna. Dasaratha in his old age decided on making Râma the Yuvarâja or reigning prince, but the proud and beauteous Kaikeyî insisted that her son should be Yuvarâja, and the feeble old king yielded to the determined will of his wife.

Before this Râma had won Sîtâ, the daughter of Janaka, king of the Videhas, at a Svayamvara. Kings and princes had assembled there, but Râma alone could lift the heavy bow, and bent it till it broke in twain. But now, when Ayodhyâ was still ringing with acclamation at the prospect of Râma's being installed as Yuvarâja, it was decided in queen Kaikeyî's chambers, that Bharata must be the Yuvarâja, and further that Râma must go in exile for fourteen years.

Râma was too obedient and dutiful to resist or even resent this decision. His faithful half brother Lakshmana accompanied him, and the gentle Sîtâ would not hear of parting with her lord. Amidst the tears and lamentation of the people of Ayodhyâ, Râma and Sîtâ and Lakshmana walked out of the city.

The exiles first went to the hermitage of Bhâradvâja in Prayâga (Allahabad), and then to that of Vâlmîki in Chitrakûta, somewhere in modern Bandelkund. Vâlmîki is reputed to be the author of the epic Râmâ-

yana just as Krishna Dvaipâyana Vyâsa, the compiler of the Vedas is said to be the author of the Mahâbhârata. There is as little truth in the one tradition as in the other. Dasaratha died of a broken heart on the departure of Râma.

Bharata followed Râma to Chitrakûta and informed him of their father's death and implored his return. But Râma felt himself bound by the promise he had made, and it was agreed that Râma would return after fourteen years and ascend the throne. Bharata returned to Ayodhyâ.

Leaving Chitrakûta, Râma wandered in the Dandaka forest and towards the sources of the Godâvarî among jungles and non-Aryan tribes,—for Southern India had not yet been colonized by Aryans. Thirteen years thus passed away.

Râvana, the monster king of Lankâ or Ceylon and of Southern India, heard of the beauty of Sîtâ now dwelling in jungles, and in the absence of Râma took her away from their hut, and carried her off to Ceylon. Râma, after a long search, obtained clue of her; he made alliances with the non-Aryan tribes of Southern India who are described as monkeys and bears, and made preparations for crossing over to Ceylon to recover his wife.

Bâli was a great king among the non-Aryans, but his brother Sugrîva thirsted after his kingdom and his wife, and Râma fought and killed Bâli; helped Sugrîva to win the kingdom and Bâli's widow; and Sugrîva then marched with his army to Lankâ.

Hanumat, the commander-in-chief of the non-Aryan or monkey army, led the way. He leaped over the Strait of sixty miles which separates India from Ceylon, found Sîtâ, and gave her the ring sent by Râma, caused a conflagration in the capital of Râvana, and then returned to Râma.

A causeway was then built across the Strait by boulders and stones. The reader is aware that a natural causeway runs nearly across the Strait, and there is no doubt that the physical geography of this locality

suggested to the poet the idea that the causeway was built by the superhuman labours of Râma's monkey army. The whole army then crossed over and laid siege to the capital of Râvana.

The account of the war which follows, though full of poetical incidents and stirring description, is unnatural and tedious. Chief after chief was sent out by Râvana to beat back the invaders, but they all fell in the war. Râma using his supernatural weapons and mystic mantras. Indrajit, the proud son of Râvana, battled from the clouds, but Lakshmana killed him. Râvana came out in a rage and killed Lakshmana, but the dead hero revived under the influence of some medicine brought by the faithful Hanumat. One of Râvana's brothers, Bibhîsana, had turned a traitor, and had joined Râma, and told him the secret by which each warrior would be killed, and thus chief after chief of Râvana's proud host fell At last Râvana himself came out, and was killed by Râma. Sîta was recovered, but she had to prove her untainted virtue by throwing herself into a lighted pyre, and then coming out of it uninjured.

The fourteenth year of exile being now accomplished, Râma and Sîtâ returned to Ayodhyâ and ascended the throne. But the suspicions of the people fell on Sîtâ who had been in Râvana's house, and could not, they thought, have returned untainted. And Râma, as weak as his father had been, sent poor, suffering Sîtâ —then gone with child,—to exile.

Vâlmîki received her at Chitrakûta, and then her two sons, Lava and Kusa, were born. Vâlmîki composed the poem of the Râmâyana and taught the boys to repeat the piece, and thus years were passed.

Then Râma decided to celebrate the Asvamedha sacrifice, and sent out the horse. The animal came as far as Vâlmîki's hermitage, and the boys in a playful humour caught it and detained it. Râma's troops tried in vain to recover the animal. At last Râma himself saw the princely boys, but did not know who they were; he heard the poem Râmâyana chanted by them, and it was in a passion of grief and regret that he at last

knew them and embraced them as his own dear boys.

But there was no joy in store for Sîtâ. The people's suspicions could not be allayed, and Râma was too weak to act against his people. The earth which had given poor Sîtâ birth yawned and received its long-suffering child. To this day Hindus hesitate to call their female children by the name of Sîtâ; for if her gentleness, her virtue, her patient uncomplaining faithfulness and her unconquerable love for her lord were more than human, her sufferings and woes too were more than what usually fall to the lot of woman. There is not a Hindu woman in the length and breadth of India to whom the story of suffering Sîtâ is not known, and to whom her character is not a model to strive after and to imitate. And Râma, too, though scarcely equal to Sîtâ in the worth of character, has been a model to men for his faithfulness, his obedience and his piety. And thus the epic has been for the millions of India a means of moral education, the value of which can hardly be over-estimated.

CHAPTER IV.

BELT OF NON-ARYAN TRIBES.

THE great river system of Northern India determined the course of Aryan conquests; when we survey the course of these rivers, we comprehend the history of Aryan conquests during ten centuries. And when we have traced the course of the Indus and its tributaries and of the Ganges and the Jumna as far as Benares and North-Behar, we have seen the whole extent of the Indo-Aryan world as it existed at the close of the Epic Period, or about 1000 B. C. Beyond this wide tract of Hindu kingdoms lay the whole extent of India yet unexplored or rather unconquered by the Aryans and peopled by various aboriginal tribes. A wide belt of this Non-Aryan tract, surrounding the Hindu world to the east, south and west was becoming known to the Hindus about the very close of the Epic Period. East and South Behar, Malwa and a portion of the Deccan, and the regions near Guzerat and the Rajputana desert, formed a wide semi-circular belt of country, as yet not Hinduized, but becoming gradually known to the Hindus, and therefore finding occasional mention in the latest works of the Brâhmana literature, as regions peopled by *Satvas, i.e.*, living creatures, hardly human beings. We can imagine hardy colonists penetrating into this encircling belt of unknown and uncivilized regions, obtaining a mastery over the aborigines wherever they went, establishing some isolated settlements on the banks of fertile rivers, and presenting to the astonished barbarians some of the results of civilized administration and civilized life. We can imagine also saintly anchorites retiring into these wild jungles, and fringing the tops of hills or fertile valleys with their holy hermitages, which were the seats of learning and of sanctity. And lastly adventurous royal huntsmen

not unoften penetrated into these jungles, and unhappy princes exiled by their more powerful rivals often chose to retire from the world and took up their abodes in these solitudes. In such manner was the belt of Non-Aryan country described above, gradually known to the Hindus, and we will cite a passage or two which will shew how far this knowledge extended, and how the civilized Hindus named the different aboriginal tribes dwelling in this tract, probably in the tenth century B. C.

There is a passage in the last book of the Aitareya Brâhmana which, along with an account of the principal Hindu kingdoms of the time, makes some mention of the aboriginal races in the south and south-west; and the passage deserves to be quoted.

"The Vâsavas then inaugurated him (Indra) in the eastern direction during thirty-one days by these three Rik verses, the Yajus verse, and the great words (all just mentioned), for the sake of obtaining universal sovereignty. Hence all kings of eastern nations are inaugurated to universal sovereignty and called *Samrâj*, *i. e.*, universal sovereign, after this precedent made by the gods.

"Then the Rudras inaugurated Indra in the southern region during thirty-one days, with the three Rik verses, the Yajus, and the great words (just mentioned), for obtaining enjoyment of pleasures. Hence all kings of living creatures* in the southern region, are inaugurated for the enjoyment (of pleasures) and called *Bhoja*, *i.e.*, the enjoyer.

"Then the divine A'dityas inaugurated him in the western region during thirty-one days, with those three Rik verses, that Yajus verse, and those great words for obtaining independent rule. Hence all kings of the *Nîchyas* and *Apâchyas* in the western country† are inaugurated to independent rule, and called 'independent rulers.'‡

* *Satvânâm* is the word in the original.
† *Pratîchyâm* is the word in the original.
‡ *Svarât* is the word in the original, whence *Saurâshtra* and Sutat.

"Then the Visvedevâh inaugurated him during thirty-one days in the northern region by those three Rik verses, &c., for distinguished rule. Hence all people living in northern countries beyond the Himâlaya, such as the *Uttara Kurus*, *Uttara Mâdras*, are inaugurated for living without a king (*Vairâjyam*), and called *Virâj*, *i.e.*, without king.

"Then the divine Sâdhyas and Aptyas inaugurated Indra during thirty-one days in the middle region, which is a firmly established footing (the immovable centre) to the kingship (*Râjya*). Hence the kings of the *Kuru Panchâlas* with the *Vasas* and *Usînaras* are inaugurated to kingship and called kings (Râja)."

This passage shows us at one glance the whole of the Hindu world as it existed in the close of the Epic Period. To the farthest east lived the Videhas and the Kâsîs and the Kosalas as we have seen before, and those newest and youngest of the Hindu colonists excelled in learning and reputation their elder brethern in the west. Their kings, Janaka and Ajâtasatru and others, took the proud title of *Samrâj*, and worthily maintained their dignity by their learning and their prowess.

In the south some bands of the Aryan settlers must have worked their way up the valley of the Chumbal, and become acquainted with the aboriginal tribes inhabiting the country now known as Malwa. These tribes were called *Satvas*, *i.e.*, living creatures, scarcely human beings! We note, however, that the kingdoms in this direction already went by the name of *Bhoja* (however fanciful the derivation which the author gives to the word), and *Bhoja* was in later times the name of the same region, immediately to the north of the Vindhya chain, and along the valley of the Chumbal.

Westwards from this place surged the waves of Aryan settlers or adventurers, until the invaders came to the shores of the Arabian sea, and could proceed no further. The aboriginal races in these distant tracts were looked upon with some degree of contempt by the

civilized colonists or invaders and were significantly called *Nîchyas* and *Apâchyas*, and their rulers had the significant name of *Svarât* or independent rulers.

These races dimly known at the very close of the Epic Period were the ancestors of the proudest and most warlike Hindu tribes of later times, *viz.*, the Maharattas. Surat and Guzerat were named after the same race-name.

To the north the Uttara Kurus and the Uttara Mâdras and other tribes lived—beyond the Himâlaya we are told—but which probably means beyond the lower ranges and among the valleys of the Himâlaya.

To the present day these men live in communes, and have very little concern with chief or king; and it is no wonder that in ancient times they should be known as peoples without kings.

And then, in the very centre of the Hindu world, along the valley of the Ganges, lived the powerful tribes of the Kurus and the Panchâlas, and the less known tribes, the Vasas and the Usînaras.

In the west, the deserts of Rajputana were wholly unexplored by the Aryans. The Bhil aborigines of those deserts and mountains were left undisturbed until new and hardy tribes of invaders entered India after the Christian era and settled down in these parts.

In the far east, south Behar was not yet Hinduized. In a passage in the Atharva Veda pointed out by Professor Weber, special and hostile notice is taken of the Angas and the Magadhas. The passage shews that the people of east and south Behar did not yet belong to the Hindu confederation of nations; but were nevertheless becoming known to the Aryans. Bengal Proper was as yet simply unknown.

And the whole of southern India, *i.e.*, India south of the Vindhya range, was yet unoccupied by the Hindus. The Aitareya Brâhmana gives (VII, 18,) the names of certain degraded barbarous tribes, and among others that of the Andhras. We will see that in the Rationalistic Period the Andras rose to be a great civilised Hindu power in Southern India.

We have now spoken of all the principal Aryan races and kingdoms which flourished in the Epic Period, and of the Non-Aryan kingdoms which formed a semicircular belt in the south of the Hindu world. It will be our pleasanter task in the following chapters to give some account of the social customs and the domestic life of the people. But before we take leave of kings, we must make some mention of the great coronation ceremony, as it has been described in many works of the Epic Period. This ceremony and the imperial horse-sacrifice were the most imposing and ostentatious royal ceremonials of Ancient India, and we have already said something of the horse-sacrifice in connection with the two Epics of the Hindus. An extract or two about the coronation ceremony are all that is needed here.

"He spreads the tiger skin on the throne in such a manner that the hairs come outside, and that part which covered the neck is turned eastward. For the tiger is the Kshatra (royal power) of the beasts in the forests. The Kshatra is the royal prince; by means of this Kshatra, the king makes his Kshatra (royal power) prosper. The king, when taking his seat on the throne, approaches it from behind, turning his face eastwards, kneels down with crossed legs, so that his right knee touches the earth, and holding the throne with his hands, prays over it the following mantra:—

"May Agni ascend thee, O throne, with the Gâyatrî Metre, &c. * * * * *

"They now put the branch of the udambara tree on the head of the Kshatriya, and pour the liquids (which are in the large ladle) on it. (When doing so) the priest repeats the following mantras:—

'With these waters which are happy, which cure every thing, increase the royal power, the immortal Prajâpati sprinkled Indra, Soma the king, Varuna, Yama, Manu, with the same sprinkle I thee! Be thou ruler over kings in this world. The illustrious mother bore thee as the great universal ruler over men; the blessed mother has borne thee, &c.'

* * * * * *

"Now, he gives into his hand a goblet of spirituous liquor, under the recital of the verse Svadishthayâ Madishthayâ, &c. (9, 1, 1), *i.e.*, Purify O Soma! with thy sweetest, most exhilarating drops (the sacrificer), thou who art squeezed for Indra to be drunk by him. After having put the spirituous liquor into his hand, the priest repeats a propitiatory mantra, &c.

"He now descends (from the throne seat) facing the branch of the udamdara tree,"—Aitareya Brâhmana. VIII, 6 to 9.

We are then told that with this ceremony priests invested a number of kings whose names are already known to us. Tura, the son of Kavasha, thus inaugurated Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit. "Thence Janamejaya went everywhere, conquering the earth up to its ends, and sacrificed the sacrificial horse." Parvata and Nârada thus invested Yudhamsranshti, the son of Ugrasena. Vasishtha invested Sudâs, the great conqueror of the Rig Veda hymns; and Dîrghatamas invested Bharata, the son of Duhshanta, with this ceremony.

We have also an excellent account of the coronation rite in the Vâjasaneyi-Sanhitâ, from which we quote a remarkable passage in which the priest blesses the newly crowned king:—"May God who rules the world bestow on you the power to rule your subjects. May fire, worshipped by householders, bestow on you supremacy over the householders. May Soma, the lord of trees, bestow on you supremacy over forests. May Brihaspati, the god of speech, bestow on you supremacy in speech. May Indra, the highest among gods, bestow on you the highest supremacy. May Rudra, the cherisher of animals, bestow on you supremacy over animals. May Mitra, who is truth, make you supreme in truth. May Varuna, who cherishes holy works, make you supreme in holy acts."—IX, 39.

In the address to the people which follows, the priest tells them: "This is your king, O ye such and such tribes." The Kânva text reads thus: "This is your king, O ye Kurus, O ye Panchâlas."

We will conclude this chapter with an excellent piece of advice which is given to kings further on, which modern rulers will do well to remember : " *If thou shalt be a ruler, then from this day judge the strong and the weak with equal justice, resolve on doing good incessantly to the public, and protect the country from all calamities*"—*X*, 27.

CHAPTER V.

CASTE.

As we drift down the history of Hindu civilization, we notice, along with a remarkable progress in sciences and learning and the arts of peace, an unhappy sign of social institutions being more and more crystalised into hard-and-fast rules, which gradually contracted the liberties and the free energies of the people. Four or five centuries of peaceful residence in a genial climate in the fertile basin of the Ganges and the Jumna enabled the Hindus to found civilized kingdoms to cultivate philosophy, science and arts, and to develope their religious and social institutions ; but it was under the same gentle but enervating influences that they also unconsciously surrendered all social freedom, and were gradually bound down by unhealthy priest-imposed laws and restrictions which made further progress on the part of the *people* impossible. This is the dark side of Hindu civilization. Priestly supremacy threw its coils round and round the nation from its early youth, and the *nation* never attained that political and social freedom and strength which marked the ancient nations of Europe.

But the worst results of priestly supremacy were not brought about in a day. We see the dark cloud slowly forming itself at the close of the Vedic Period. We see it increasing in strength and volume in the Epic Period. We shall see it casting a still gloomier shadow on the society of the Rationalistic Period. But it is only in the Pauranik Period, which followed the Buddhist Era, that it threw an utter impenetrable gloom over a gifted but ill-fated nation. In the earlier periods, so long as the nation had the life and the strength of youth, it made repeated attempts to throw off priestly supremacy and to assert its free-born rights. The Kshatriyas made an attempt to assert themselves in the very period of which we are now speaking, as we

have already seen. And the Kshatriyas made a still mightier attempt later on to throw Brâhmanism overboard, and adopted the Buddhist religion all over the land. With the extinction of Buddhism such attempts seemed to end, and priestly supremacy became ten times worse than before. The energies of the nation were cramped, the natural boldness of martial races was subdued by superstitious beliefs, the feeling of political unity was almost annihilated, and the descendants of those who had fought the Kuru-Panchâla war, and had opposed the march of Alexander, fell before petty adventurers. The great nation was conquered by an adventurer from Ghor, who had scarcely a kingdom of his own, and whose successors soon lost all connection with their mother country, and ruled in India through the weakness of the Hindus. And in the five or six centuries that followed the conquest, there was not life enough in the millions of martial men who inhabited Northern India, from the Punjab to Behar to enable them to make one serious effort to send out the handful of aliens who held them in chains. Ancient Greece fell through dissensions among her petty states; Rome fell on account of her luxury and vice; India fell on account of her superstition and consequent lifelessness.

We have seen that about the close of the Vedic Period, the priests had already formed themselves into a separate profession, and sons stepped forward to take up the duties of their fathers. When religious rites became vastly more elaborate and pompous in the Epic Period, when, with the founding of new kingdoms along the fertile Doab, polished and great kings prided themselves on the performance of vast sacrifices with endless rites and observances, it is easy to understand that the priests, who alone could undertake such complicated rites, rose in the estimation of the people, until they were naturally regarded as aloof from the ordinary people, as a distinct and superior race,—as a caste. They devoted their lifetime to learn these rites, and they alone were able to perform them in all their details;

and the natural inference in the popular mind was that they alone were worthy of the holy task. And when hereditary priests were thus completely separated from the people by their fancied sanctity and real knowledge of elaborate rites, it was scarcely considered "good form" on their part to form "misalliances" with the people outside their holy rank. They might still condescend to honor particular families by choosing brides from among them, but young ladies of priestly houses must never give their hands to men outside their ranks. What is a feeling and a custom among modern nations, soon became an inviolable and religious rule among a passive and custom-abiding people like the Gangetic Hindus.

The very same causes led to the rise of a royal caste. Royalty had not assumed a high dignity among the Punjab Hindus. Warlike chiefs led clans from conquests to conquests; and the greatest of them like Sudâs, the patron of the Vasishthas and the Visvâmitras, were looked upon more as leaders of men and protectors of clans than as mighty kings. Far different was the state of things with the Gangetic Hindus. Probably in the early days of the martial Kurus and Panchâlas, caste distinctions had not yet been fully matured. But later in the day, the kings of the peaceful Kosalas and Videhas, surrounded with all the paraphernalia of august and learned and pompous courts, were looked upon by the humble and lowly and extremely law-abiding and loyal people as more than human. As kings became more rich and more august and more addicted to the forms which indicate royalty, as the people became more enervated and submissive and loyal, it was scarcely possible that maidens of the royal or warlike classes should condescend to marry men from the ranks. The stigma which attaches to such misalliances all over the world gave rise to an inviolable rule in India. And when priests and warriors were thus separated by such absolute and inviolable rules from the people, the humblest girls of the former classes were debarred

from marriage with the greatest and richest among the Vaisyas.*

It is difficult to find in the history of European institutions any parallel to the caste-system of India. Yet there was a time in Europe when institutions, somewhat similar to the caste-system of India, sprang from the same causes which operated in India, *viz.*, the feebleness and enervation of the people, and the pride and power of warriors and priests. When the Roman Empire fell to pieces, and barbarian chiefs and barons carved out among themselves the fairest portions of Europe, the mass of the people were devoid of political life and political freedom. Never in Europe was there such a wide distinction between a powerful clergy and powerful soldiery on the one hand, and a lifeless and powerless people on the other, as in the days of feudalism in Europe. Vast monasteries arose all over Europe; great feudal towers frowned on every navigable river and every humble village; and the dwellers of villages and the humble artizans in little towns were scarcely regarded as better than slaves. The clergy,

* We have in a previous chapter (see p. 70, *note*) quoted the authority of Weber and Max Müller to shew that *caste* did not exist in the Vedic Age. We have much pleasure in adducing here the testimony of another eminent scholar, who with Weber and Max Müller may be said to form the Triumvirate of Vedic scholarship in Europe.

Dr. Roth maintains that in the first or Vedic Age, Brâhmans were the domestic priests of the kings, and that gradually the dignity became hereditary in certain families. How these isolated priestly families were impelled by similarity of interests to form a common *caste* in the Epic Age, may be described best in Dr. Roth's own words.

"When,——at a period more recent than the majority of the hymns of the Rig Veda,——the Vedic people, driven by some political shock, advanced from their abodes in the Punjab further and further to the south, drove the aborigines into the hills, and took possession of the broad tract of country lying between the Ganges, the Jumna and the Vindhya range, the time had arrived when the distribution of power, the relation of king and priest, could become transformed in the most rapid and comprehensive manner. This era is perhaps pourtrayed to us in the principal subject of the Mahâbhârata, the contest between the descendants of Pându and Kuru. It is not difficult to comprehend how, in such a period of transition, powerful communities should arise among the domestic priests of petty kings, and their families should attain to the highest importance in every department of life, *and should grow into a caste.*"—Quoted in Muir's *Sanscrit Texts*, Vol. I (1872), p. 294.

the knighthood and the people of Europe in the Middle Ages answered in some respects to the Brâhmans, the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas of India.

But the resemblance is in appearance only. The clergy of Feudal Europe did not marry, and its ranks were recruited from the ablest, the cleverest, the most learned among the people. The knights, too, were glad to welcome into their ranks doughty squires and brave warriors among the people. The people, too, in the darkest days of feudal oppression, had more of tough life and rude vigour than the passive and submissive citizens of the Gangetic plain. The people in Europe soon formed leagues to protect their commerce, fortified their towns to meet the marauding barons, formed municipal corporations, and trained themselves to arms to defend their interests in those insecure times. Ambitious scions of baronial houses often mixed with the people, and fought their battles in the field and in the council board; and this healthy admixture, which the caste-system prevented in India, revived and strengthened the people in Europe. Feudalism and the absolute power of the clergy decayed as trade and commerce and political life rose among the people; and the danger of the people being divided into three "castes," if it ever existed in Europe, passed away once and for ever.

From what has been stated before, it will appear that the caste-system arose in India from the permanent separation of the priestly and warrior classes from the people, in an age when the people had become enervated and feeble, and those two classes usurped all power and dignity. Superficial and impulsive writers often hold the Brâhmans of India to blame for monopolizing religious knowledge and observances, and creating a harmful and permanent disunion in the nation. The charge, however, is unphilosophical and unjust. Priestly supremacy and royal despotism are inevitable when the people become enervated and feeble, and are incapable of taking care of their consciences or their political rights. Priests and kings are no more respon-

sible for these results than the people themselves; indeed, the former are less responsible for assuming undue authority than the latter for submitting to such authority. Such chains are received ungrudgingly by a feeble and lifeless people; when the people awake to life and vigour, the chains fall asunder.

The simple origin of the caste institution as narrated above is obscured in later Hindu literature in a cloud of strange myths and legends. But in spite of such wonderful legends, later Hindu writers never completely lost sight of the fact, that caste was originally only a distinction based on professions. And this simple and natural account of the origin of caste often occurs in the same Paurânik works which elsewhere delight in strange and monstrous myths about the origin of the institution. We have room only for one or two extracts.

In the Vâyu Purâna we are told that in the first or Krita Age, *there were no castes*, and that subsequently, Brahmâ established divisions among men *according to their works*. "Those of them who were suited for command and prone to deeds of violence, he appointed to be Kshatriyas, from their protecting others. Those disinterested men who attended upon them, spoke the truth and declared the Veda aright, were Brâhmans. Those of them who formerly were feeble, engaged in the work of husbandmen, tillers of the earth, and industrious, were Vaisyas, cultivators and providers of subsistence. Those who were cleansers and ran about on service, and had little vigour or strength, were called Sûdras." Accounts, more or less similar to this, occur in the other Purânas also.

The Râmâyana in its present shape is, as we have seen before, the work of later ages. In the Uttara Kânda, Chapter 74, we are told that in the Krita Age Brâhmans alone practised austerities: that in the Tretâ Age, Kshatriyas were born, *and then was established the modern system of four castes*. Reduced from mythical to historical language, the above account may be read thus:—In the Vedic Age, the Hindu Aryans were a

united body and practised Hindu rites. In the Epic Age, however, priests and kings separated themselves as distinct castes, and the people also formed themselves into the lower orders, the Vaisyas and Sûdras.

The Mahâbhârata also, as we have seen before, is in its present shape a work of later ages, but here also we occasionally meet with a sensible and honest attempt to account for caste. In the Sânti Parva, section 188, we are told that "red-limbed twice-born men who were fond of sensual pleasure, fiery, irascible, daring and forgetful of their sacrificial duties, fell into the caste of Kshatriyas. Yellow twice-born men, who derived their livelihood from cows and agriculture, and did not practise religious performances, fell into the caste of Vaisyas. Black twice-born men, who were impure and addicted to violence and lying, and were covetous and subsisted by all kinds of works, fell into the caste of Sûdras. *Being thus separated by these their works, the twice-born men became of other castes.*"

The composers of these and similar passages no doubt knew of the legend of the four castes springing from four members of Brahmâ's body ; but they ignored it, and treated it as an allegory which it is. They maintain that in the earliest age there were no castes, and they make a very fair and sensible conjecture, that castes were developed in a later age from distinctions in work and professions. We must now, however, return from this degression, and examine the caste-system as it prevailed in the Epic Period.

As we have stated before, the caste system first formed itself among the peaceful citizens of the ancient Gangetic India ; it never should be forgotten, however, that the worst results of that system did not appear, and could not appear until the Hindus had ceased to be a free nation. In the Epic Period the body of the people (except the priests and soldiers) still formed one united Vaisya caste, and had not been disunited into such miserably divided communities as in the modern day. The body of the people were still entitled to religious knowledge and learn-

ing, and to perform religious rites for themselves—just like Brâhmans and Kshatriyas. And even intermarriage between Brâhmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas was allowed under certain restrictions. However much, therefore, we may deplore the commencement of the caste-system, we should never forget that the worst results of that system,—*the priestly monopoly of learning, the disunion in the body of the people*, and *the absolute social separation among castes*,—were unknown in India until the Paurânik times.

In the sixteenth chapter of the White Yajur Veda, we meet with the names of various professions which throw some light on the state of the society at the time the chapter was compiled. It is apparent, however, the list is one of different professions, not of different castes. Thus, various kinds of thieves are enumerated in Kandikâs, 20 and 21, and horsemen, charioteers and infantry are spoken of in 26. Similarly the carpenter, the chariot-maker, the potter and the blacksmith, mentioned in 27, also formed different professions and not castes. The Nishâda and others, also mentioned in the same Kandikâ, were obviously aboriginal tribes, who, then as now, formed the lowest strata of the Hindu society.

The list is very much enlarged in the 30th chapter of the same work which, as we have seen before, is of a considerably later date, and indeed belongs to the *Khila* or the supplement. But here, too, we meet with many names which indicate professions only, and many others which undoubtedly refer to the aborigines; and we find no evidence that the mass of the Aryan population (leaving aside the priests and warriors) had been divided into castes. We find names of different kinds of thieves, of dancers, speakers, and frequenters in assemblies; of lewd men, and sons of unmarried women; of chariot-makers, carpenters, potters, jewellers, cultivators, arrow-makers, and bow-makers; of dwarfs and crookedly formed men, and blind and deaf persons; of physicians and astronomers; of keepers of elephants, horses and cattle; of servants, cooks, gate-keepers, and wood-cutters; of painters and engravers; of washermen, dyers

and barbers ; of learned men and proud men ; of women of various descriptions ; of tanners, fishermen, and hunters and fowlers ; of goldsmiths and merchants ; of men with various diseases ; of wig-makers and imaginative men (poets) ; of musicians of various kinds, and men of other descriptions. It is plain that this is not a list of castes. On the other hand, the Mâgadha and Sûta and Bhîmala and Mrigayu and Svanin, and Nishâda and Durmada, and others mentioned in the list, are clearly aborigines, living under the shadow of the Aryan society. We have only to add that the same list, with slight modifications, is given in the Taittirîya Brâhmana.

The above lists throw some light on the state of the society and the professions which were recognized in the period of which we speak ; but they have nothing to do with caste. Throughout the Epic Period and throughout the Rationalistic and Buddhist Ages which followed, the great body of the Aryan people were the undivided Vaisyas, although they followed numerous professions. Along with the Brâhmans and the Kshatriyas, they formed the Aryan nation ; and were entitled to all the rights and privileges, and the literary and religious heritages of the nation. The conquered aborigines, who formed the Sûdra caste, were alone debarred from the heritage of the Aryans.

This is the cardinal distinction between the ancient caste system, and the caste system of the modern age. Caste reserved some privileges for priests, and some privileges for warriors, in ancient times ; but *never divided and disunited the Aryan people.* Priests and warriors and citizens, though following their hereditary professions from generation to generation, felt that they were one nation and one race, received the same religious instructions, possessed the same literature and traditions, ate and drank together, intermarried and held social communion in all respects, and were proud to call themselves the Aryan race as against the conquered aborigines. Caste in modern times has cut up the Aryan people into scores of communities, has opened the wide gulf of race

distinctions among the different communities, has interdicted marriage and social communion among them, has starved the sons of the ancient Vaisyas,—the entire body of the people,—of religious knowledge and literature, and has degraded them to the rank of Sûdras.

There are numerous passages in the Brâhmana literature which shew that the distinctions between the castes were by no means so rigid in the early times as at a later period. We learn from Aitareya Brâhmana (I, 16, and II, 17,, that one who was not recognised as a Brâhman (Abrâhmanokta) could be the performing priest and bring a sacrifice. A still more remarkable passage, however, occurs in the same Brâhmana (VII, 29), which would seem to show that caste rules were by no means rigid, and persons born in one community might enter into another. When a Kshatriya eats at a sacrifice the portion assigned for the Brâhmans, his progeny has the characteristics of a Brâhman "ready to take gifts, thirsty after drinking Soma, and hungry of eating food, and ready to roam about everywhere according to pleasure." And "*in the second or third generation he is then capable of entering completely the Brâhmanship.*" When he eats the share of Vaisyas his "offspring will be born with the characteristic of the Vaisyas, paying taxes to another king;" "and in the second or third degree they are capable of entering the caste of the Vaisyas." When he takes the share of the Sûdras, his progeny "will have the characteristics of the Sûdras; they are to serve another (the three higher castes), to be expelled and beaten according to the pleasure (of their masters)." And "in the second or third degree, he is capable of entering the condition of the Sûdras."

In a previous chapter we have seen that Janaka, king of the Videhas, imparted to Yâjnavalkya learning unknown to the priest before. On this "Yâjnavalkya offered the king the choice of a boon. He replied 'let me enquire of thee whatever I desire, O Yâjnavalkya!' Henceforth Janaka became a Brâhman." (Satapatha Brâhmana, XI, 6, 2, 1.)

We have other evidences to show that men not born Brâhmans became Brâhmans by their reputation and their learning. In Aitareya Brâhmana (II, 19), we are told of Kavasha, the son of Ilushâ, whom the other Rishis expelled from a sacrificial session, saying, "how should the son of a slave girl, a gamester, who is no Brâhman, remain among us and become initiated?" But Kavasha knew the gods and all the gods knew him, and he was admitted as a Rishi. Similarly, in the beautiful legend of Satyakâma Jabâla in the Chhândogya Upanishad (IV, 4), is exemplified the fact that truth and learning opened out in those days a path to the highest honor and to the highest caste. The legend is so beautiful in its simplicity and its poetry, that we feel no hesitation in quoting a portion of it:—

"1. Satyakâma, the son of Jabâlâ, addressed his mother and said: 'I wish to become a Brahmachârin (religious student), mother. Of what family am I?'

"2. She said to him: 'I do not know, my child, of what family thou art. In my youth when I had to move about much as a servant, I conceived thee. I do not know of what family thou art. I am Jabâlâ by name, thou art Satyakâma, say that thou art Satyakâma Jabâla'

"3. He going to Gautama Haridrumata, said to him: 'I wish to become a Brahmachârin with you, Sir. May I come to you, Sir?'

"4. He said to him: 'Of what family are you, my friend?' He replied: 'I do not know, Sir, of what family I am. I asked my mother, and she answered'—"In my youth when I had to move about much as a servant, I conceived thee. I do not know of what family thou art. I am Jabâlâ by name, thou art Satyakâma." 'I am therefore Satyakâma Jabâla, Sir.'

"5. He said to him: 'No one but a true Brâhman would thus speak out. Go and fetch fuel, friend, I shall initiate you. You have not swerved from the truth.'"

And this truth-loving young man was initiated, and according to the custom of the times, went out to tend his teacher's cattle. In time he learnt the great truths which nature, and even the brute creation, teach those

whose minds are open to instruction. Yes, he learned truths from the bull of the herd that he was tending, from the fire that he had lighted, and from a flamingo and a diverbird which flew near him, when in the evening he had penned his cows and laid wood on the evening fire, and sat behind it. The young student then came back to his teacher, and his teacher at once said: "Friend, you shine like one who knows Brahman: who then has taught you?" "Not men," was the young student's reply. And the truth which the young student had learnt (though clothed in the fanciful and somewhat grotesque style of the period) was that the four quarters, and the earth, the sky, the heaven and the ocean, and the sun, the moon, the lightning, and the fire, and the organs and mind of living beings, yea, the whole universe was Brahman or God.

Such is the teaching of the Upanishads, and such are the poetical legends in which the teaching is clothed as we shall see further on. A legend like that of Satyakâma Jabâla in the Upanishads, which is full of human feeling and pathos and the highest moral lessons, cheers and refreshes the student after he has waded through pages of the dry and meaningless dogmas and rituals of the Brâhmanas. But our purpose in quoting the legend here is to show that the rules of caste had not become yet rigid when such legends were composed. We find in the legend that the son of a servant girl, who did not know his own father, became a religious student simply through his love of truth, learnt the lessons which nature and the learned men of the time could teach him, and subsequently became classed among the wisest religious teachers of the time. Surely the caste-system of that ancient time must have been freedom itself compared to the enslaving system of later times, when the entire nation, except the priests, was cruelly debarred from knowledge,—that knowledge which is the food of a nation's mind, and the life of a nation's life.

There is another legend in the same Upanishad (IV, 2), in which we find a Brâhman imparting knowledge to a Sûdra, accepting presents from him, and taking his

daughter for his wife. The legend is in the usual simple language of the Upanishad, and we will therefore quote it:—

"1. Then Jânasruti Putrâyana took six hundred cows, a necklace, and a carriage with mules, went to Raikva and said—

"2. 'Raikva, here are six hundred cows, a necklace, and a carriage with mules; teach me the deity which you worship?'

"3. The other replied: 'Fie, necklace and carriage be thine O Sûdra, together with the cows.' Then Jânasruti Putrâyana took again a thousand cows, a necklace, a carriage with mules, and his own daughter and went to him.

"4. He said to him: 'Raikva, there are a thousand cows, a necklace, a carriage with mules, this wife, and this village in which thou dwellest, Sir, teach me?'

"5. He opening her mouth, said: 'You have brought these (cows and other presents), O Sûdra, but only by that mouth did you make me speak."

The Sûdra, however, though in exceptional cases admitted to knowledge, does not appear to have been ever admitted to the sacrifice. On the other hand, the Brâhmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas were all able to sacrifice (Satapatha Brâhmana, III, 1, 9), and therefore the distinctions between these castes was small, and the suppremacy of the Brâhman was almost nominal yet. In one passage, indeed, we have it boldly stated that a Brâhman may be of uncertain birth, but that he only is a true Brâhman who is born of the *Brahman* of the sacrifice; wherefore *even a Râjanya or a Vaisyas should be addressed as Brâhman*, "since who is born of the sacrifice is born of the *Brahman* and hence a Brâhman." (Satapatha Brâhmana, III, 2, 1, 40).

It was in the Epic Period that the sacrificial cord Yajnopavîta came to use. We are told in the Satapatha Brâhmana, II, 4, 2, that when all beings came to Prajâpati, the gods and the fathers came, wearing the sacrificial cord. And we are told in Kaushîtaki Upanishad, II, 7, that the all-conquering Kaushîtaki

adores the sun when rising, having put on the sacrificial cord.

The Yajnopavîta was worn in this ancient period by Brâhmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas alike, but only at the time of performing Yajna or Vedic worship and sacrifices.

Things have changed since those ancient times. The Yajnopavîta is now habitually and ostentatiously worn at all times—by the members of one caste only—the Brâhmans, and that caste has forgotten to perform the Vedic Yajna!

CHAPTER VI.

SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE. THE POSITION OF WOMEN.

THE great distinction then between the society of the Vedic times and the society of the Epic Period is, that the caste-system was unknown in the former, and was developed in the latter. But this was not the only distinctive feature of the times. Centuries of culture and progress had their influence on society, and the cultured Hindus of the Epic Period were as widely different in their social manners from the warrior-cultivators of the Vedic Period as the Greeks of the time of Pericles were different from the Greeks of the time of Agamemnon and Ulysses.

The Hindus of the period of which we are speaking, had attained a high degree of refinement and civilization and had developed minute rules to regulate their domestic and social duties. Royal courts were the seats of learning, and the learned and wise of all nations were invited, honored and rewarded. Justice was administered by learned officers, and laws regulated every duty of life. Towns with their strong walls and beautiful edifices multiplied among all nations, and had their judges, their executive officers, and their police. Agriculture was fostered, and the king's officers settled all disputes and looked to the collection of taxes and the comforts of cultivators.

We have said that the courts of enlightened and learned kings, like those of the Videhas, the Kâsîs, and the Kuru-Panchâlas, were the principal seats of learning in those times. Learned priests were retained in such courts for the performance of sacrifices, and also for the purpose of the cultivation of learning; and many of the Brâhmanas and Upanishads which have been handed down to us, were probably composed in

the schools which these priests founded. On great occasions men of learning came from distant towns and villages, and discussions were held not only on ritualistic matters, but on such subjects as the human mind, the destination of the soul after death, the future world, the nature of the gods, the fathers, and the different orders of being, and lastly, on the nature of that Universal Being who has manifested himself in all the works we see.

But learning was not confined to royal courts. There were Parishads or Brâhmanic settlements for the cultivation of learning, answering to the Universities of Europe; and young men went to these Parishads to acquire learning. Thus in Brihadâranyaka Upanishad VI, 2, we learn that Svetaketu went to the Parishads of the Panchâlas for his education. Max Müller in his History of Sanscrit Literature, quotes passages which show that, according to modern writers, a Parishad ought to consist of twenty-one Brâhmans well versed in philosophy, theology, and law; but these rules, as he points out, are laid down in later law books, and do not describe the character of the Parishads of the Epic Period. Parâsara says that four, or even three able men from amongst the Brâhmans in a village, who know the Veda and keep the sacrificial fire, form a Parishad.

Besides these Parishads, individual teachers established what would be called private schools in Europe, and often collected round themselves students from various parts of the country. These students lived with their teachers, served them in a menial capacity during the time of their studentship, and then after twelve years or longer, made suitable presents and returned to their homes and their longing relatives. Learned Brâhmans who had retired to forests in their old age often collected such students round them, and much of the boldest speculations in the Epic Period has proceeded from these sylvan and retired seats of sanctity and learning. Such is the way in which learning has been cultivated and preserved

during thousands of years among Hindus, a nation who valued learning and knowledge perhaps more than any other nation in ancient or modern times. Good works and religious rites lead, according to the Hindu creed, to happier states of life and to their due reward; but true knowledge alone leads to final union with God.

When students had thus acquired the traditional learning either in Parishads or under private teachers, they returned to their homes, married, and settled down as householders. With marriage began their duties as householders, and the first duty of a householder was to light the sacrificial fire under an auspicious constellation, to offer morning and evening libations of milk to the fire, to perform other religious and domestic rites, and above all, to offer hospitality to strangers and to receive and honor guests. The essence of a Hindu's duties are inculcated in passages like the following:—

"Say what is true! Do thy duty! Do not neglect the study of the Veda! After having brought to thy teacher the proper reward, do not cut off the lives of children! Do not swerve from the truth! Do not swerve from duty! Do not neglect what is useful! Do not neglect greatness! Do not neglect the learning and teaching of the Veda!

Do not neglect the (sacrifice) works due to the gods and fathers! Let thy mother be to thee like unto a god! Let thy father be to thee like unto a god! Let thy teacher be to thee like unto a god! Whatever actions are blameless, those should be regarded, not others. Whatever good works have been performed by us, those should be observed by thee."—(Taittirîya Upanishad, I, 2.)

Pleasing pictures of a happy state of society are presented in many passages which we meet with in the literature of the period: "May the Brâhmans in our kingdom," says the priest at a horse-sacrifice, "live in piety; many our warriors be skilled in arms and mighty; may our cows yield us profuse milk, our bullocks carry their weights, and our horses be swift; may our women defend their homes, and warriors be victorious; may our

youths be refined in their manners.....May Parjanya shower rain in every home and in every region; may our crops yield grains and ripen, and we attain our wishes and live in bliss."—(White Yajur Veda, XXII, 22.)

The wealth of rich men consisted in gold and silver and jewels; in cars, horses, cows, mules and slaves; in houses and fertile fields, and even in elephants. (Chhândogya Upanishad, V, 13, 17, and 19; VII, 24; Satapatha Brâhmana, III, 2, 48; Taittirîya Upanishad, I, 5, 12, &c., &c.) Gold is considered a proper gift at sacrifice, the gift of silver (Rajatam Hiranyam) being strictly prohibited. The reason is sufficiently grotesque, as the reasons given in the Brâhmanas generally are. When the gods claimed back the goods deposited with Agni, he wept, and the tears he shed became silver; and hence if silver is given as *dakshinâ*, there will be weeping in the house! The reason scarcely veils the cupidity of priests which was the real cause of gifts in gold.

Not only was the use of gold and silver known, but several other metals are mentioned in White Yajur Veda, XVII, 13. The following passage from the Chhândogya Upanishad specifies some metals then in use:

"As one binds gold by means of *lavana* (borax), and silver by means of gold, and tin by means of silver, and lead by means of tin, and iron *(loha)* by means of lead, and wood by means of iron, and also by means of leather." (IV, 17, 7.)

In Aitareya Brâhmana, VIII, 22, we are told, evidently in the language of exaggeration, that the son of Atri presented ten thousand elephants and ten thousand slave girls, "well endowed with ornaments on their necks, who had been gathered from all quarters."

As in the Vedic Period, the food of the people consisted of various kinds of grain as well as the meat of animals. In the Brihadâranyaka Upanishad, VI, III, 13, ten kinds of seeds are mentioned, *viz.*, rice and barley (brîhiyavâs), sesamum and kidney bean (tilamâshâs), millet and panic seed (anupriyângavâs), wheat

(godhûmâs), lentils (masûrâs), pulse (khalvâs) and vetches (khalakulâs).

In the White Yajur Veda, XVIII, 12, we have a list of these grains, beside mudga, nîvâra, and syâmâkara. Grains were ground and sprinkled with curds, honey and clarified butter, and so made into different kinds of cake. Milk and its various preparations have ever been a favorite food in India.

Animal food was in use in the Epic Period, and the cow and the bull were often laid under requisition. In Aitareya Brâhmana, I, 15, we learn that an ox or a cow which miscarries is killed when a king or an honored guest is received.

In the Brâhmana of the Black Yajur Veda, the kind and character of the cattle which should be slaughtered in minor sacrifices, for the gratification of particular divinities, are laid down in detail. Thus a dwarf one is to be sacrified to Visnu, a drooping horned bull to Indra, a thick-legged cow to Vâyu, a barren cow to Vishnu and Varuna, a black cow to Pûshan, a cow having two colors to Mitra and Varuna, a red cow to Indra, &c., &c. In a larger and more important ceremonial, like the Asvamedha, no less than 180 domestic animals, including horses, bulls, cows, goats, deer, &c., were sacrificed. The same Brâhmana lays down instructions for carving, and the Gopatha Brâhmana tells us who received the different portions. The priests got the tongue, the neck, the shoulder, the rump, the legs, &c., while the master of the house (wisely) appropriated to himself the sirloin, and his wife had to content herself with the pelvis! Plentiful libations of the Soma beer were allowed to wash down the meat!

In the Satapatha Brâhmana, IV, 5, we have a detailed account of the slaughter of a barren cow and its cooking. In III, 1, 2, 21 of the same Brâhmana, there is an amusing discussion as to the propriety of eating the meat of an ox or a cow. The conclusion is not very definite: "Let him (the priest) not eat the flesh of the cow and the ox." Nevertheless Yâjnavalkya said

(taking apparently a very practical view of the matter), "I for one eat it, provided that it is tender!"

The practical Yâjnavalkya could scarcely, however, have contemplated the wonderful effects of vegetable and animal diets, respectively, as laid down in the following passage from the Brihadâranyaka Upanishad, (VI, 4, 17 and 18):—

"And if a man wishes that a learned daughter should be born to him, and that she should live to her full age, then, after having prepared boiled rice with sesamum and butter, they (the husband and wife) should both eat, being fit to have offspring.

"And if a man wishes that a learned son should be born to him, famous, a public man, a popular speaker, that he should know all the Vedas, and that he should live to his full age, then, after having prepared boiled rice with meat and butter, they (the husband and wife) should both eat, being fit to have offspring. The meat should be of a young or of an old bull."

We scarcely thought that the venerable composers of the Vedic Brâhmanas ever suspected any sort of connexion between beef eating and public speaking, such as has manifested itself in later days!

And now let our readers by an effort of their imagination construct for themselves the social life which the Hindus of the Epic Period, which the citizens of Hastinâpura and Kâmpilya and Ayodhyâ lived three thousand years ago. The towns were surrounded by walls, beautified by edifices, and laid out in spacious streets,—which would not bear comparison with the structures and roads of modern days,—but were probably the finest of their kind in ancient times. The king's palace was always the centre of the town, and was frequented by boisterous barons and a rude soldiery as well as by holy saints and learned priests. The people flocked to the palace on every great occasion, loved, respected and worshipped the king, and had no higher faith than loyalty to the king. Householders and citizens had their possessions and wealth in gold, silver and jewels, in cars, horses, mules, and slaves, and in

the fields surrounding the town. They kept the sacred fire in every respectable household, honored guests, lived according to the law of the land, offered sacrifices with the help of Brâhmans, and honored knowledge. Every Aryan boy was sent to his school at an early age. Brâhmans and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas were educated together, learnt the same lessons and the same religion, and returned home, married and settled down as householders. Priests and soldiers were a portion of the people, intermarried with the people, and ate and drank with the people. Various classes of manufacturers supplied the various wants of a civilized society, and followed their ancestral professions from generation to generation, but were not cut up into separate castes. Agriculturists lived with their herds and their ploughs round each town: while holy saints and men of learning sometimes lived away in forests to add day by day to that knowledge which was the most cherished heritage of the Aryans. The picture of ancient life can be indefinitely enlarged; but each reader will probably do this for himself. We will turn from this general account of ancient society to examine the position which women held in that society.

We have seen that the absolute seclusion of women was unknown in ancient India. Hindu women held an honored place from the dawn of Hindu civilization four thousand years ago; they inherited and possessed property; they took a share in sacrifices and religious duties; they attended great assemblies on state occasions; they openly frequented public thoroughfares, according to their needs, every day of their life; they often distinguished themselves in the learning of their times; and they even had their legitimate influence on politics and administration. And although they never mixed so freely in the society of men as women do in modern Europe, yet absolute seclusion and restraint are not Hindu customs; they were unknown in India till the Mahomedan times; and are to this day unknown in parts of India like the Mahârâshtra, where the rule of the Moslems was brief. No

ancient nation held their women in higher honor than the Hindus, but the Hindus have been misjudged and wronged by writers unacquainted with their literature, and who received their notions of the women of the East from Turkish and Arab customs.

Innumerable passages could be quoted from the Brâhmana literature, showing the high esteem in which women were held, but we will content ourselves with one or two. The first is the celebrated conversation between Yâjnavalkya and his learned wife Maitreyî on the eve of his retirement into forests :—

"1. Now when Yâjnavalkya was going to enter upon another state, he said : 'Maitreyî, verily I am going away from this my house. Forsooth let me make a settlement between thee and Kâtyâyanî.'

"2. Maitreyî said : 'My Lord, if this whole earth full of wealth belonged to me, tell me, should I be immortal by it?' 'No,' replied Yâjnavalkya ; 'like the life of rich people will be thy life. But there is no hope of immortality by wealth?'

"3. And Maitreyî said : 'What should I do with that by which I do not become immortal? What my Lord knoweth of immortality, tell that to me?'

"4. Yâjnavalkya replied : 'Thou who art truly dear to me, thou speakest dear words. Come, sit down, I will explain it to thee, and mark well what I say.'

And then he explained the principle which is so often and so impressively taught in the Upanishads, that the Universal Self dwells in the husband, in the wife, in the sons, and in wealth, in the Brâhmans and Kshatriyas, and in all the worlds, in the Devas, in all living creatures, yea, in all the universe.—Brihadâranyaka Upanishad.

Our next quotation, which is also from the same Upanishad, relates to a great assembly of learned men in the court of Janaka, king of the Videhas :—

"Janaka Videha sacrificed with a sacrifice at which many presents were offered to the priests of (the Asvamedha). Brâhmans of the Kurus and the Panchâlas had come thither, and Janaka wished to know which of those Brâhmans was the best read. So he

enclosed a thousand cows, and ten padas (of gold) were fastened to each pair of horns.

"2. And Janaka spoke to them: 'Ye venerable Brâhmans, he who among you is the wisest, let him drive away these cows.' Then those Brâhmans durst not, but Yâjnavalkya said to his pupil 'Drive them away, my dear.' He replied, 'O glory of the Sâman!' and drove them away."

On this the Brâhmans became angry, and plied the haughty priest Yâjnavalkya with questions, but Yâjnavalkya was a match for them all. Asvala the hotri priest, Jâratkarava A'rtabhâga, Bhujyu Lâhyâyani, Ushasta Châkrâyana, Kahola Kaushîtakeya, Uddâlaka A'runi, and others plied Yâjnavalkya with questions, but Yâjnavalkya was not found wanting; the learned men, one by one, held their peace.

There was one in the great assembly—and this is a remarkable fact which throws light on the manners of the time—who was not deficient in the learning and the priestly lore of those times, because she was a lady. She rose in the open assembly, and said: "O Yâjnavalkya, as the son of a warrior from the Kâsîs or Videhas might string his loosened bow, take two pointed foe-piercing arrows in his hand and rise to battle, I have risen to fight thee with two questions. Answer me these questions." The questions were put and were answered, and Gârgî Vâchaknavî was silent.

Do not these passages and such passages as these indicate that women were honored in ancient India, more perhaps than among any other ancient nation in the face of the globe? Considered as the intellectual companions of their husbands, as their friends and affectionate helpers in the journey of life, as the partners of their religious duties and the source of their pure domestic bliss, Hindu wives were honored and respected in ancient times. It was not often that they attained the abstruse learning of a Maitreyî or a Gârgî; but nevertheless they were well informed in general matters and well trained in their own domestic duties. Free from all undue restraint on their movements and actions, women moved

freely in the society in which they lived, frequented public festivities and sights, performed religious sacrifices, visited friends, and received visits. More than this: they had their rights to property and to inheritance which indicate the honor and regard in which they were held. It would scarcely be fair to compare ancient customs with the institutions of modern civilization; but the historian of India, who has studied the literature of the ancient Hindus, will have no hesitation in asserting that never, in the most polished days of Greece or Rome, were women held in higher regard in those countries than they were in India three thousand years ago.

As we have said before, early marriage and child marriage were still unknown in the Epic Period, and we have numerous allusions to the marriage of girls at a proper age. Widow marriage was not only not prohibited, but there is distinct sanction for it; and the rites which the widow had to perform before she entered into the married state again, are distinctly laid down. As caste was still a pliable institution, men belonging to one caste not unoften married widows of another, and Brâhmans married widows of other castes without any scruple. "And when a woman has had ten former husbands, not Brâhmans, if a Brâhman then marries her, it is he alone who is her husband." *Atharva Veda*, V, 17, 8.

Polygamy was allowed among the Hindus as among many other ancient nations, but was confined in India to kings and wealthy lords as a rule. Modern readers, who would judge harshly of ancient Hindu civilization from the prevalence of this custom, should remember that polygamy was nearly universal among the wealthy people of all nations in ancient times, and that, to take some instances, Alexander the Great and his successors Lysimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemy, Demetrius, Pyrrhus and others were all polygamists! Polyandry, we need hardly say, was unknown in Aryan India: "For one man has many wives, but one wife has not many husbands at the same time." Aitareya Brâhmana, III, 23.

There is in the Satapatha Brâhmana (I, 8, 3, 6) a curious passage prohibiting marriages among blood relations to the third or fourth generation: "Hence from one and the same man spring both the enjoyer (the husband) and the one to be enjoyed (the wife)"; "for now kingsfolk live sporting and rejoicing together saying, in the fourth or third man (generation) we unite." The rule of prohibition became more strict in later times.

Women in India have ever been remarkable for their faithfulness and their duteous affection towards their husbands, and female unfaithfulness is comparatively rare. It would appear that Hindu priests, like Roman Catholic priests, found a way to discover the most hidden secrets of frail women, and the following reads like a rule of Roman Catholic confessional:

"Thereupon the Pratiprasthâtri returns (to the place where the sacrificer's wife is seated). When he is about to lead the wife away, he asks her, 'With whom holdest thou intercourse?' Now when a woman who belongs to one (man) carries on intercourse with another, she undoubtedly commits (a sin) against Varuna. He therefore asks her, lest she should sacrifice with a secret pang in her mind; for when confessed, the sin becomes less, since it becomes truth: this is why he thus asks her. And whatever (connexion) she confesses not, that indeed will turn out injurious to the relatives." (Satapatha Brâhmana, II, 5, 2, 20).

CHAPTER VII.

LAW, ASTRONOMY, AND THE PROGRESS OF LEARNING.

THE punishment of criminals and a proper administration of the law are the foundations on which all civilized societies are built, and we find a warm appreciation of law in some passages in the Brâhmana literature: "Law is the Kshatra (power) of the Kshatra, therefore there is nothing higher than the law. Thenceforth even a weak man rules a stronger with the help of the law as with the help of a king. Thus the law is what is called the true. And if a man declares what is true, they say he declares the law; and if he declares the law, they say he declares what is true. Thus both are the same." (Brihadâranyaka I, 4, 14.) No nobler definition of law has been discovered by all the jurists in the world.

The judicial procedure was still, however, crude, and as among other ancient nations, criminals were often tried by the ordeal of fire.

"They bring a man hither whom they have taken by the hand, and they say: 'He has taken something, he has committed theft.' (When he denies, they say): 'Heat the hatchet for him.' If he committed the theft, then he . . grasps the heated hatchet, he is burnt, and he is killed. But if he did not commit the theft, then he . . grasps the heated hatchet, he is not burnt, and he is delivered." (Chhândogya, VI, 16.) Murder, theft, drunkenness and adultery are generally the offences alluded to.

The first elementary knowledge of the astronomical science is discernable in the Rig Veda itself. The year was divided into twelve lunar months, and a thirteenth or intercalary month was added to adjust the lunar with the solar year (I, 25, 8.) The six seasons of the year were named Madhu, Mâdhava, Sukra, Suchi, Nabha and Nabhasya, and were connected with differ-

ent gods (II, 36.) The different phases of the moon were observed and were personified as deities. Râkâ is the full moon, Sinîvâli is the last day before the new moon, and Gungu is the new moon (II, 32). The position of the moon with regard to the Nakshatras or the lunar mansions is also alluded to (VIII, 3, 20), and some of the constellations of the lunar mansions are also named in X, 85, 13 ; but these hymns were probably composed at the time of the compilation of the Rig Veda which falls within the Epic Period, when the lunar zodiac was finally settled.

As might be expected, there was a considerable progress made in the Epic Period. Astronomy had now come to be regarded as a distinct science, and astronomers by profession were called Nakshatra Darsa and Ganaka. (Taittirîya Brâhmana, IV, 5, and White Yajur. Veda, XXX, 10, 20.) The twenty-eight lunar mansions are also enumerated singly in the Black Yajur Veda, and a second and later enumeration occurs in the Atharva Sanhitâ and in the Taittirîya Brâhmana. An interesting passage in Satapatha Brâhmana (II, 1, 2) shows how sacrificial rites were regulated by the position of the moon in reference to these lunar asterisms. It is too long to be quoted, and we will therefore give extracts :—

" 1. He may set up two fires under the *Krittikâs* (the pleiades), for they, the Krittikâs, are doubtless Agni's asterism. * *

" 6. He may also set up his fires under (the asterism of) *Rohinî*. For under Rohinî it was that Prajâpati, when desirous of progeny set up his fires. * * 8. He may also set up his fires under (the asterism of) *Mrigasîrsha*. For Mrigasîrsha, indeed, is the head of Prajapâti. * * He may also set up his fires under the *Phalgunîs*. They, the Phalgunîs, are Indra's asterism, and even correspond to him in name ; for, indeed, Indra is also called Arjuna, this being his mystic name ; and they (Phalgunîs) are also called Arjunîs * * 12. Let him set up his fire under the asterism *Hastâ*, whosoever should wish that (presents) should be offered

him : then indeed (that will take place) forthwith ; for whatever is offered with the hand (hasta), that indeed is given to him.' 13. He may also set up his fires under *Chitrâ*," &c., &c.

But not only was the setting up of the sacrificial fires regulated by the constellations, but sacrifices lasting for a year were regulated by the sun's annual course. Dr. Martin Haug, the editor and translator of the Aitareya Brâhmana has made some excellent remarks on this subject which deserve to be quoted :—

" A regulation of the calendar by such (astronomical) observations was an absolute necessity for the Brâhmans ; for the proper time of commencing and ending their sacrifices, principally the so-called *Sattras* or sacrificial sessions, could not be known without an accurate knowledge of the time of the sun's northern and southern progress. The knowledge of the calendar forms such an essential part of the ritual, that many important conditions of the latter cannot be carried out without the former. The sacrifices are allowed to commence only at certain lucky constellations and in certain months ; so, for instance, as a rule, no great sacrifice can commerce during the sun's southern progress (*dakshinâyana*) ; for this is regarded, up to the present day, as an unlucky period for the Brâhmans, in which even to die is believed to be a misfortune. The great sacrifices take place generally in spring, in the months *Chaitra* and *Vaisâkha* (April and May.) The *Sattras*, which lasted for a year, were, as one may learn from a careful perusal of the 4th Book of the Aitareya Brâhmana, nothing but an imitation of the sun's yearly course. They were divided into two distinct parts, each consisting of six months of thirty days each ; in the midst of both was the Vishuvan, *i.e.* equator or central day, cutting the whole *Sattra* into two halves. The ceremonies were in both the halves exactly the same ; but they were in the latter half performed in an inverted order. This represents the increase of the days in the northern and their decrease in the southern progress ; for both increase and decrease take place

exactly in the same proportions."—Introduction, pp. 46 and 47.

We have said that the lunar zodiac was finally arranged in India towards the close of the Vedic Period, or the commencement of the Epic Period, say, B. C., 1400. The illustrious Colebrooke first stated his opinion that the Hindus arranged the lunar mansions from their own observations; and later researches into the intimate connection between the Vedic rites and the position of the moon with regard to the stars, leave no doubt whatever as to the indigenous origin of Hindu astronomy. But, nevertheless, some European scholars have indulged in conjectures as to the origin of Hindu astronomy, and a controversy which may really be called a battle of books has raged in Europe and America!

The eminent French savant Biot writing in 1860, described the Chinese system of *Sieu* as an indigenous Chinese institution, and the inference was, that the Hindu *Nakshatras* and Arab *Manazil* were borrowed from the Chinese. The German scholar Lassen was led to adopt this opinion. The profound scholar Weber, however, took up the subject, and in two elaborate essays published in 1860 and 1861, proved that the Chinese *Sieu* as well as the Arab *Manazil* "in respect of order, number, indentity of limiting stars, and inequality of distance correspond to one of the most modern phases of the Hindu *Nakshatras*, prior to which these have their own peculiar history of development." Weber thus finally disposes of the theory of the Chinese origin of the *Nakshatras*, and further proves that the Arab lunar mansions were imported by the Arabs from India. And this is exactly the conclusion to which Colebrooke had arrived as far back as 1807, when he wrote that the Hindus had an ecliptic, "seemingly their own: it was certainly borrowed by the Arabians."

Having thus finally disposed of the Chinese and Arabian theories, Professor Weber must needs start a theory of his own, which we may call the Chaldean theory! He conjectures that the Hindu system may

have been derived from some foreign source, probably Babylon. This is nothing but a conjecture, a mere suspicion, for Assyrian scholars have not yet obtained any trace of a lunar zodiac among the archives of old Babylonian learning; but Professor Whitney of America supports this "suspicion," as he calls it, because he thinks the Hindus "were not a people of such habits of mind" as to make observations in the heavens and settle the lunar zodiac. The argument is so amusing, that the learned professor almost withdraws it himself, stating that the argument "is not of a character to compel belief."

When scholars condescend to such wild reasoning, it is idle to pursue the controversy. We will, therefore, conclude this subject with a passage in which Max Müller puts forward the common sense view of the subject. "The 27 Nakshatras, or the 27 constellations which were chosen in India as a kind of lunar zodiac, were supposed to have come from Babylon. Now the Babylonian zodiac was solar, and in spite of repeated researches, no trace of a lunar zodiac has been found, where so many things have been found in the cuneiform inscriptions. But supposing even that a lunar zodiac had been discovered in Babylon, no one acquainted with Vedic literature, and with the ancient Vedic ceremonial, would easily allow himself to be persuaded that the Hindus had borrowed that simple division of the sky from the Babylonians."*

Besides fixing the lunar zodiac, the Hindus of this period observed the solstitial points to fix the dates of momentous events, and divided the year into months, naming each month after the lunar constellation at which the moon was at its full in the particular month. If we can rely on Bentley, this naming of the months must have taken place in 1181 B. C., and 1426 B. C. is given for the formation of the lunar mansions.† A knowledge of the solar zodiac was borrowed from the

* India: What can it teach us. (1883) p. 126.
† Hindu Astronomy. London (1825) pp. 3 and 10.

Greeks, after the Christian era, as we will see in a subsequent Book.

Besides astronomy, other branches of learning were also cultivated in the Epic Period. Thus in Chhândogya Upanishad (VII, 1, 2), we find Nârada saying to Sanatkumâra, "I know the Rig Veda, Sir, the Yajur Veda, the Sâma Veda, as the fourth the Atharvana, as the fifth the Itihâsa Purâna, the Veda of the Vedas grammar); the Pitrya (rules for sacrifices for the ancestors); the Râsi (the science of numbers); the Daiva (the science of portents); the Nidhi (the science of time); the Vâkovâkya (logic); the Ekâyana (ethics); the Deva Vidyâ (etymology;) the Brahma Vidyâ (pronunciation prosody, &c.); the Bhûta Vidyâ (the science of demons); the Kshatra Vidyâ (the science of weapons); the Nakshatra Vidyâ (astronomy); the Sarpa Devanjana Vidyâ (the science of serpents and of genii.) All this I know, Sir."

In Brihadâranyaka (II, 4, 10) we are told that "Rig-Veda, Yajur Veda, Sâma Veda, Atharvângirasas, Itihâsa (legends), Purâna (cosmogonies) Vidyâ (knowledge), the Upanishads, Slokas (verses), Sûtras (prose rules) Anuvyâkhyânas (glosses), Vyâkhyânas (commentaries), have all been breathed forth from the Supreme Being.

Again, in the eleventh book of the Satapatha Brâhmana, we have mention of the three Vedas, the Atharvângirasas, the Aunsâsanas, the Vidyâs, the Vâkovâkya, the Itihâsa Purâna, the Narasansîs and the Gâthâs.

Professor Weber is of opinion that these names do not necessarily imply distinct species of work which existed in the Epic Period, and which have been since lost to us. He points out that many of the names merely imply the different subjects which we still find existing in the Brâhmanas. It was at a later age, in the Rationalistic Period, that these different subjects which we find interwoven in the Brâhmanas and Upanishads, branched out as separate subjects of study, and were taught in the separate Sûtra works and compositions which have come down to us.

There is considerable force in this supposition, but at the same time it seems very likely that, on many of the subjects enumerated above, separate works existed in the Epic Period, which have been lost to us because they have been replaced by more elaborate and scientific works of a later age on the same subjects.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SACRIFICIAL RITES AND LEGENDS OF THE BRAHMANAS.

THE main feature which distinguishes the religion of the Epic Period from that of the preceding age, is the great importance which came to be attached to *sacrifice*. In the earlier portion of the Vedic Period, men composed hymns in praise of the most imposing manifestations of nature, they deified these various natural phenomena, and they worshipped these deities under the name of Indra or Varuna of Agni or the Maruts. The worship took the shape of sacrifice, *i. e.*, the offering of milk or grain food, of animals or libations of the Soma juice to the gods. Such offerings were but an accompaniment to the worship of the gods which proceeded from pious hearts and pious lips.

A gradual change, however, is perceptible towards the close of the Rig Veda, and in the period of the Brâhmanas sacrifice as such, the mere forms and ceremonials and offerings, had acquired such an abnormal importance, that everything else was lost in it. The priests appear to have believed that the ancient hymns had been composed simply and solely for the purpose of being uttered at sacrifices, and were only a means to the great end. They entirely forgot that the hymns were themselves the earliest expression of those feelings of gratitude and fervency in the human heart which found a later and a less pure form of expression in elaborate sacrifices.

It would be entirely foreign to our purpose to describe the various kinds of sacrifices of which we find accounts in the Brâhmanas, from the simple morning or evening sacrifice (Agnihotra), and the new and full moon sacrifices (Darsa Pûrnamâsa Ishti), to the *sattras*

or sacrificial sessions, which lasted for a whole year or even ten or twelve years!

Sacrifices were generally accompanied by gifts of cattle, gold, garments and food, and by the offering of animals as victims. There is a curious passage in Satapatha Brâhmana, 1, 2, 3, 7 & 8, about animal sacrifice which deserves to be quoted:

"At first, namely, the gods offered up a man as a victim. When he was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of him. It entered into the horse. They offered up the horse. When it was offered, the sacrificial essence went out of it. It entered into the ox, when it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it. It entered into the sheep. They offered up the sheep. When it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it. It entered into the goat. They offered up the goat. When it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it. It entered into this earth. They searched for it by digging. They found it in the shape of those two substances, the rice and barley: therefore, even now they obtain those two by digging; and as much efficacy as all those sacrificed animal victims would have for him, so much efficacy has this oblation (of rice, &c.), for him who knows this."

Professor Max Müller infers from this passage that human sacrifices prevailed among the ancient Hindus, not in the Brâhmana Period, not even in the Vedic Period, but at a still remoter age. Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, we regret to observe, follows the lead of Professor Max Müller, and infers from certain other passages which he quotes from the literature of this period, that the inhuman custom prevailed in the remote past. We demur to the conclusions of these two eminent scholars.

If human sacrifice had prevailed in India before the Rig Veda hymns which are now extant were composed, we should certainly have found allusions to it in the hymns themselves—allusions far more frequent than we find in the later Brâhmana literature. We find no such allusions. The story of Sunahsepha, as told in the Rig

Veda, is no evidence of human sacrifice. And there is absolutely nothing else in the Rig Veda which can be construed as evidence of this fact. It is impossible to suppose that such a striking and fearful custom should have existed and gradually fallen into disuse without leaving the slightest trace in the Vedic hymns, some of which have come down from a very ancient date.

And where do we find allusions to this custom in the literature of the Epic Period? The Sâma Veda is compiled from the Vedic hymns, and of course there is no mention of human sacrifice in this Veda. There is no mention of the horrible custom in the Black Yajur Veda, and there is no mention of it in the White Yajur Veda, properly so called. It is in the very latest compositions of the Epic Period,—in the *khila* or supplementary portion of the White Yajur Veda, in the Brâhmana of the Black Yajur Veda, in the Aitareya Brâhmana of the Rig Veda, and the last but one book of the Satapatha Brâhmana that we have accounts of human sacrifice. Is it possible to postulate the existence of a horrible custom in India in the remote past of which we find no mention in the Rig Veda, in the Sâma Veda, in the Black or White Yajur Veda, but the memory of which suddenly revived after a thousand years in the supplements and Brâhmanas of the Vedas? Or is it not far more natural to suppose that all the allusions to human sacrifice in the later compositions are the speculations of priests? The practice never generally prevailed among Hindus, and if it was ever adopted in rare and exceptional cases, it was borrowed from the non-Aryans of India at a comparatively recent period of Hindu history. The institution was foreign to the Vedic religion and to the Vedic Hindus.

But though human sacrifices never prevailed among the ancient Aryan Hindus animal sacrifices, no doubt, prevailed in ancient times, but gradually fell into disuse after the Epic Period. It was the growing repugnance to the killing of animals which was one of the causes which led to the rise of Buddhism in the Rationalistic

Period, and that faith was essentially a religion of humanity and protection to all living beings.

The different varieties of sacrifices certainly exceed 1,000, but Gautama classifies them as seven kinds of Pâka-sacrifice, seven kinds of Havih-sacrifice and seven kinds of Soma-sacrifice.

The Havih-sacrifices are :—

(1) Agnyâdheya (Setting up the sacred fire).
(2) Agnihotra (Daily oblation).
(3) Darsapûrnamâsa (Full and new moon sacrifice).
(4) A'grayana (Harvest sacrifice).
(5) Châturmâsya (Four monthly sacrifice).
(6) Nirûdhapasubandha (Animal sacrifice).
(7) Sautrâmanî (An expiation for over-indulgence in Soma).

The Soma-sacrifices are :—

(1) Agnishtoma.
(2) Atyagnishtoma.
(3) Ukthya.
(4) Shodasin.
(5) Vâjapeya.
(6) Atirâtra.
(7) Aptoryâma.

} Different types or norms of ceremonials.

The 7 Pâka-sacrifices will be enumerated in the next Book.

An account of these 21 sacrifices would be beyond the scope of the present work. The first of the above rites, however, the setting up of the fire, had a most important bearing on the life of the ancient Hindus, and an account of it will illustrate sacrificial rites generally.

Asvapti, as has been observed before, boasted that in his kingdom there was no thief, no miser, no drunkard, no ignorant person, no adulterer or adulteress, and "no man without an altar in his house." In those days, to keep the sacred fire in the altar was a duty incumbent on every householder, and the breach of this rule was regarded as positive impiety and irreligiousness. The student who had returned home from his teacher or his Parishad, married in due time, and then set up the

sacrificial fires. This was generally done on the first day of the waxing moon, but sometimes also at full moon, probably to enable the newly married couple to enter on the sacred duties as early as possible. The performance of the Agni-âdhâna, or the establishment of the sacred fires, generally required two days. The sacrificer chose his four priests, the Brahman, the Hotri, the Adhvaryu, and the Agnîdhra, and erected two sheds or fire-houses, for the Gârhapatya and the A'havanîya fires, respectively. A circle was marked for the Gârhapatya fire, and a square for the A'hvahîya fire, and if a southern or Dakshinâgni was required, a semi-circular area was marked south of the space between the other two.

The Adhvaryu then procured a temporary fire, either producing it by friction, or obtaining it from certain specified sources in the village, and after the usual fivefold lustration of the Gârhapatya fire-place, he laid down the fire thereon. Towards sunset the sacrificer invoked the gods and manes. He and his wife then entered the Gârhapatya house, and the Adhvaryu handed him two pieces of wood, the *arani* for the production of the A'havanîya fire on the next morning, and the sacrificer and his wife laid them on their laps, and propitiatory ceremonies were performed. The sacrificer and his wife remained awake the whole night and kept up the fire. In the morning the Adhvaryu extinguished the fire, or if there was to be a Dakshinâgni, he kept it till that fire was made up. Such, in brief, is the ceremony of the Agni-âdhâna, or the setting up of sacrificial fires, which formed an important duty in the life of every Hindu householder in ancient days, when the gods were worshipped by each man in his fire-place, and temples and idols were unknown.

We will now briefly allude to some other ancient customs. The illustrious German scholar Dr. Roth first pointed out in 1854, from a passage in the Rig Veda, (X, 18, 11) that in ancient ages burial was practised by the Hindus. This custom was followed by the burning of the dead and the burial of the ashes. That this latter

custom was also in vogue in the Rig Veda Period appears from other passages, such as X, 15, 14, and X, 16, 1. In the Epic Period, of which we are now speaking, the custom of burying had ceased altogether, and the dead were burnt, and the ashes were buried. We find an account of this in the 35th chapter of the White Yajur Veda. The bones of the deceased were collected in a vessel and buried in the ground near a stream, and a mound was raised as high as the knee and covered with grass. The relatives then bathed and changed their clothes and left the funeral ground. The same ceremony is more fully described in the A'ranyaka of the Black Yajur Veda. It is scarcely necessary to add that the custom which now prevails among the Hindus is simple cremation, without the burial of the ashes. This recent custom began, according to Dr. Rajendra Lala, shortly after the commencement of the Christian era.

The interesting ceremony of the gift of cakes to the departed ancestor is described in the second chapter of the White Yajur Veda. The cakes are offered to the Fire and to Soma, and the Fathers are invoked to receive their shares. Then follows an address to the Fathers with reference to the six seasons of the year. The worshipper then looks at his wife and says: "Fathers! you have made us domestic men—we have brought these gifts to you according to our power." Then, offering a thread or wool or hair, he says: "Fathers! this is your apparel, wear it." Then the wife eats a cake with a desire to have children and says: "Fathers! let a male be born in me in this season. Do you protect the son in this womb from all sickness." Departed spirits, according to the Hindu religion, receive offerings from their living descendants, and get none when the family is extinct. Hence the extreme fear of Hindus to die without male issue, and the birth of a son is a part of the religion.

Turning now to legends we note with interest how simple metaphors and similes in the Rig Veda take shape as legends in the Brâhmanas, and then expand into the gorgeous myths of the Purânas.

We have seen that in Vedic hymns, Soma is said to be obtained from the sky, aud brought down by a falcon. The falcon in the Brâhmana is the Gâyatrî Metre which flew up to the sky for Soma. But when Gâyatrî was carrying Soma, the Gandharvas stole it. As the Gandharvas are fond of women, Vâk or speech went in the shape of a woman without clothes to delude the Gandharvas. The Gandharvas were deluded, and recited the Vedas to her; but the gods sang to her and amused her, and so she turned to the gods; "wherefore even to this day women are given to vain things, * * and hence it is, to him who dances and sings that they most readily take a fancy!" (Sat. Br. III 2, 4, 6.) Thus both Soma and Vâk came to the gods.

A most remarkable legend is told of Manu, who in the Vedic hymns is alluded to as the ancient progenitor of man, who introduced cultivation and worship by fire. The legend in the Satapatha Brâhmana (I, 8, 1), is not unlike the account of the Deluge in the Old Testament. As Manu was washing his hands a fish came unto him and said: "Rear me, I will save thee." Manu reared it and in time it told him "in such and such a year that flood will come. Thou shalt then attend to me (*i. e.* to my advice) by preparing a ship." The flood came, and Manu entered into the ship which he had built in time, and the fish swam up to him and carried the ship beyond the northern mountain. The ship was fastened to a tree, there, and as the flood subsided, Manu gradually descended. "The flood then swept away all these creatures, and Manu alone remained here."

We have elsewhere quoted a celebrated Vedic hymn in which the poet, with fervent piety, enquires, "To which god shall we give our offering." It is difficult to misunderstand the import of this simple and sublime hymn; but "the authors of the Brâhmanas had so completely broken with the past that, forgetful of the poetical character of the hymn and the yearning of the poets after the unknown god, they exalted the

interrogative pronoun itself into a deity, and acknowledged a god Ka or Who."*

There is a beautiful Vedic simile in which the Sun, pursuing the Dawn, is compared to a lover pursuing a maiden. Who could have imagined that this simile would give rise to the legend which is found in the Brâhmanas (Satapatha, I, 7, 4 ; Aitereya, III, 33, &c.) that Prajâpati, the supreme god, felt a passion for his daughter, and this was the origin of creation ! This legend in the Brâhmanas further developed itself in the Purânas, where Brahmâ, is represented as amorous of his daughter. The whole of these monstrous legends arose from a simple metaphor in the Rig Veda about the Sun following the Dawn. That such is the origin of the Paurânik fables was known to Hindu thinkers and commentators, as will appear from the following well-known argument of Kumârila, the great opponent of Buddhism, and the predecessor of Sankarâchârya.

" It is fabled that Prajâpati, the Lord of Creation, did violence to his daughter. But what does it mean ? Prajâpati, the Lord of Creation, is a name of the sun ; and he is called so because he protects all creatures. His daughter Ushas is the Dawn. And when it is said that he was in love with her, this only means that at sunrise the sun runs after the dawn; the dawn being at the same time called the daughter of the sun because she rises when he approaches. In the same manner it is said that Indra was the seducer of Ahalyâ. This does not imply that the god Indra committed such a crime ; but Indra means the sun, and Ahalyâ the night ; and as the night is seduced and ruined by the sun of the morning, therefore is Indra called the paramour of Ahalyâ."

There is a myth in the Taittirîya Brâhmana (I, 1, 3, 5) that nothing was seen in the beginning except water, and a lotus leaf standing out of it. Prajâpati dived in the shape of a boar and brought up some earth and

* Max Müller, *Ancient Sanscrit Literature*, p. 433.

spread it out and fastened it down by pebbles. This was the earth.

A similar story is told in the Satapatha Brâhmana (II, 1, 1, 8), that the gods and Asuras both sprung from Prajâpati, and the earth trembled like a lotus leaf when the gods and Asuras contended for mastery. We know that in the Rig Veda, the word Asura is an adjective which means strong or powerful, and is invariably applied to gods except in the very last hymns of the last Mandala. In the Brâhmanas the word changed its meaning altogether, and was applied to the enemies of gods about whom many new legends were invented.

The story of Prajâpati conceiving a passion for his daughter, and this being the origin of creation, has already been alluded to before. Another account is given in the Satapatha Brâhmana (II, 5, 1): "Verily in the beginning Prajâpati alone existed here." He created living beings and birds and reptiles and snakes, but they all passed away for want of food. He then made the breasts in the forepart of their body (*i. e.*, of the mammals) teem with milk, and so the living creatures survived.

While thus legends and speculations were springing up in the Epic Period, religion and religious faith was still the same as in the Vedic Period. The gods of the Rig Veda were still worshipped, and the hymns of the Rik, Sâman or Yajus were still uttered as texts. Only the veneration with which the gods were looked up to in the Vedic Period was merged now in the veneration for the sacrificial ceremonies. And superstition had increased vastly since the Vedic Period. Every sacrifice, every act, every movement has been laid down and described in the Brâhmanas, and no departure is allowed. Superstitious reasons are alleged for every act enjoined on the worshipper, and penances ordained for all kinds of mishaps. There are penances, for instance, if the cow sits down when being milked, or if she cries, or moves and spills the milk, or if the milk is spoilt, or the spoon is broken, or if the Agnihotri sheds tears, or if his wife or cow gives birth to twins! (Aitareya Brâhmana, V and VII.) Such are

the inevitable results when priests are made the custodians of the conscience of a nation!

New gods however were slowly finding a place in the Hindu pantheon—names which have acquired importance in latter times. We have already seen that Arjuna was another name of Indra, even in the Satapatha Brâhmana. In Chapter XVI of the White Yajur Veda, we find Rudra already assuming his more modern Paurânik names, and assuming a more distinct individuality. In the Rig Veda, as we have already seen, Rudra is the father of the storms, he is the thunder. In the White Yajur Veda he is also described as the thunder-cloud, but is specially represented as a fearful god, and often the god of thieves and criminals, and altogether a destructive power. He is called Girisha (because clouds rest on mountains); he is called *Tâmra* or *Aruna* or *Babhru* (from the colour of the clouds); he is named Nîlakantha or blue-necked (also from the same reason); Kapardin or the long-haired; Pasupati or the nourisher of animals; Sankara or the benefactor; Siva or the beneficent; and Rudra or the terrible. Thus, in the Epic Period, we find Rudra in a transition stage, and we already see the origin of some of the Paurânik legends about Siva. But nowhere in the Brâhmana literature do we find those legends fully developed, or Rudra represented as the Paurânik Siva, the consort of Durgâ or Kâlî. In the Kaushîtaki Brâhmana, we find great importance attached in one passage to Isâna or Mahâdeva. In Satapatha Brâhmana we find the following remarkable passage:—"This is thy share, O Rudra! Graciously accept it together with thy sister Ambikâ!" (II, 6, 2, 9.) And in a celebrated passage in the Mundaka Upanishad (which, it must be remembered, is an Upanishad of the Atharva Veda), we find Kâlî, Karâlî, Manojavâ, Sulohitâ, Sudhûmarvarnâ Sphulinginî, and Bisvarupî as the names of the seven tongues of fire. In Satapatha Brâhmana (II, 4, 4, 6), we are told of a sacrifice being performed by Daksha Pârvati; and in the Kena Upanishad we find mention of a female called Umâ Haimavatî, who appeared before Indra and ex-

plained to Indra the nature of Brahman. These are a few specimens of the scattered materials in the Brâhmana literature, out of which the gorgeous Paurânik legend of Siva and his consort was reared.

In the Aitareya Brâhmana (VI, 15), and in Satapatha Brâhmana (I, 2, 5), we are told the story of the gods obtaining from the Asuras the part of the world which Vishnu could stride over or cover, and thus they managed to get the whole world. It is in the last book of the Satapatha Brâhmana (XIV, 1, 1), that Vishnu obtains a sort of supremacy among gods, and his head is then struck off by Indra. Krishna, the son of Devakî, is not yet a deity; he is a pupil of Ghora Angirasa in the Chhândogya Upanishad (III, 17, 6).

While in these scattered allusions we detect materials for the construction of the gorgeous Paurânik mythology of a later day, we also find in the Epic Period traces of that scepticism in Brâhmanical rites and creed which broke out also at a later day in the Buddhist revolution. The Tândya Brâhmana of the Sâma Veda contains the Vrâtya—stomas by which the Vrâtyas or *Aryans not living according to the Brâhmanical rites* could get admission into that community. Some of them are thus described:—"They drive in open chariots of war, carry bows and lances, wear turbans, robes bordered with red and having fluttering ends, shoes and sheep skins folded double; their leaders are distinguished by brown robes and silver neck ornaments; they pursue neither agriculture nor commerce; their laws are in a state of confusion; they speak the same language as those who have received Brâhmanical consecration, but nevertheless call what is easily spoken hard to pronounce." Is it possible that this description refers to some hordes,—probably Turanians,—who pressed into Behar through the Himalayas, and gradually adopted Hindu language and civilization? For the rest, a Vrâtya was not yet looked upon with contempt, and the Supreme Being is addressed in Prasna Upanishad as a Vrâtya.

CHAPTER IX.

THE RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL SPECULATIONS OF THE UPANISHADS.

IT is a relief to pass on from the rituals and ceremonies of the Brâhmanas to the healthier and more vigorous speculations of the Upanishads. The Upanishads were generally composed about the close of the Epic Period, leaving out, of course, the later Upanishads which come down even to the Paurânik Period. Some impatience appears to have been felt with the elaborate and unmeaning rites, the dogmatic but childish explanations, and the mystic but grotesque reasoning which fill the voluminous Brâhmanas; and thinking men must have asked themselves if this was all that religion could teach. Earnest men, while still conforming to the rites laid down in the Brâhmanas, began to speculate on the destination of the human soul and on the nature of the Supreme Being. Learned Kshatriyas, who became disgusted with the pretensions of really ignorant priests, must have given a start to these healthier speculations, or at least carried them on with vigour and success, until Brâhmans who were wise in their own esteem, felt their inferiority and came to them to learn something of the wisdom of the new school. And although there is much in the speculations of the new school which, after the lapse of nearly three thousand years, appears to us to be grotesque or fanciful, still it is impossible not to be struck with the vigour, the earnestness, and the originality which characterise the Upanishads.

The idea of a Supreme Being, a Universal Spirit, an all-pervading Breath or Soul is the keystone of the philosophy and thought of the Upanishads. This idea is somewhat different from Monotheism as it has

been generally understood in later days. For monotheism generally recognises a God and Creator as distinct from the created beings ; but the monotheism of the Upanishads, which has been the monotheism of the Hindu religion ever since, recognises God as the Universal Being ;—all things else have emanated from him, are a part of him, and will mingle in him, and have no separate existence. This is the lesson which Satyakâma Jabâla learnt from Nature, and this is the lesson which Yâjnavalkya imparted to his beloved and esteemed wife Maitreyî. This, too, is the great idea which is taught in the Upanishads in a hundred similes and stories and beautiful legends, which impart to the Upanishads their unique value in the literature of the world.

"All this is Brahman (the Universal Spirit). Let a man meditate on that visible world as beginning, ending, and breathing in the Brahman. * *

"The Intelligent, whose body is spirit, whose form is light, whose thoughts are true, whose nature is like either (omnipresent and invisible), from whom all works, all desires, all sweet odours and tastes proceed ; he who embraces all this, who never speaks and is never surprised.

"He is my self within the heart, smaller than a corn of rice, smaller than a corn of barley, smaller than a mustard seed, smaller than a canary seed or the kernel of a canary seed. He also is my self within the heart, greater than the earth, greater than the sky, greater than heaven, greater than all these worlds.

"He from whom all works, all desires, all sweet odours and tastes proceed who embraces all this, who never speaks and is never surprised, he—my self within the heart—is that Brahman. When I shall have departed from hence, I shall obtain him." *Chhândogya, III*, 14.

Svetaketu, as we have seen before, stayed with his teacher from his twelfth year to his twenty-fourth, and then returned home, "having then studied all the Vedas, conceited, considering himself well read, and

stern." But he had yet things to learn which were not ordinarily taught in the schools of the age, and his father Uddâlaka A'runeya taught him the true nature of the Universal Spirit in beautiful similes:

"As the bees, my son, make honey by collecting the juices of distance trees, and reduce the juice into one form.

"And as these juices have no discrimination, so that they might say, I am the juice of this tree or that, in the same manner, my son, all these creatures, when they have become merged in the True, know not that they are merged in the True. * *

"These rivers, my son, run, the eastern (like the Ganges), towards the east, the western (like the Indus) towards the west. They go from sea to sea (*i. e.*, the clouds lift up the water from the sea to the sky and send it back as rain to the sea). They become, indeed, sea. And as those rivers, when they are in the sea, do not know, I am this or that river." * *

"'Place this salt in water and then wait on me in the morning.'

"The son did as he was commanded. The father said to him; 'Bring me the salt which you placed in the water last night.' The son having looked for it found it not, for, of course, it was melted.

"The father said: 'Taste it from the surface of the water. How is it?' The son replied: 'It is salt.' 'Taste it from the middle. How is it?' The son replied. 'It is salt.' 'Taste it from the bottom. How is it?' The son replied: 'It is salt.' The father said: 'Throw it away and then wait on me.' * *

"Then the father said, in this body, forsooth, you do not perceive the True, my son; but there indeed it is."—*Chhândogya, VI*

"At whose wish does the mind, sent forth, proceed on its errand," asks the pupil. "At whose command does the first breath go forth? At whose wish do we utter this speech? What god directs the eye or the ear?"

The teacher replies: "It is the ear of the ear, the

mind of the mind, the speech of the speech, the breath of the breath, and the eye of the eye. * *

"That which is not expressed by speech, and by which speech is expressed. * * That which does not think by mind, and by which mind is thought. * * that which does not see by the eye, and by which one sees. * * That which does not hear by the ear, and by which the ear is heard. * * That which does not breathe by breath, and by which breath is drawn,—that alone know as Brahman,—*not that which people here adore.*"—*Kena Upanishad, I.*

The italics are, of course, ours. But who does not see in the above passage an effort of the human mind to shake itself from the trammels of meaningless ceremonials, which priests taught and the "people here" practised, to soar into a higher region of thought and to comprehend the incomprehensible,—the breath of the breath and the soul of the soul? Who is not struck by this manly and fervent effort made by the Hindu nation, three thousand years ago, to know the unknown Maker, to comprehend the incomprehensible God?

And the joy of him who has comprehended, however feebly, the incomprehensible God, has been well described:

"He who beholds all beings in the Self, and Self in all beings, he never turns away from it.

"When to a man who understands, the Self has become all things, what sorrow, what trouble can there be to him who once beheld that unity.

"He, the Self, encircled all bright, incorporeal, scatheless, without muscles, pure, untouched by evil, a seer, wise, omnipresent, self-existent, he disposed all things rightly for eternal years."—*Isa Upanishad.*

In the Brihadâranyaka Upanishad, we are told that all gods are the manifestation of Self or Purusha, "for he is all gods." (I, 4, 6). And likewise, that he exists in all men, in the Brâhman, the Kshatriya, Vaisya, and the Sûdra.—(I, 4, 15.)

The idea of Monoism was carried to its farthest

limits in the Upanishads, Dualism was never recognised. In the Sânkhya philosophy, which sprung up at a subsequent period, Nature is independent of Purusha; in the Upanishads it is not. The idea of one Universal Being was carried to its extreme limit. Everything else is a manifestation of this Being.

Our extracts on this subject have been somewhat lengthy, but the reader will not regret it. For the idea of one Universal Being is the very keystone of the Hindu religion, and it is necessary to examine how this idea was first developed in India in the Upanishads. We will now pass on to other matters which have also affected and shaped the Hindu religion of subsequent ages.

The creation of the world was still a mystery to those early thinkers, and the attempts to solve it were necessarily fanciful, and sometimes grotesque. A few passages should be quoted:

"In the beginning this was non-existent. It became existent as it grew. It turned into an egg. The egg lay for the time of a year. The egg broke open. The two halves were, one of silver the other of gold.

"The silver one became this earth, the golden one the sky, the thick membrance (of the white) the mountains, the thin membrance (of the yolk) the mist with the clouds, the small veins the rivers, the fluid the sea.

"And what was born from it was A'ditya, the Sun. When he was born shouts of hurrah arose, and all beings arose and all things which they desired." *Chhândogya, III*, 19.

A different account is given in VI, 2 of the same Upanishad, where we are told that—"In the beginning there was that only, which is,—One only without a second." And that sent forth fire, and fire sent forth water, and water sent forth the earth.

The Aitareya A'ranyaka describes how Prâna, the breath, and his companions created the world, and then discusses the question of the material cause out of which the world was created. As in the Rig Veda

(X, 129), and as in the Jewish account of creation, water is said to be the first material cause.

"Was it water really? Was it water? Yes, all this was water indeed. The water was the root, the world was the shoot. He (the person) is the father, they (earth, fire, &c.), are the sons." Mahidâsa Aitareya knew this.—(II, 1, 8, 1.)

Another speculation is started in the same Upanishad :—

"Verily in the beginning all this was Self,—one only. There was nothing else blinking whâtsoever." And that Self sent forth the water (above the heaven), the lights which are the sky, the mortal which is the earth, and the waters under the earth. He then formed the Purusha. Fire was produced from this Purusha's speech, air from his nose, the sun from his eyes, the different quarters from his ear, shrubs and trees from the hairs of his skin, the moon from his mind, &c. The deities (fire, &c.), then asked for a place of rest and food. A cow was led to them, and then a horse, and then a man, and they were satisfied with the man. Then *Mûrti*, Matter, was produced from water, and thus food was produced.

A story is told in the Brihadâranyaka that in the beginning there was Self alone, and he made himself into two parts, male and female, and the pair took different shapes successively, and men, cows, horses, asses, goats, sheep and all other creatures were born.

Such were the futile attempts made in India in ancient ages, to solve the great mystery of creation, which it has not been given to man, either in the ancient or in modern times, to solve. One great generalisation was conceived by the early philosophers of India,—they discovered a harmony or unity in the creation and the universe, and that unity was variously styled by them Brahman or A'tman, Purusha or Prâna.

Similar guesses were made, imperfect and often fanciful, but nevertheless in a fervent spirit of piety, as to the destination of the soul after death. The central idea is that which has been adopted as the cardinal

principle of the Hindu religion, that good acts lead to their rewards in future existences, but it is true knowledge only which leads to union with the Universal Spirit. "As here on earth, whatever has been acquired by exertion, perishes, so perishes whatever is acquired for the next world by sacrifices and other good actions performed on earth. Those who depart from hence without having discovered the Self and those true desires, for them there is no freedom in all the worlds."—*Chhândogya, VIII*, 1, 6.

The doctrine of transmigration of souls of which we have found no trace in the Rig Veda, is fully developed in the Upanishads. Chitra Gângâyani, the Kshatriya king, explained to Uddâlaka Aruni and his son Svetaketu, of whom we have had repeated mention before, and who came to the Kshatriya for instruction, that departed spirits go to the moon, and the moon sends them back to be born again. "And according to his deeds and according to his knowledge he is born again here as a worm, or as an insect, or as a fish, or as a bird, or as a lion, or as a boar, or as a serpent, or as a tiger, or as a man, or as something else in different places." An account then follows of the passage of the dead to the world of Agni, to the world of Vâyu, to the world of Varuna, to the world of Prajâpati, and to the world of Brahman. "In that world there is the lake A'ra, the mountains called Yeshtiha, the river Vijarâ (ageless), the tree Ilya, the city Sâlajya, the palace Aparâjita (unconquerable), the door-keepers Indra and Prajâpati, the hall of Brahman called Vibhu, the throne Vichakshanâ (perception), the couch Amitaujas (endless splendour), and the beloved Mânasî (mind), and her image Châkshushî (eye), who, as if taking flowers, are weaving the worlds." And there he meets Brâhman.—*Kaushîtaki, I.*

The above passage is a remarkable instance of the process by which simple metaphors and similes of poets lent themselves into the formation of those gorgeous legends of which the later Purânas are full. We cannot fail to see that the passage simply describes how

the soul passes into Brahman, and the throne of preception and the couch of splendour and the beloved mind are simple metaphors. In the Purânas the metaphors have been crystalized into legends, and can no longer be distinguished as metaphors.

A somewhat similar doctrine of transmigration is also taught by the Kshatriya king, Pravâhana Jaibali to the same Svetaketu, son of Uddalaka Aruni. The passage of the soul through various stages to the moon is described :

"Having dwelt there, till their (good) works are consumed, they return again the way as they came, finally in the form of rain.

"Then he is born as rice and corn, herbs and trees, sesamum and beans. From thence the escape is beset with difficulties. For whoever the persons may be that eat the food, and beget offspring, he thenceforth becomes like unto them. Those whose conduct has been good will quickly attain some good birth, the birth of a Brâhman or a Kshatriya or a Vaisya. But those whose conduct has been evil will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog or a hog or a Chandâla."—*Chhândogya, V*, 10.

The doctrine of transmigration of souls is again fully and beautifully explained in the Brihadâranyaka, (IV, 4), and we will make an extract from that Upanishad :—

"As a caterpillar, after having reached the end of a blade of grass, and after having made another approach to another blade, draws itself together towards it, thus does the Self, after having thrown off this body, and dispelled all ignorance, and after making another approach to another body, draw itself together towards it.

"And as a goldsmith, taking a piece of gold, turns it into another newer and more beautiful shape, so does the Self, after having thrown off this body, and dispelled all ignorance, made unto himself another newer and more beautiful shape, whether it be like the Fathers, or like the Gandharvas, or like the Devas, or like Prajâpati, or like Brahman, or like other beings. * *

"So much for the man who desires. But as to the man who does not desire; who, not desiring, free from desires, is satisfied in his desires, or desires the Self only, his vital spirits do not depart elsewhere; being Brahman, he goes to Brahman. * *

"And as the slough of a snake lies on an anthill, dead and cast away, thus lies the body; but that disembodied immortal spirit is Brahman only, is only light."

Beautiful, indeed, are the passages which describe the final emancipation of the soul and its union with Brahman. A little further on, after the passage quoted above, occurs the following passage; and the reader will see that the Buddhist idea of Nirvâna arose out of the Hindu idea of union with Brahman:

"He, therefore, that knows it, after having become quiet, subdued, satisfied, patient, and collected, sees self in Self, sees all in Self. Evil does not overcome him, he overcomes all evil. Evil does not burn him, he burns all evil. Free from evil, free from spots, free from doubt, he becomes a true Brâhman;—enters the Brahma world."

Still finer is the hymn of triumph with which the soul comes to Brahman:

"I come to the hall of Prajâpati, to the house: I am glorious among Brâhmans, glorious among princes, glorious among men. I am glorious among the glorious."—*Chhândogya, VIII,* 14, 1.

This beatitude, this union with Brahman or Self, was what Death taught Nachiketas in that beautiful idyll of an Upanishad called Katha. We will close the present chapter with an extract from that beautiful creation of fancy and of piety. We should remind our readers, however, that Katha is very likely an Upanishad of the Atharva-Veda, and apparently belongs to a later age than the other Upanishads from which we have quoted before.

Nachiketas was given by his father unto Death, and entered the abode of Yama Vaivasvata, and asked him for three boons, the last of which was this:

"There is that doubt, when a man is dead;—some

saying, he is; others, he is not. This I should like to know taught by thee, this is the third of my boons."

But Death was unwilling to reveal his secrets, and told Nachiketas to ask for other boons.

"Choose sons and grandsons who shall live a hundred years, herds of cattle, elephants, gold, horses. Choose the wide abode of the earth, and live thyself as many harvests as thou desirest.

"If you can think of any boon equal to that, choose wealth and long life. Be king, Nachiketas, on the whole earth. I make thee the enjoyer of all desires.

"Whatever desires are difficult to attain among mortals, ask for them, any thing to thy wish;—these fair maidens with their chariots and musical instruments,—such are, indeed, not to be obtained by men; be waited on by them whom I give thee, but do not ask me about dying."

Nachiketas said: "These things last till to-morrow, O Death, for they wear out this vigour of all the senses. Even the whole of life is short. Keep thou thy horses, keep dance and song for thyself."

Pressed by the pious enquirer, Death at last revealed the great secret, with is the principle of all the Upanishads and the principle of the Hindu religion:

"The wise who, by means of meditation on his Self, recognizes the Ancient, who is difficult to be seen, who has entered into the dark, who is hidden in the cave, who dwells in the abyss, as God,—he, indeed, leaves joy and sorrow far behind.

"A mortal who has heard this and embraced it, who has separated from it all qualities, and has thus reached the subtle Being, rejoices because he has obtained what is a cause for rejoicing. The house of Brahman is open, I believe, O Nachiketas!"

Who can, even in the present day, peruse these pious enquiries and fervent thoughts of a long buried past, without feeling a new emotion in his heart, without seeing a new light before his eyes! The mysteries of creation and of the unknown future will never be solved by human intellect or by human science; but

the first recorded attempts to solve them in a pious, fervent, philosophical spirit will ever have an abiding, interest for every patriotic Hindu and for every thoughtful man.

In the words of the eminent German writer and philosopher Schopenhauer: "From every sentence deep, original and sublime thoughts arise, and the whole is pervaded by a high and holy and earnest spirit. Indian air surrounds us, and original thoughts of kindered spirits. * * In the whole world there is no study except that of the originals, so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Oupnekhat. (Latin translation of the Upanishads). It has been the solace of my life; it will be the solace of my death."

BOOK III.

RATIONALISTIC PERIOD, B.C., 1000 TO 242.

CHAPTER I

LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD

A CHANGE came over the spirit of the Hindu world in the third Period, and the change is reflected in the Sûtra literature of India. The Vindhya range was the extreme southern limit of the Hindu world in the Epic Period; but now the Hindus crossed that chain of mountains, and penetrated beyond the wastes and jungles of Central India and founded powerful Hindu kingdoms on the banks of the Godâvarî and the Krishnâ, extending to the blue waters of the ocean. In the east the kingdom of Magadha rose to power and greatness, and threw out colonies into Bengal and Orissa, and in the west the kingdom of Saurâshtra extended its limits to the Arabian Sea. This expansion of the Hindu world had its effect on the Hindu mind; Hindus became more practical and more venturesome, and their ideas became more expanded. Whatever literature was handed down from ancient times was put in a condensed, practical shape, and new discoveries in every department of science were made with the boldness of new explorers and conquerors.

The practical spirit of the age shewed itself in the form which literature assumed. All learning, all sciences, all religious teaching were reduced to concise practical manuals. Brevity is the characteristic of the Sûtra literature as verbosity is of the Brâhmana literature. Indeed, the writers went from one extreme to another; —verbose prose was replaced by aphorisms, and the proverbial saying, which applies to the Sûtra literature, is often quoted, that "An author rejoiceth in the econo-

mising of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son!"

One main reason which led to this extreme conciseness was, that young Hindu students were expected in their early years to learn these Sûtras by rote. Aryan boys were expected to place themselves under some teacher at the early age of eight or ten or twelve, and for twelve years or more they remained in their teacher's house, doing menial services under him, begging alms for him, and learning day by day the ancestral religion by rote. The diffuse details of the Brâhmanas were therefore compressed into short treatises in order that they might be imparted and learnt with ease, and a separate body of Sûtras was thus composed for each Sûtra charana or school. The names of the authors of many of these compositions have been handed down to us, and while the Vedas and the Brâhmanas are declared to be *revealed*, no such claim is put forward for the Sûtras, which are admitted to be human compositions. The so-called *revealed* literature of India closes therefore with the Upanishads, which form the last portions of the Brâhmanas.

When once the Sûtras began to be composed, the system spread rapidly all over India, and Sûtra schools multiplied. The Châranyavyûha names five charanas of the Rig Veda, twenty-seven of the Black Yajur Veda, fifteen of the White Yajur Veda, twelve of the Sâma Veda, and nine of the Atharva Veda. Each Sûtra charana must have had a separate body of Sûtras for itself, and the adherents of any particular charana—in whatever part of India they might live,—learnt and imparted to students the Sûtras of that particular school. A vast mass of Sûtra literature thus gradually sprung up in India, but of the numerous bodies of Sûtras which must have been composed and taught in these numerous Sûtra charanas, a lamentably small number has been left to us! As with the Brâhmanas, so with the Sûtras, a limited number of works have only been saved from the shipwreck of ancient Sanskrit literature.

We will now rapidly survey the different branches of

learning which gradually assumed the Sûtra form and we will begin with religion. Details of ceremonials relating to Vedic sacrifices were compressed into concise manuals, and these manuals are called *Srauta Sûtras*. Two collections of these Srauta Sûtras belonging to the Rig Veda called A'svalâyana and Sânkhâyana; three belonging the Sâma Veda and called Mâsaka, Lâtyâyana and Drâhyâyana; four belonging to the older or Black Yajur Veda and called Baudhâyana, Bhâradvâja, A'pastamba and Hiranyakesin, and one belonging to the new or White Yajur Veda and called Kâtyâyana, have been left entire. An account of these Srauta Sûtras will not be interesting to our readers, but nevertheless, some facts about them deserve mention.

The A'svalâyana Sûtra is divided into twelve chapters. A'svalâyana is said to have been the pupil of the celebrated Saunaka, and the teacher and pupil are said to have been the joint authors of the last two books of the Aitareya A'ranyaka. Hermann Oldenberg points out, however, that the fourth book of this A'ranyaka is extremely short, and consists of verses which probably belong to an ancient age, while the fifth or last book is in genuine Sûtra style, and was the work of Saunaka and A'svalâyana. Whichever view is accepted, the facts clearly point to the interesting conclusion that the earliest works of the Sûtra literature connect themselves with the last works of the Brâhmana or Epic Period.

Saunaka is indeed an interesting figure towards the close of the Epic Period. In an anterior state of existence he is said to have been the "seer" of the second book of the Rig Veda, and by this legend we may probably understand that he belonged to the line of teachers or families by whom the book of the Rig Veda was handed down from century to century. Saunaka was again the priest of Janamejaya Pârikshita in the famous horse-sacrifice which he celebrated. We may infer therefore that a line of Saunakas were celebrated priests and men of learning in the Epic Period. No wonder that the earliest compilers of Sûtras connect themselves with this honored name as pupils.

The Sânkhâyana Srauta Sûtra consists of 18 chapters. Professor Weber conjectures that this Sûtra belongs to the Western part of Hindustan as the A'svalâyana belongs to the Eastern.

Of the Sâma Veda the Mâsaka Srauta Sûtra is only a tabular enumeration of prayers belonging to different ceremonies, the Sâtyâyana embodies the opinions of various teachers, and both these Sûtras connect themselves with the great Tândya or Panchavinsa Brâhmana of the Sâma Veda. The Drâhyâyana differs but little from the Sâtyâyana.

The Sûtras of the Black Yajur Veda have been chronologically arranged as those of Baudhâyana, Bhâradvâja, A'pastamba, and Hiranyakesin; and Dr. Bühler, who has recovered the lost Bhâradvâja Sûtra, justly remarks that the distance in years between Baudhâyana and A'pastamba must be measured not by decades but by centuries. In a most valuable introduction to his translation of the Dharma Sûtra of A'pastamba, Dr. Bühler states that a powerful Hindu kingdom, *i.e.*, of the Andhras, had been founded in Southern India before the Christian era, that the capital of the empire was probably situated near modern Amarâvatî on the river Krishnâ, that A'pastamba was probably born or naturalized in this country and founded his Sûtra school there, and that the date of his work cannot be put down later than the third century before Christ. And as A'pastamba speaks not only of the six Vedângas, but also of the Pûrva Mimânsa and the Vedânta schools of philosophy, we can conclude that the philosophical schools of India had begun their work previous to that date. He conjectures that Baudhâyana also was born and worked in Southern India.

The Srauta Sûtra of the White Yajur Veda is in 26 chapters and is by Kâtyâyana, who also claims to be a pupil of the renowned Saunaka. Kâtyâyana was a critic of Pânini the grammarian, and lived, according to Max Müller, in the fourth century before Christ. An interesting "battle of books" has been waged by scholars about the date of Pânini, but we must avoid

entering into the arena reserved for doughty scholars, and only express our assent to the prevailing opinion that the grammarian must have lived some centuries before his critic. The Kâtyâyana Sûtra strictly follows the Satapatha Brâhmana, and the first 18 chapters of the Sûtra correspond with the first nine books of the Brâhmana. As in Lâtyâyana so in Kâtyâyana we find allusion to Mâgadhadesîya Brahmabandhu, who are supposed to be the first Buddhists.

We turn with pleasure from the Srauta Sûtras to the *Dharma Sûtras*, which present to us the customs and manners and laws of the times, and are, therefore, far more valuable for our historical purposes. In the Srauta Sûtras we see the Hindus as worshippers and sacrificers; in the Dharma Sûtras we see them as citizens.

But the Dharma Sûtras of this ancient period have a still further claim to our attention, because they are the originals which have been modified and copied and put into verse at a later age and transformed into those law-books with which modern Hindus are familiar, such as Manu, Yâjnavalkya, Parâsara, &c. This was pointed out by Professor Max Müller thirty years ago, and the researches which have been made since have fully confirmed the fact. A world of conjectures and fancies about the Code of Manu being the work of legislators and rulers, has been exploded by this discovery, and we now know what the so-called codes are, and how and why they were framed. In their original Sûtra form (often in prose, sometimes in prose and verse,—but never in continuous verse like the later codes), they were composed, just as the Srauta Sûtras were composed, by the founders of the Sûtra charanas, and were learnt by rote by young Hindus, so that they might, in later life, never forget their duties as citizens and as members of society. No nation has taken greater precaution than the Hindus to implant in the mind of every member of society his religious, social and legal duties.

Among the Dharma Sûtras which are lost, and have not yet been recovered, was the Mânava Sûtra or Sûtra of Manu, from which the later metrical Code of Manu

has been compiled. It seems that the Dharma Sûtra of Manu was held in high honor in the Sûtra Period, as the metrical Code of Manu is held in honor in the present day. The references to Manu are frequent in the Sûtra literature, and Dr. Bühler has pointed out two quotations from Manu in Vasishtha and Gautama's Dharma Sûtras, to which we will allude further on.

Among the Dharma Sûtras still extant, Vasishtha belonging to the Rig Veda, Gautama belonging to the Sâma Veda, and Baudhâyana and A'pastamba belonging to the Black Yajur Veda, have been translated by Dr. Bühler.

In point of time Gautama is the oldest, and we find Baudhâyana transferring a whole chapter of Gautama's into his Sûtra, and Vasishtha again has borrowed the same chapter from Baudhâyana. And we have seen before that A'pastamba also comes after Baudhâyana.

We have spoken of the Srauta Sûtras which treat of the duties of a worshipper, and of the Dharma Sûtras which treat of the duties of a citizen. But man has other duties and responsibilities beyond those of a worshipper and a citizen. As a son, a brother, a husband, and a father, he has duties to perform towards the members of his family. He has little rites to perform in connexion with domestic occurrences, which are quite different from the more elaborate ceremonials taught in the Srauta Sûtras. A distinct class of rules was necessary to fix the details of these Grihya or domestic rites, and these rules are given in the *Grihya Sûtras.*

A great deal of interest attaches to these simple domestic rites performed at the domestic fireside, and not at the hearths which had to be specially lighted at great sacrifices. The domestic fire was lighted by each householder on his marriage, and the simple rites, the Pâkayajnas, were easily performed. "A log of wood," says Professor Max Müller, "placed on the fire of the hearth, an oblation poured out to the gods, or alms given to Brâhmanas, this is what constitutes a Pâkayajna." Gautama enumerates seven Pâka sacrifices, *viz.*:—(1) Astakâ performed in the four winter months; (2) Pâr-

vana at full and new moon; (3) Srâddha or monthly funeral oblations; (4 to 7) Srâvanî, Agrahâyani, Chiatrî and A'svajujî performed on the days of full moon in the months from which the rites have been named. The account of these rites contained in the Grihya Sûtras is deeply interesting to Hindus, because after a lapse of over two thousand years we are still practising, as will be seen further on, the same interesting rites, sometimes under the same name, and often under a different name and in a somewhat different way. To the seven Pâkajajnas enumerated above, may be added the five daily oblations, called emphatically the Mahâjajnas, and which consisted in oblations to gods, to departed fathers, and to creatures in general, in the performance of duty towards Rishis and hospitality towards men. The Grihya Sûtras also contain accounts of social ceremonies performed at marriage, at the birth of a child, at his first feeding, at his assuming the life of a student, &c. And thus we get a complete idea of domestic life among ancient Hindus from these invaluable Grihya Sûtras.

The Sânkhyâyana and A'svalâyana Grihya Sûtras belonging to the Rig Veda and the Pâraskara Grihya Sûtra belonging to the White Yajur Veda, together with the Khâdira, which is an abridgement of Gobhila Grihya Sûtra of the Sâma Veda, have been translated by Herman Oldenberg. A second volume which promises to contain a translation of Gobhila, &c., has been announced, but has not yet been published, but an excellent edition of Gobhila with notes has been published by Pundit Satyavrata Sâmasramin.

The Srauta Sûtra, the Dharma Sûtra, and the Grihya Sûtra go collectively under the name of Kalpa Sûtra. Indeed, each Sûtra charana is supposed to have had a complete body of Kalpa Sûtra, including the division mentioned above, but much of what existed has been lost, and we have only fragments of the Sûtra literature left. The entire Kalpa Sûtra of A'pastamba still exists, and is divided into thirty prasnas or sections. The first twenty-four of these treat of Srauta sacrifices; the

25th contains the rules of interpretation ; the 26th and 27th treat of the Grihya rites ; the 28th and 29th contain the Dharma Sûtra, and the 30th section, the *Sulva Sûtra*, teaches the geometrical principles according to which the altars for the Srauta sacrifices were to be constructed. These interesting Sulva Sûtras have been made known to the western world by Dr. Thibaut. The publication of his work only confirms the conclusions of Von Schrader, that Pythagoras learnt not only his theory of transmigration, but his mathematics also from India in the sixth century before Christ.

We have so long spoken of the Kalpa Sûtra, as the Kalpa Sûtra forms the most important and, historically, the most valuable portion of the literature of the period. Our ancient writers enumerate five other Vedângas or departments of Vedic study, and we will briefly allude to them here.

Sikshâ or Phonetics is the science of pronunciation, and there is reason to believe that rules on the subject were formerly embodied in the A'ranyakas and even in the Brâhmanas of the Epic Period, but that they have disappeared in consequence of the appearance of more scientific works on the same subject in the Rationalistic Period. These works are called Prâtisâkhyas, which were collections of phonetic rules applicable to each Sâkhâ or recension of each Veda.

Many of the Prâtisâkhyas, however, have been lost, and only one Prâtisâkhya for each Veda (except the Sâma Veda) has been preserved to us. The Prâtisâkhya of the Sâkala recension of the Rig Veda is ascribed to the renowned Saunaka. But Dr. Goldstücker gives good grounds for doubting his authorship of this work. Similarly, a Prâtisâkhya of the Mâdhyandina recension of the White Yajur Veda is also extant and is ascribed to Kâtyâyana. A Prâtisâkhya of the Black Yajur Veda and one of the Atharva Veda are also extant, but the names of the authors are forgotten. It will interest our readers to learn that among the teachers named in the Prâtisâkhya of the Black Yajur Veda, we have the name of a Vâlmîki !

Chhandas or Metre is spoken of in the Vedas, and whole chapters in the A'ranyakas and Upanishads are devoted to it. But as in the case of Sikshâ, so in the case of Chhandas, we have a clear scientific treatment of the subject for the first time in the Sûtra literature. There are some chapters on the metre of the Rig Veda at the end of the Prâtisâkhya spoken of above. For the Sâma Veda we have the well-known Nidâna Sûtra in ten prapâthakas. Pingalanâga's work on Chhandas does not belong to the Sûtra Period, but to a much later time.

The deservedly great fame of Pânini in the department of *Vyâkarana* or Grammar has eclipsed that of all other grammarians of the period. Pânini belonged to the extreme north-west corner of India where the Brâhmanas and A'ranyakas and Upanishads, composed mostly on the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna, were little known or respected; and Pânini therefore knew little of them. Dr. Goldstücker is right in holding Pânini to be anterior to Buddha, that is to the 6th century B. C.

Similarly, the great fame of Yâska (anterior to Pânini, according to Dr. Goldstücker and other scholars) in the department of *Nirukta* has eclipsed the fame of his predecessors, of whom we know little except from the mention made of them in Yâska's work. Professor Max Müller has pointed out a common mistake made in calling Yâska's work as the Nirukta. Nirukta is a work, as Sâyana says, where only a number of words is given. Yâska takes up such an old-existing Nirukta, and on this text (which is usually known as the Nighantu) he writes a commentary, which is his work.

Colebrooke speaks of different treatises on *Jyotisha* or Astronomy of each Veda, and he calls one which has a commentary, the Jyotisha of the Rig Veda. Professor Max Müller, however, has found the works to be different manuscripts of the same work, and he believes the work to have been composed after the Sûtra Period, although the doctrines and rules propounded in it belong to the earliest stage of Hindu astronomy. Its practical object is to convey a knowledge of the heavenly

bodies necessary for fixing the time for sacrifices, and to establish a sacred calendar. However recent the date of the existing work may be, it contains observations made in India during the Epic Period, *i.e.*, when the Vedas were collected and arranged, and it furnishes evidence therefore of the date of that period, which should not be lightly rejected or ignored.

Besides the six Vedângas detailed above, there is another class of works called the Anukramanî or Index to the Vedas which also belongs to Sûtra literature. The Anukramanî of the Rig Veda is ascribed to Kâtyâyana, and gives the first words of each hymn, the number of verses, the name of the poet, the metre and the deity. There were some older Anukramanîs of the Rig Veda, which are ascribed to Saunaka, and one of which is still extant, but which have all been replaced by Kâtyâyana's fuller work. The Brihaddevatâ, which is a voluminous Anukramanî, is also ascribed to Saunaka. Writers of the Rationalistic Period were very fond of citing that honored name in connection with many works.

The Yajur Veda has three Anukramanîs, *viz.*, one for the A'treya recension of the Black Yajur Veda, one for the recension of the Charakas, and the third for the Mâddhyandina recension of the White Yajur Veda.

Of the Sâma Veda we have an ancient index in the A'rsheya Brâhmana, and some more among the Parisishtas, or supplementary works. An Anukramanî of the Atharva Veda was discovered by Professor Whitney in the British Museum.

We have still to refer to the most important product of the Hindu mind in the Rationalistic Period. The speculations and earnest enquiries started at the close of the Epic Period in the Upanishads led to those deeper investigations and subtle and profound researches which are known as the six schools of Hindu Philosophy. We have seen that A'pastamba mentions two of them in his Dharma Sûtra, and there is evidence that the commencement of all the six schools dates from the Rationalistic Period, though their further

developments took place at a later date. Professor Weber justly remarks that it was in Philosophy as well as in grammar that the speculative Hindu mind attained the highest pitch of its marvellous fertility. The abstrusest questions of matter and spirit and creation were dealt with, not as in the Upanishads in guesses and vague speculations, but with marvellous acumen and relentless logic. The natural result followed, and the fabric of faith tottered to its foundations. Learned men still paid a sort of nominal regard to the Vedas and the sacrifices they inculcated, but the support given was only nominal and half-hearted. Large portions of thinking men saw the weakness of the existing rites in the light of the new philosophy, and boldly threw away the mask and embraced Buddhism, which was a legitimate product of Sânkhya philosophy. And the masses of ignorant Sûdras too, for whom a cruel fate had been reserved in the Hindu Dharma Sûtras, openly welcomed a religion which recognised no Brâhmans.

It is said of the French Revolution that it was mainly brought about by two causes; the oppression of kings and the intellectual reaction set in by the philosophers of the eighteenth century. The Buddhist revolution in India is still more distinctly the result of similar causes. The oppression of Brâhmanism made the people sigh for a revolution, and the work of philosophers opened the path to such a revolution.

Buddhism was at last accepted as the State religion in the reign of Asoka, about 242 B. C. At this date the Rationalistic Period ends and the Buddhist Period, *i.e.*, the period when Buddhism was the prevailing religion in India, may be said to commence.

CHAPTER II.

EXPANSION OF THE HINDUS AND THE RISE OF MAGADHA.

THE History of India receives a new light in the Rationalistic Period, as it was in this period that the Greeks visited India and also compiled accounts of it from report. Greek civilization and national life had not commenced during the long centuries of the Vedic Age in India. Again, the rude heroes of the Trojan War knew little of their civilized but distant contemporaries, the Hindus of the Epic Age. The first two epochs of Hindu history receive no light therefore from Greek literature. The first Greek who is supposed to have borrowed his learning from the Hindus is the philosopher Pythagoras. He lived in the sixth century before Christ, *i.e*, in the Rationalistic Period of Hindu history, and his theories and ideas throw some light on the prevailing ideas of the Hindus of that age. He learnt the doctrine of transmigration of souls and of final beatitude from the Upanishads and the current faith of the Hindus, and his ascetic observances and prohibition to eat flesh and beans were also borrowed from India. He learnt his elementary mathematics and geometry from the Sulva sûtras; his notion of the virtues of numbers is borrowed from the Sânkhya Philosophy; and lastly, his idea of the five elements is essentially an Indian idea.

Herodotus, the father of Greek history, lived in the fifth century before Christ; and although he never visited India, he gives accounts of the Hindus from report which are valuable, although he mixes them up with legends and stories, and often confounds the customs of the Hindus with those of the uncivilized aborigines who still inhabited large tracts in India. Herodotus tells us that the Indians were the greatest nation of the age, that they were divided into various

tribes and spoke different tongues, that they procured great quantities of gold in their country, that India abounded in quadrupeds and birds larger than any other country, and produced wild trees which bore wool (cotton) from which the Indians made their clothing (III, 94 to 106). Elsewhere, he says, speaking of the Thracians, that they were the greatest of nations among men, excepting only the Indians (V, 3.) Herodotus also mentions the fact, which is probably historically true, that Darius, king of Persia, subjugated a part of India, and his ships sailed down the Indus to the sea (IV, 44)

And lastly Magasthenes came to India in the fourth century before Christ, and lived in the court of Chandra Gupta in Pâtaliputra or ancient Patna. And although his original account is lost, still extracts from his writings are found scattered in many subsequent works. These have been carefully collected by Dr. Schwanbeck of Bonn and translated into English by Mr. MacCrindle, and are invaluable for the purposes of Indian History, and we shall frequently have occasion to quote them. Pythagoras, Herodotus and Megasthenes are unimpeachable witnesses to the high civilization of India during three successive centuries which fall within the Rationalistic Period, *viz.*, the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries before Christ.

We have seen that by the end of the Epic Period the whole of the valley of the Ganges and Jumna from Delhi to North-Behar had been conquered, peopled and Hinduized. We have seen that towards the very close of that period, *i.e.*, about 1000 B.C., Hindu settlers and adventurers, colonists, and "pilgrim fathers" had left the valley of the Ganges and had penetrated into remote unknown lands, into Southern and East Behar, Malwa, Southern India and Gujrat. And we have seen that these Non-Aryan provinces were becoming gradually known to the Hindus, and were slowly coming under Hindu influence and power when the Epic Period closed and the Rationalistic Period began.

The waves of Hindu conquests rolled further and

further, and the aborigines submitted themselves to a higher civilization and a nobler religion. Rivers were crossed, forests were cleared, lands were reclaimed, wide wastes were peopled, and new countries hitherto aboriginal became the scenes of Hindu power and of Hindu religion. Where a few scanty settlers had penetrated at first, powerful colonies arose; where religious teachers had retired in seclusion, quiet villages and towns arose. Where a handful of merchants had made their way by some unknown river, boats navigated up and down with valuable cargoes for a civilized population. Where hardy warriors or scions of royal houses had dwelt in exile or by the chase, powerful monarchs reigned over a conquered civilized, Hinduized, aboriginal population. And where foresters had felled trees and cleared small tracts of land, smiling fields, covered with waving corn, spread for miles and miles around, betokening the spread of civilization and of the civilized arts of life.

Such was the history of Aryan conquests from generation to generation and from century to century in the Rationalistic Period; and each succeeding Sûtra work that we take up shews that the circle of civilization has spread wider, and that the zone of unreclaimed barbarism has receded furthur and further. And long before we come to the close of the Rationalistic Period, *i.e.*, the third century B. C., we find that the entire peninsula has been reclaimed, civilized, and Hinduized, and that primitive barbarians dwelt only in rocks, forests and deserts which the Aryans disdained to conquer. It is not possible within our limits to narrate fully this interesting story of Hindu conquests; nor are materials available which would enable such a succinct account to be written. We will, however, quote a passage or two which will indicate to our readers the march of events.

Baudhâyana lived probably in the sixth century before Christ, and was, as we have seen before, one of the earliest of the Sûtrakâras. In his time the zone of Hindu kingdoms and civilization extended as far south as

Kalinga or the eastern seaboard, stretching from modern Orissa southward to the mouth of the Krishnâ. The passage we refer to is interesting, because it shews that the ancient Hindu region along the Ganges and the Jumna was still regarded as the suitable home of Aryans, while tracts of country Hinduized more recently were looked upon with some degree of contempt.

"9. The country of the A'ryas (A'ryâvarta, lies to the east of the region where the River (Sarasvatî) disappears, to the west of the Black-forest (Kâlakavana), to the north of the Pâripâtra (Vindhya mountains), and to the south of the Himâlaya. The rule of conduct which prevails there is authoritative.

"10. Some declare the country between the Yamunâ and Ganga (to be A'ryâvarta).

"11. Now the Bhâllavins quote also the following verse:—

"12. In the west the boundary river, in the east the region where the sun rises, as far as the black antelopes wander, so far spiritual pre-eminence is found.

"13. The inhabitants of Avanti (Malwa), of Anga (East Behar), of Magadha (South Behar), of Saurâshtra (Guzerat), of the Deccan, of Upâvrit, of Sindh, and the Sauvîras (of south Punjab) are of mixed origin.

"14. He who has visited the A'rattas (in the Punjab), Kâraskars (in South India), Pundras (in North Bengal) Sauvîras, Vangas (in Eastern Bengal), Kalingas (eastern seaboard) or Prânûnas shall offer a Punastoma or a Sarvaprishtha sacrifice." *Baudhâyana, I, 1, 2.*

The passage is interesting, because it shews us the extent of the Hindu world in the early part of the Rationalistic Period, and also because it divides the Hindu world into three circles at it were, which were regarded with different degrees of esteem. A'ryâvarta stretching from the Sarasvatî to the confines of Behar, and from the Himâlaya to the Vindhya, forms the first circle; and it is remarkable that the Punjab, which was the earliest home of the Aryans in the Vedic Age, is not included in this sacred circle. That realm had

since then been backward in the later developments of Hindu religion and culture, and was rarely alluded to even in the literature of the Epic Period. The second circle, the people of which are said to be of mixed origin, includes Southern Punjab, Sindh, Gujrat, Malwa,* Deccan, and South and East Behar. If the reader refers to the fourth chapter of the last book, he will find that these were the very regions which were becoming dimly known to the Hindus at the very close of the Epic Period. Early in the Rationalistic Age they had already become recognized as Hindu kingdoms, and Hindu influence and civilization had travelled *beyond* these kingdoms to other regions which are included in the third circle. That third or last circle embraces the country of the Arattas in the Punjab, some parts of Southern India, Eastern and Northern Bengal, and the eastern sea-board, from Orissa to the Krishnâ river. A person travelling in these places had to expiate the sin by a sacrifice. This was the extreme limit of the Hindu world, —say in the sixth century before Christ.

That portions of Southern India had not only been colonized by this date, but had become the seats of Hindu kingdoms and of distinct schools of laws and learning, is proved by the writings of Baudhâyana. As we have said before, Baudhâyana himself was probably a southerner, and although he expresses high regard for A'ryâvarta, or the valley of the Ganges, still he takes care to mention the peculiar laws and customs of Southern India. We will cite one passage:

"1. There is a dispute regarding five practices in the south and in the north.

"2. We will explain those peculiar to the south.

"3. They are to eat in the company of an uninitiated person, to eat in the company of one's wife, to eat stale food, *to marry the daughter of a maternal uncle or of a paternal aunt.*"*

* Dr. Bühler points out that such marriages still prevail among the Desastha and Karhâda Brâhmans of the Deccan.

"4. Now the customs peculiar to the north are, to deal in wool, to drink rum, to sell animals that have teeth in the upper and in the lower jaws, to follow the trade of arms, *and to go to sea.**

"5. He who follows these practices, in any other country than where they prevail commits sin.

"6. For each of these customs the rule of the country should be the authority.

"7. Gautama declares that that is false." *Baudhâyana*, I, 1, 2.

Let us now take leave of Baudhâyana and come to the next Sûtrakâra of Southern India. If Baudhâyana be supposed to have flourished in the sixth century before Christ, A'pastamba probably flourished in the fifth† There can be little doubt that A'pastamba lived and taught in the Andhra country, and the limits of that great monarchy embraced all the districts between the Godâvarî and the Krishnâ. Dr. Bühler supposes that the capital of this southern empire was situated near modern Amarâvatî on the lower Krishnâ. It was the Andhra text of the Taittirîya A'ranyaka which A'pastamba recognized and followed, and his teachings are to this day held in regard by the Brâhmans of Nasik, Puna, Ahmadabad, Satara, Sholapur and Kolhapur, and other places in the Deccan who are A'pastambîyas.

Thus we find that the conquest of Southern India, which was commenced at the close of the Epic Period, went on through succeeding centuries: that by the sixth century, Bengal, the Deccan, and the whole of the sea-board to the mouth of the Krishnâ had been conquered and Aryanized; and that by the fifth century the Deccan, as far south as the Krishnâ river, was the seat of a powerful Hindu Empire, and the portion of India south of the Krishnâ was also probably Hinduized. By the fourth

* Later superstition and degeneracy have fabricated a prohibition against going to sea for all Hindus.

† Dr. Bühler would, on linguistic grounds, place A'pastamba in the 3rd century B. C., but on other grounds he would put back that Sûtrakâra by another 150 or 200 years, *i.e.*, to the 5th century B. C.

century B. C., the whole of Southern India had been Hinduized, and three great Hindu kingdoms, those of the Cholas, and Cheras and the Pândyas had been founded, stretching as far south as Cape Comorin; and Ceylon too had been discovered. And when we come to this (fourth) century, we issue now from the obscurity of isolated passages in the Sûtra works to the sunlight of Greek accounts of India! For it was in this century that Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus, came to India and resided in the royal court of Chandragupta in Pâtaliputra (or ancient Patna) between 317 and 312 B. C. The conquest of the whole of Southern India by the Hindus had been completed before this date.

The account of the races and kingdoms in India given by Megasthenes is full and intelligible, though scholars have found some difficulty in identifying the names of the places he mentions. He gives the distance from the Sutlej to the Jumna to be 168 miles, from the Jumna to the Ganges 112 miles, and thence 286 miles (119 + 167.) to Kalinipaxa which Lassen identifies with Konouj, but St. Martin places on the banks of the Kalinadi river. 625 miles is given as the distance to the confluence of the Jumna, and this distance is supposed to be reckoned from the point of the Jumna above referred to, and so measures the entire length of the Doab. The distance to Pâtaliputra is stated as 425 miles, which is incorrect, the real distance being 248 miles; and from Pâtaliputra to the mouth of the Ganges the distance is given as 738 miles.

The Prâchyas, by which name we are now to understand the Magadhas, had become the most powerful and foremost nation in India in the fourth century B. C., as the Kurus, the Panchâlas, the Videhas and the Kosalas had been in the Epic Period. They had their capital at Pâtaliputra, a flourishing town described at 80 stadia or 9 miles long (a stadium =202¼ yards) and 15 stadia or nearly 2 miles wide. It was of the shape of a parallelogram, girded with a wooden wall * pierced with

* The wooden wall was still standing in the 5th century after Christ when the Chinese traveller Fa Hian saw it. Fa Hian writes: "The palaces of

loopholes for the discharge of arrows, and defended by a ditch in front.

It would seem that the whole of the Doab or the ancient land of the Panchâlas and the Kurus was now included in the powerful and extensive kingdom of Magadha, for the Jumna flowing through Mathura and Caresbora, (identified with *Kalikavasta* or Brindaban by Cunningham, and with *Krishnapura* or Agra by Lassen), was said to run through the kingdom of Pâtaliputra. The nation surpassed in power and glory every other people in India, and their king Chandragupta had a standing army of 600,000 foot soldiers, 30,000 cavalry, and 9,000 elephants, "whence may be formed some conjecture as to the vastness of his resources."

Speaking apparently of South Bengal, Megasthenes mentions the Calingœ living nearest the sea, the Mandu and the Malli living higher up, the Gangerides, near the mouths of the Ganges, and the Modo-Galingœ in an island in the Ganges. It is impossible not to discover in the first and last of these names the ancient name of Kalinga, and the obvious inference is, that in the fourth century before Christ, not only Orissa, but the part of Bengal nearest to the sea was also called Kalinga. Indeed the whole of the sea-board from the mouths of the Ganges to those of the Krishnâ went by that name.

the king which are in the city have walls of which the stones have been collected by the genii. The carvings and the sculptures which ornament the windows are such as this age could not make; they still actually exist." The fall of Pâtaliputra was accomplished shortly after Fa Hian's time, for when Houen Tsang visited the place in the 7th century after Christ, he found nothing but ruins, and a village with two or three hundred houses. In an excavation made in 1876 for the construction of a public tank, some remains were discovered of what is supposed to have been the wooden wall spoken of by Magasthenes. In a part of Patna, half way between the railway station and the *chauk* or market place, the excavators discovered some 12 or 15 feet below the surface, a long brick wall running from N. W. to S. E. Parallel to this wall was found a line of palisades, the strong timber of which it was composed, inclined slightly towards the wall. In one place there appeared to be an outlet or gate, two wooden pillars rising to a height of 8 or 9 feet with no palisades between them. A number of wells were also found covered with fragments of broken mud vessels, and one of the wells being cleared, yielded capital drinking water, while among the rubbish taken out were discovered several iron spear heads. See *MacCrindle's Megasthenes and Arrian, p.* 207, *note.*

Megasthenes describes Parthalis as the capital of the Calingœ, and Parthalis is supposed to be the modern Vardhamâna or Burdwan. The powerful king of this place had 60,000 foot soldiers, 1,000 horse and 700 elephants.

A large island in the Ganges is said to have been inhabited by the Modogalingœ (Madhya-Kalinga,) and beyond them several powerful tribes lived under a king who had 50,000 foot soldiers, 4,000 cavarly, and 400 elephants. Beyond them again lived the Andarœ in whom it is impossible not to recognize the Andhras of Southern India. The Andhras were a great and powerful nation who had settled originally between the Godâvarî and the Krishnâ, but who before the time of Megasthenes had extended their kingdom as far north as the Nurbudda. Megasthenes writes that they were a powerful race, possessed numerous villages and thirty walled towns, and supplied their king with 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 1,000 elephants.

In the extreme North-West, Megasthenes speaks of the Isari, the Cosyri, and other tribes located probably in Kashmir or its neighbourhood. The Indus is said to skirt the frontiers of the Prâchyas, by which we are to understand that the powerful and extensive kingdom of Magadha extended as far as the frontiers of the Punjab, and embraced all Northern India.

A great portion of the modern Rajputana was still the home of aboriginal tribes in the time of Megasthenes, of men who lived in woods, among tigers, noted for their ferocity. He speaks of the tribes who lived in the fertile tracts surrounded by deserts, and of tribes who inhabited the hills (Aravalli), which ran in an unbroken chain parallel to the shores of the ocean. He also speaks of the tribes who lived enclosed by the loftiest mountain Capitalia which has been identified with Abu. He speaks further on of the Horatœ who were undoubtedly the Saurâshtras. They had a capital on the coast, which was a noble emporium of trade, and their king was the master of 1,600 elephants, 150,000 foot, and 5,000 horse.

"Next come the Pandœ, the only race in India ruled by women. They say that Hercules having but one daughter, who was on that account all the more beloved, endowed her with a noble kingdom. Her descendants rule over 300 cities and command an army of 150,000 foot and 500 elephants." The Pandœ are supposed to have occupied the basin of the Chambâl river, but we cannot identify the story given above with any Hindu tradition or myth relating to any tribe. A long list then follows of tribes dwelling in different parts of Rajputana.

But not only was the whole of India, except deserts and waste jungles, known, but the sea-coast line, too, was equally known at the time of Megasthenes. He puts down the distance from the mouth of the Ganges to Cape Calingon (Coringon at the mouth of the Godâvarî) at 625 miles, and to Tropina (Tripontari opposite Cochin) at 1,225 miles. Thence to the Cape of Perimula was 750 miles, and Perimula has been identified with the Island of Salsette or Bombay. It was even in the time of Megasthenes "the greatest emporium of trade in India." From Perimula to the Island of Palata, *i.e.*, the delta of the Indus, was 620 miles.

And lastly, the Island of Ceylon, too, was known in the time of Megasthenes. The island was called by the Greeks Taprobanê, a slightly altered form of the Pali name Tambapannî, which corresponds to the Sanscrit Tâmraparni or the copperleaved. Megasthenes says that the island was separated from the mainland by a river, and that the country was productive of gold and large pearls and elephants much larger than the Indian breeds. Ælian who wrote long after Megasthenes, but like most other Greek and Roman writers, got much of his information about India from the account of Megasthenes, says that Taprobanê was a large mountainous island full of palm groves, that the inhabitants dwelt in huts of reeds and transported their elephants in boats which they constructed for the purpose, and sold them to the king of Kalingai.

Fortunately the people of Ceylon have preserved a chronology which is fairly reliable, and which points to a date approximately correct, when the island was first colonized by Hindus. The Dîpavansa composed in the 4th century A. D., and the Mahâvansa, composed somewhat later, are both based on an ancient commentary kept in the Mahâvihâra monastery, and are the national epics of Ceylon, and have a historical value. According to these works, the conquest of Ceylon is attributed to Vijaya in the year 543 B. C. The particular date was fixed upon to make the discovery of Ceylon correspond with the supposed date of Buddha's death ; but even after some necessary adjustment, Ceylon may be supposed to have been conquered by Hindus in the 5th century B.C. Vijaya was the son of Sinhabâhu, the king of Sâla in Magadha, and was connected with the kings of Vanga and Kalinga. It is said that the young prince committed numberless acts of fraud and violence, for which the people demanded his execution, but his royal father sent him and his companions adrift on the ocean, and they discovered Ceylon.

We need not accept the story of Vijaya literally as true. But there can be no doubt that the existence of the island was known to the Hindus for centuries, that the maritime trade in which the people of Kalinga largely engaged in the Sûtra Period made the people better acquainted with the island, and that when the products of the island were found to be valuable, and a trade sprang up between the island and the mainland, some venturesome or exiled scion of a royal house was drawn towards the newly discovered land by the romance which always hangs round all new discoveries, and settled there, and made it into a Hindu kingdom. Over two hundred years after the discovery of the island, Devânâmpriya Tishya, the contemporary of Asoka became the king of Ceylon, and adopted the Buddhist religion, and the Cingalese have been Buddhists ever since. It is owing to this fact, probably, that Ceylon has (unlike the Hindu kingdoms of India) a connected and fairly reliable history.

Indeed the only other country or province which has some authentic history of the Rationalistic Period is Magadha, and the existence of a historical account of this province is probably due to the same cause, *viz.*, that Magadha, like Ceylon, early embraced Buddhism.

Ajâtasatru was the king of Magadha in the 5th century B. C., when Gautama Buddha closed his long career of piety (477 B. C.) He was a powerful king and beat back the Turanian Vajjians who were invading from the north, and extended the power and the limits of the rising kingdom of Magadha over the sites of the ancient kingdoms on the Ganges Valley. A century after Ajâtasatru, nine Nandas reigned in this kingdom, probably from 370 to 320 B. C., when the great Chandragupta, by the help of Chânakya, the Bismarck of the age, overturned that dynasty and ascended the throne. The monarch extended his conquests westwards, and was fairly the master of all Northern India ; and Megasthenes probably did not exaggerate his prowess when he stated, that Chandragupta had an army of 600,000 foot, 30,000 horse and 9,000 elephants. Chandragupta was for a time a fugitive in the camp of Alexander the Great, and he began his rule in Magadha a few years after Alexander had left India.

Chandragupta's successor, Bimdusâra, reigned from 291 to 263 B. C., and he was succeeded by Asoka the Great, the greatest Emperor who has ever ruled in India in ancient or modern times. His fame, however, rests not on extending and consolidating the great empire which had been founded by Chandragupta, but in giving his imperial sanction to Buddha's religion of humanity, which, during the preceding two hundred years, had made but humble progress in India. Asoka adopted it as the State religion, and proclaimed it through all the civilized world. He published his rock-cut edicts through the length and breadth of India, sent his missionaries to Macedon, Egypt, and Greece, and numbered Antiochus of Syria, and Antigonas of

Macedon, Ptolemy of Egypt, and Magas of Cyrene, and Alexander of Epiros as his allies.

It was at a great council of Pâtaliputra, in 242 B. C., that Asoka had the Buddhist Scriptures finally settled before proclaiming them all over India and the then known world. At this date, therefore, the Rationalistic Period ends, and the Buddhist Age begins. The history of Asoka belongs to the Buddhist Period, and will be told in our account of that period.

CHAPTER III.

ADMINISTRATION.

AN account of the system of administration which prevailed in India over two thousand years ago will naturally interest our readers, and fortunately, both Hindu Sûtrakâras and Greek writers furnish us with reliable information on the subject. We will begin our account with some extracts from Sûtra works. The king is directed to build a royal town and a palace for himself, looking towards the south :

"3. The palace shall stand in the heart of the town.

"4. In front of that there shall be a hall. That is called the hall of invitation.

"5. At a little distance from the town to the south he shall cause to be built an assembly house with doors on the south and on the north sides, so that one can see what passes inside and outside."

Fires shall burn constantly and oblations offered in these fires, and—

"8. In the hall he shall put up his guests, at least those who are learnt in the Vedas.

"9. Rooms, a couch, meat and drink should be given to them according to their good qualities."

A table with dice should also be provided, and Brâhmanas, Vaisyas and Sûdras may be allowed to play there. Assaults of arms, dancing, singing and music are allowed in the houses of the king's servants ; and the king shall constantly take care of his subjects.

"15. That king only takes care of the welfare of his subjects in whose dominions, be it in villages or forests, there is no danger from thieves." *Â'pastamba*, II, 10, 25.

Vasishtha thus details the duties of the king :

"1. The particular duty of a king is to protect all beings ; by fulfilling it he obtains success.

"3 Let him appoint a domestic priest to perform the rites obligatory on the order of householders.

"8. Let him punish those who stray from the path of duty.

"11. Let him not injure trees that bear fruit and flowers.

"12. He may injure them in order to extend cultivation.

"13. The measures and weights of objects necessary for households must be guarded (against falsification).

"14. Let him not take property of his own use from the inhabitants of his realm.

"15. The measures and price of such property shall only be liable to deductions in the shape of taxes." *Vasishtha*, XIV.

Vasishtha (I, 42) and Baudhâyana (I, 10, 18, 1) declare that the king is entitled to a sixth portion of the income of his subjects as taxes, but exempt many classes who are unable to pay. Gautama details the taxes thus :—

"24. Cultivators pay to the king a tax amounting to one-tenth, one-eighth or one-sixth (of the produce).

"25. Some declare that the tax on cattle and gold amounts to one-fiftieth (of the stock).

"26. In the case of merchandise, one-twentieth (must be paid by the seller) as duty.

"27. Of roots, fruits, flowers, medicinal herbs, honey, meat, grass, and firewood, one-sixtieth.

"Each artizan shall monthly do one day's work (for the king).

"32. Hereby the taxes payable by those who support themselves by personal labour have been explained.

"33. And those payable by owners of ships and carts.

"34. He must feed these persons while they work for him." *Gautama*, X.

Megasthenes gives us a valuable account of the manner in which the work of administration was actually carried on, and the following passages will be read with interest :—

"Those who have charge of the city are divided

into six bodies of five each. The members of the first look after everything relating to the industrial arts. Those of the second attend to the entertainment of foreigners. To these they assign lodgings, and they keep watch over their modes of life by means of those persons whom they give to them for assistants. They escort them on the way when they leave the country, or in the event of their dying, forward their property to their relatives. They take care of them when they are sick, and if they die bury them. The third body consists of those who inquire when and how births and deaths occur, with the view not only of levying a tax, but also in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognizance of Government. The fourth class superintends trade and commerce. Its members have charge of weights and measures, and see that the products in their season are sold by public notice. No one is allowed to deal in more than one kind of commodity unless he pays a double tax. The fifth class supervises manufactured articles, which they sell by public notice. What is new is sold separately from what is old, and there is a fine for mixing the two together. The sixth and last class consists of those who collect the tenths of the prices of the articles sold."

The military officers "also consist of six divisions with five members to each. One division is appointed to co-operate with the Admiral of the fleet; another with the Superintendent of the bullock trains which are used for transporting engines of war, food for the soldiers, provender for the cattle, and other military requisites. The third division has charge of the foot soldiers; the fourth of the horses; the fifth of the war chariots and the sixth of the elephants."

Besides the municipal officers and military officers, there was yet a third class of officers who superintended agriculture, irrigation, forests, and generally the work of administration in rural tracts. "Some superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from

the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupation connected with land as those of the wood-cutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners. They construct roads, and at every ten stadia set up a pillar to shew the by-roads and distances." *MacCrindle's Translation*

It must not be supposed that the highly organized system of administration described by Megasthenes prevailed in all kingdoms, or that all kings observed the same uniform method. Megasthenes describes the system which prevailed under the powerful king Chandragupta of Magadha, in whose court he lived. But nevertheless his description gives us a general idea of the careful system of administration which prevailed under Hindu kings in the Rationalistic Period. We have only to add that villages in the old Hindu times were little self-governing communities, and paid their taxes to the king's officers through their headmen. Of such officers,—*i.e.* lords of ten villages, of hundred villages, and so on, we have frequent mention in Manu and other metrical codes.

Of the personal habits and occupations of kings, Megasthenes has given us a picture which agrees in the main with the picture given in Paurânik literature. The care of the king's person was entrusted to female slaves, who are said to have been bought from their parents, and the guards and the rest of the soldiery were stationed outside the gates. The king attended the court every day, and remained there during the day without allowing the business to be interrupted. The only other occasions on which he left the palace were when he performed sacrifices or went out for the chase. Crowds of women surrounded him when he went out for the chase, and outside this circle, the spearmen were ranged. Armed women attended the king in chariots, on horses or on elephants, when he hunted in the open grounds

from the back of an elephant. Sometimes he shot arrows from a platform inside an enclosure, and two or three armed women stood by him on the platform. These accounts shew that the sturdy and warlike manners of the Kurus and the Panchâlas of the Epic Age had already been replaced by more luxurious and effeminate habits in the Rationalistic Age. The age of chivalry had gone, and that of sophism and luxury had come!

Arrian gives an account of the mode in which Hindus equipped themselves for war:—"The foot soldiers carry a bow made of equal length with the man who bears it. This they rest upon the ground, and pressing against it with their left foot, thus discharge the arrow having drawn the string far backwards: for the shaft they use is little short of being three yards long, and there is nothing which can resist an Indian archer's shot,—neither shield nor breastplate, nor any stronger defence if such there be. In their left hand they carry bucklers made of undressed ox-hide, which are not so broad as those who carry them, but are about as long. Some are equipped with javelins instead of bows, but wear a sword, which is broad in the blade, but not longer than three cubits; and this, when they engage in close fight (which they do with reluctance), they wield with both hands to fetch down a lustier blow. The horsemen are equipped with two lances like the lances called *Saunia*, and with a shorter buckler than that carried by the foot soldiers. For they do not put saddles on their horses; nor do they curb them with bits in use among the Greeks or the Kelts, but they fit on round the extremity of the horse's mouth a circular piece of stitched raw ox-hide studded with pricks of iron or brass pointing inwards, but not very sharp; if a man is rich he uses pricks made of ivory."—*MacCrindle's Translation.*

The laws of war were more humane among Hindus than among other nations in the world. "The Aryans forbid the slaughter of those who have laid down their arms, of those who beg for mercy with flying hair or joined hands and of fugitives." *A'pastamba*,

II, 5,10,11. "Let him not fight with those who are in fear, intoxicated, insane or out of their minds, nor with those who have lost their armour, nor with women, infants, aged men and Brâhmans." *Baudhâyana*, I, 10, 18, 11. "The wives (of slain soldiers) shall be provided for." *Vasishtha*, XIX, 20. And Megasthenes, too, vouches for the humane laws of war among Hindus. "For whereas among other nations it is usual in the contests of war to ravage the soil, and thus to reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians, on the contrary, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger; for the combatants on either side in waging the conflict make carnage of each other, but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested Besides, they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire, nor cut down its trees."

Megasthenes tells us that the Indian tribes numbered 118 in all. On the north of India, and beyond the Himâlaya, the country "is inhabited by those Scythians who are called the Sakai." Such is the brief mention made of that powerful tribe which hung like an ominous cloud on the northern slopes of the Himâlaya in the fourth century before Christ, but which, in course of a few centuries, burst like a hurricane on the plains of Western India, and convulsed and shattered Hindu kingdoms.

Of the peaceful and law-abiding people in India, Megasthenes gives a pleasing and grateful account: "They live happily enough, being simple in their manners and frugal. They never drink wine, except at sacrifices. Their beverage is a liquor composed from rice instead of barley, and their food is principally a rice pottage. The simplicity of their laws and their contracts is proved by the fact that they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges and deposits, nor do they require either seals or witnesses, but make their deposits and confide in each other. Their houses

and property they generally leave unguarded. These things indicate that they possess sober sense. Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem. Hence they accord no special privileges to the old unless they possess superior wisdom." Megasthenes further states that the Indians did "not even use aliens as slaves, and much less a countryman of their own," that thefts were very rare among them, that their laws were administered from memory, and even that the Indians were ignorant of the art of writing. We have conclusive proofs that writing was known in India in the Rationalistic Period, and the statement of Megasthenes only shews that writing was in very little use, either in schools where boys received their learning and their religious lessons by rote, or even in Courts of Justice where laws, *i.e.*, the Dharma Sûtras were administered by learned Judges entirely from memory.

The Dharma Sûtras present us with a full account of the way in which criminal and civil law was administered and judicial trials were held.

"5. Men of learning and pure descent, who are aged, clever in reasoning, and careful in fulfilling their duties, shall be judges in law suits.

"6. In doubtful cases, (they shall give their decision) after having ascertained the truth by inference or deeds and the like means.

"7. A person who is possessed of good qualities (may be called as a witness,) shall answer the questions put to him according to the truth on an auspicious day in the morning, before a kindled fire, standing near water, in the presence of the king, and with the consent of all, after having been exhorted by the Judge to be fair to both sides.

"8. If he is found out speaking an untruth, the king shall punish him.

"9. Besides in that case after death, hell.

"10. If he speaks the truth, heaven, and the approbation of all created beings." *Âpastamba*, II, 11, 29.

Gautama says:—

"22. Having learned the affairs from those who

have authority to speak, he, the king, shall give the legal decision.

"23. Reasoning is a means for arriving at the truth.

"24. Coming to a conclusion through that, he shall decide properly.

"25. If the evidence is conflicting, he shall learn the truth from those who are well versed in the threefold sacred lore, and give his decision.

"26. For thus, blessings will attend him." *Gautama*, XI.

The oath that was administered to a witness was of the most solemn character :—

"32. Depose, O witness ! according to the truth ; expecting thy answer thy ancestors hang in suspense ; in accordance with its truth or falsehood they will rise to heaven or fall into hell.

"33. Naked and shorn, tormented with hunger and thirst, and deprived of sight shall the man who gives false evidence go with a potsherd to beg food at the door of his enemy." *Vasishtha*, XVI.

"10. The merit which thou hast acquired in the interval between the night in which thou wert born and that in which thou wilt die,—all that will go to the king if thou speakest an untruth." *Baudhâyana*, I, 10, 19.

The literature of no nation contains more earnest injunctions to speak the truth than the Dharma Sûtras. Gautama says that to give false evidence is a mortal sin, *mahâpâtaka*, which involves loss of caste, (XXI, 10), and "to speak the truth before the Judge is more important than all duties" (XIII, 31). Baudhâyana declares that the perjured man shall go to hell, and also prescribes a penance for the sin (I, 10, 19, 15).* Megasthenes informs us that Hindus seldom went to law, that they made their pledges and deposits without witnesses, that they held truth in high esteem, and that a person who bore false witness in India, suffered the dreadful penalty of the mutilation of his extremities. By the unanimous testimony of the Greek and Chinese writers

* *Viz.*, that he should live on hot scalding milk for twelve days and nights, or should offer oblations, reciting certain texts.

who travelled and lived in India, Hindus detested falsehood, and were truthful and honest as a nation. Writers therefore who have judged the nation not by the general spirit and tenor of their literature and laws but by a few solitary passages, and administrators, too, who have judged the people, not by their conduct and mutual transactions in towns and villages, but by the chicanery and falsehood witnessed in Law Courts, have unconsciously made themselves liable to the serve punishment spoken of by Megasthenes, or at least to the milder penance prescribed by Baudhâyana !

CHAPTER IV.

LAWS.

THE caste-system had been completely organized in the Rationalistic Period, and threw an indelible stain on the criminal law of India. There was one law for the Brâhman, another for the Sûdra; the former was treated with undue leniency, the latter with excessive and cruel severity. If a Brâhman committed one of the four or five heinous crimes enumerated in the law books, *i.e.*, if he slew a Brâhman, violated his guru's bed, stole the gold of a Brâhman or drank spirituous liquor, the king branded him on the forehead with a heated iron and banished him from his realm. If a man of a lower caste slew a Brâhman, he was punished with death and the confiscation of his property. If such a man slew a man of equal or lower caste, other suitable punishments were meted out to him. A fine of a thousand cows was the punishment for slaying a Kshatriya, that of a hundred for killing a Vaisya, and that of ten cows only for slaying a Sûdra! *Baudhâyana*, I, 10, 18 and 19.

Adultery has always been looked upon in India not only as a criminal offence, but as an offence of a heinous nature; but the punishment for this offence also was regulated by the caste of the offender. A man of the first three castes who committed adultery with a Sûdra woman was banished; but a Sûdra who committed adultery with a woman of the first three castes suffered capital punishment. And an opinion is also quoted that for a Brâhman who once committed adultery with a married woman of equal class, the penance was one-fourth of that prescribed for an outcaste. *Âpastamba*, II, 10, 27.

The same iniquitous distinction pervades the rules for minor offences. The tongue of a Sûdra who spoke

evil of a virtuous person belonging to one of the first three castes was to be cut out, and a Sûdra who assumed an equal position with those castes was to be flogged. *A'pastamba*, II, 10, 27. Similarly Gautama declares that a Sûdra who reviled a twice-born man or assaulted him with blows should lose the limb with which he offended; that if he listened to a recitation of the Veda, his ears should be stopped with molten lac or tin; that if he recited the Veda, his tongue should be cut out; and if he remembered Vedic texts, his body should be split in twain! *Gautama* XII. It must not be supposed that these cruel laws against the Sûdras were ever enforced. On the contrary, the reader will easily perceive, the Brâhman composers of the Sûtras were anxious to emphasise the distinction between themselves and the other castes, and especially Sûdras, and have therefore represented the laws as ten times more iniquitous than they were, as actually administered by sensible kings and Kshatriya officers, or even by Brâhman judges.

A Kshatriya abusing a Brâhman pays 100 kârshâpanas, and beating a Brâhman pays 200 kârshâpanas. A Vaisya abusing a Brâhman pays 150 kârshâpanas, and we suppose pays 300 for beating him. But a Brâhman pays only 50 kârshâpanas for abusing a Kshatriya, 25 for abusing a Vaisya, and for abusing a Sûdra,—nothing! *Gautama*, XII, 8 to 13.

Death or corporal punishment seems to have been the punishment for theft, at least in some cases; and the thief is directed to appear before the king with flying hair, holding a club in his hand and proclaiming his deed. If the king pardons him and does not slay him or strike him, the guilt falls on the king *Gautama* XII, 45. The prerogative of mercy was the king's alone, but a guru, a priest, a learned householder or a prince, could intercede for an offender, except in the case of a capital offence. *A'pastamba*, II, 10, 27, 20.

Vasishtha reserves the right of self-defence in the case of a person attacked by an *A'tatâyin*, and that term includes an incendiary, a poisoner, one ready to

kill with weapon in his hand, a robber, a man who takes away another's land, or abducts another's wife. A man may slay an A'tatâyin who comes to slay, even if the latter "knows the whole of the Veda, together with the Upanishads." *Vasishtha*, III, 15 to 18.

Agriculture and trade were the means of the people's subsistence, and crimes relating to a cultivator's land or to an artisan's trade were punished with the utmost severity. We have seen that defence of land was one of the cases in which the right of self-defence was allowed, and false evidence given about land was looked upon with the utmost detestation. By giving false evidence concerning small cattle, a witness commits the sin of killing ten men, by false evidence concerning cows, horses and men, he commits the sin of killing a hundred, a thousand, and ten thousand men respectively; but by false evidence concerning land, he commits the sin of killing the whole human race. "Hell is the punishment for a theft of land." *Gautama*, XIII, 14 to 17. Similarly with regard to artisans, Megasthenes informs us that he who caused an artisan to lose his eye or his hand was punished with death.

A severe penance is ordained for the man who attempts suicide, and the relations of a suicide are prohibited from performing funeral rites for him. *Vasishtha*, XXIII, 14, &c.

Turning to civil law, we find a number of provisions which throw light on the system of agriculture in the Rationalistic Period. Lands were leased as in the present time, and,

"1. If a person who has taken a lease of land does not exert himself, and hence the land bears no crop, he shall, if he be rich, be made to pay the value of the crop that ought to have been grown.

"2. A servant in tillage who abandons his work shall be flogged.

"3. The same punishment shall be awarded to a herdsman who leaves his work.

"4. And the flock entrusted to him shall be taken away.

"5. If cattle, leaving their stable, eat crops, the owner of the crops may make them lean (by impounding them); but shall not exceed.

"6. If a herdsman who has taken cattle under his care, allows them to perish or loses them, he shall replace them to the owners.

"7. If (the king's forester) sees cattle that have been sent into the forest through negligence, he shall lead them back to the village and make them over to the owners." *A'pastamba*, II, 11, 28.

Again, Gautama says:—

"19. If damage is done by cattle, the responsibility falls on the owner.

"20. But if the cattle were attended by a herdsman, it falls on the latter.

"21. If the damage was done in an unenclosed field near the road, the responsibility falls on the herdsman and on the owner of the field." *Gautama*, XII.

As in the present day, unenclosed fields were used as common property for grazing cattle, and for obtaining firewood.

"He may take, as his own, grass for a cow, and fuel for his fire, as well as the flowers of creepers and trees and their fruit if they be unenclosed." *Gautama*, XII, 28.

Some equitable provisions are laid down by Vasishtha about the right of way, and about the evidence necessary in disputes about immoveable property.

"10. It is declared in the Smriti that there are three kinds of proof which give a title to property, *viz.*, documents, witnesses and possession; thereby an owner may recover property which formerly belonged to him.

"11. From fields through which there is a right of way, a space sufficient for the road must be set apart, likewise a space for turning a cart.

"12. Near new built houses and other things of the same description, there shall be a passage three feet broad.

"13. In a dispute about a house or a field, reliance must be placed on the depositions of neighbours.

"14. If the statements of the neighbours disagree, documents may be taken as proof.

"15. If conflicting documents are produced, reliance must be placed on the statements of aged inhabitants of the village or town, and on those of guilds and corporations of artizans or traders." *Vasishtha*, XVI.

The law of acquiring property by usage is thus laid down :—

"16. Now they quote also the following verse : 'Property inherited from a father, a thing bought, a pledge, property given to a wife after marriage by her husband's family, a gift, property obtained for performing a sacrifice, the property of re-united co-parceners, and wages as the eighth.'

"17. Whatever belonging to these eight kinds of property has been enjoyed by another person for ten years continuously is lost to the owner.

"18. They quote also a verse on the other side : 'A pledge, a boundary, and the property of minors, an (open) deposit, a sealed deposit, women, the property of a king, and the wealth of a Srotriya are not lost by being enjoyed by others.'

"19. Property entirely given up by its owner goes to the king." *Vasishtha* XVI.

Gautama has similar rules :—

"37. The property of a person who is neither an idiot nor a minor, having been used by strangers before his eyes for ten years, belongs to him who uses it.

"38. But not if it is used by Srotriyas, ascetics or royal officials.

"39. Animals, land and females are not lost to the owner by another's possession." *Gautama* XII.

Women and females in the above extracts must mean female slaves. With regard to minors, widows, &c., there are provisions to the effect that the king shall administer their property and shall restore it in the case of a minor when he comes of age. *Vasishtha*, XVI, 8 & 9.

We have seen that the practice of money-lending prevailed in India from the early Rig Veda times ; but it is in the Rationalistic Period that we find the rate of interest legally fixed.

" Hear the interest for a money-lender declared by the words of Vasishtha, five *Mâshâs* for twenty (*Kârshâpanas* may be taken every month) ; thus the law is not violated." *Vasishtha*, II, 51.

Similarly Gautama declares (XII, 29) :—

" The legal interest for money lent is at the rate of five *Mâshâs* a month for twenty (*Kârshâpanas*)."

The commentator Hara Datta reckons 20 mashas to the kârshâpanas, so that the rate of interest comes to 1¼ per cent. per month, or 15 per cent. per annum. Krishna Pandita correctly states that this rate of interest applies to loans for which security is given. Manu specially mentions (VIII, 140) that this rate is prescribed by Vasishtha. Gautama says that after the principal has been doubled, interest ceases, and when the object pledged is an object used by the creditor, the money lent bears no interest at all (XII, 31 and 32).

Other articles might be lent at a much higher percentage of interest, apparently when no security was given.

" 44. Gold may be lent, taking double its value on repayment, and grain trebling the original price.

" 45. The case of flavouring substances has been explained by the rule regarding grain.

" 46. As well as the case of flowers, roots and fruit.

" 47. He may lend what is sold by weight taking eight times the original value on repayment."

Similarly Gautama says :—

The interest on products of animals, on wool on the produce of a field, and on beasts of burden, shall not increase more than five-fold the value of the object lent. *Gautama*, XII, 36.

Thus apart from the loan of money on security, articles and products were lent, apparently without security, at an enormous rate of interest. In the former case the interest was only 15 per cent., and the principal could

only be doubled ; in the latter case it could increase six or eight-fold.

Gautama names no less than six different forms of interest, *viz.*, compound interest, periodical interest, stipulated interest, corporal interest, daily interest and the use of a pledge. (XII, 34 & 35.) He lays down that the heirs shall pay the debts of a deceased person, but provides that money due by a surety, a commercial debt, a fee due to the parents of the bride, immoral debts and fines shall not devolve on the sons of the debtor. (XII, 40 & 41.)

And this brings us to the most important portion of the Civil Law, *viz.*, the Law of Inheritance.

To leave male issue was considered a religious duty by the ancient Hindus, and their extreme desire for male issue, and their fear also of having to suffer the torments of hell if no male issue was left behind, led to the custom of appointing childless widows and even unmarried daughters to raise issue which sounds strange in modern ears. Gautama, who is the earliest of the Sûtrakâras, whose Dharma Sûtras are extant, recognises both these customs which had been handed down from before the Rationalistic Period.

"2. Let her (a wife) not violate her duty towards her husband.

"3. Let her restrain her tongue, eyes and action.

"4. A woman whose husband is dead, and who desires offspring, (may bear a son) to her brother-in-law.

"5. Let her obtain the permission of her Gurus, and let her have intercourse during the proper season only.

"6. (On the failure of a brother-in-law she may obtain offspring) by a Sapinda, Sagotra, a Samânapravara, or one who belongs to the same caste.

"7. Some declare she shall co-habit with nobody but a brother-in-law.

"8. She shall not bear more than two (sons).

"9. The child belongs to him who begot it.

"10. Except if an agreement to the contrary has been made." *Gautama*, XVIII.

Again,

"18. A father who has no (male) issue may appoint his daughter (to raise up a son for him), presenting burnt offerings to Agni and to Prajâpati, and addressing, 'for me be the offspring.'

"19. Some declare that a daughter becomes an appointed daughter solely by the intention (of the father)." *Gautama*, XXVIII.

We will make one more extract from Gautama which indicates the different kinds of sons who were considered by him to be heirs, and those who were only members of the family.

"32. A legitimate son (*Aurasa*), a son begotten on the wife (*Kshetraja*), an adopted son (*Datta*), a son made (*Kritrima*), a son born secretly (*Gûdhaja*), and a son abandoned (*Apaviddha*), inherit the estate.

"33. The son of an unmarried damsel (*Kânîna*), the son of a pregnant bride (*Sahodha*), the son of a twice married woman (*Paunarbhava*), the son of an appointed daughter (*Putrikâputra*), a son self-given (*Svayamdatta*), and a son bought (*Krîta*), belong to the family. XXVIII.

Baudhâyana and Vasishtha lived long after Gautama, and their opinions varied from that of Gautama as well as from each other in some respects.

"14. One must know a son begotten by the husband himself on a wedded wife of equal caste to be a legitimate son of the body, *Aurasa*.* *

"15. The male child born of a daughter after an agreement has been made, is the son of an appointed daughter, *Putrikâputra*.* *

"17. He who is begotten by another man on the wife of a deceased man, of a eunuch, or of one diseased, after permission, is called the son begotten on a wife, *Kshetraja*.

"20. He is called an adopted son, *Datta*, who being given by his father and his mother, or by either of the two, is received in the place of a child.

"21. He is called a son made, *Kritrima*, whom a man himself makes his son with the

(adoptee's) consent only, and who belongs to the same caste.

"22. He is called a son born secretly, *Gûdhaja*, who is secretly born in the house, and whose origin is afterwards recognized.

"23. He is called a son cast off, *Apaviddha*, who being cast off by his father and his mother, or by either, is received in the place of a child.

"24. If anybody approaches an unmarried girl without the permission (of her father or guardian), the son born by such a woman is called the son of an unmarried damsel (*Kânîna*).

"25. If one marries either knowingly or unknowingly a pregnant bride, the child which is born of her is called a son taken with the bride, *Sahodha*.

"26. He is called a son bought, *Krîta*, who being purchased from his father and his mother, or from either of them, is received in the place of a child.

"27. He is called the son of a twice-married woman, *Paunarbhava*, who is born of a remarried female, *i. e.*, of one who having left an impotent man, has taken a second husband.

"28. He is called a self-given son, *Svayamdatta*, who abandoned by his father and his mother, gives himself to a stranger.

"29. He who is begotten by a man of the first twice born caste, on a female of the Sûdra caste, is called a *Nishâda*.

"30. (He who is begotten by the same parents through lust is called a *Pârasava*. * * " *Baudhâyana*, II, 2, 3.

Baudhâyana then quotes verses which declare that of the fourteen kinds of sons enumerated above, the first named seven, *i. e.*, the Aurasa, the Putrikâputra, the Kshetraja, the Datta, the Kritrima, the Gûdhaja, and the Apaviddha, were entitled to share the inheritance. The next six, *i.e.*, the Kânîna, the Sahodha, the Krîta, the Paunarbhava, the Svayamdatta, and the Nishâda, were considered members of the family. The Pârasava was not even considered a member of the family.

Vasishtha enumerates twelve kinds of sons like Gautama.

"12. Twelve kinds of sons only are noticed by the ancients.

"13. The first is begotten by the husband himself on his legally married wife *(Aurasa.)*

"14. The second is the son begotten on a wife (or widow) (*Kshetraja*), duly authorised thereto on the failure of the first kind of sons.

"15. The third is an appointed daughter (*Putrikâputra*).

"16. It is declared in the Veda 'a maiden who has no brothers comes back to the male ancestors (of her own family); *returning she becomes their son.*' *

"17. With reference to this, a verse (to be spoken by the father when appointing his daughter), 'I shall give thee a brotherless damsel, decked with ornaments, the son whom she may bear, shall be my son.'

"18. Ths fourth is the son of a remarried widow (*Paunarbhava*).

"19. She is called remarried, *Punarbhû* who leaving the husband of her youth, and having lived with others, re-enters his family.

"20. And she is called remarried who *leaving an impotent outcast or mad husband, or after the death of her husband takes another lord.*†

"21. The fifth is the son of an unmarried damsel (*Kânîna*).

"24. A male child secretly born in the house is the sixth (*Gûdhaja*).

* "The curious fact that Vasishtha here calls the appointed daughter a son may perhaps be explained by a custom which, though rarely practised, still occurs in Kashmîr, and by which a brotherless maiden is given a male name. A historical instance of this kind is mentioned in the Râja Taranginî, where it is stated that Kalyânadevî, princess of Gauda and wife of king Jayâpîda, was called by her father Kalyânamalla."—Dr. Bühler.

† The circumstances which allowed the second marriage of a woman have been enumerated in this verse. They are insanity, impotency, loss of caste, or death of her husband. The son of a woman thus married a second time is allowed by Vasishtha to inherit.

" 25. They declare that *these six are heirs and kinsmen*, preservers from a great danger.

" 26. Now among those sons *who are not heirs but kinsmen*, the first is he who is received with a pregnant bride (*Sahodha*).

" 28. The second is the adopted son (*Datta*).

" 30. The son bought (*Krîta*) is the third.

" 33. The fourth is the son self-given (*Svayamdatta*).

" 36. The son cast off is the fifth (*Apaviddha*).

" 38. They declare that the son of a woman of the Sûdra caste (*Nishâda*) is the sixth." * * * *Vasishtha*, XVII.

The last named six kinds of sons cannot inherit according to Vasishtha, but he quotes a verse that they shall be allowed " to take the heritage of him who has no heir belonging to the first mentioned six classes."

The rules of Gautama, Vasishtha and Baudhâyana may be thus shewn in parallel columns :—

	Gautama.	Vasishtha.	Baudhayana.
Kinsmen and heirs	1. Aurasa.	1. Aurasa.	1. Aurasa.
	2. Kshetraja.	2. Kshetraja.	2. Putrikâputra
	3. Datta.	3. Putrikâputra	3. Kshetraja.
	4. Kritrima.	4. Paunarbhava.	4. Datta.
	5. Gûdhaja.	5 Kânîna.	5. Kritrima.
	6. Apaviddha.	6. Gûdhaja.	6. Gûdhaja.
			7. Apaviddha.
Kinsmen not heirs	7. Kânîna.	7. Sahodha.	8. Kânîna.
	8. Sahodha.	8. Datta.	9. Sahodha.
	9. Paunarbhava	9. Krîta.	10. Krîta.
	10. Putrikâputra.	10. Svayamdatta.	11. Paunarbhava.
	11. Svayamdatta.	11. Apaviddha.	12. Svayamdatta.
	12. Krîta.	12. Nishâda.	13. Nishâda.
Neither kinsmen nor heirs	,, ,,	,, ,,	14. Pârasava.

But a reaction appears to have set in early against the recognition of sons legitimate and illegitimate,—even to escape the torments of hell after death ! A'pastamba, who lived a century or more after Baudhâyana, protests against the recognition of heirs and sons of various kinds, and explains away ancient customs by stating that what had been allowed in ancient times could not be permitted among sinful men of the present time.

"1: Sons begotten by a man who approaches in the proper season a woman of equal caste, who has not belonged to another man, and who has been married legally, have a right to follow the occupations (of their castes).

"2. And to inherit the estate.

"8. Transgression of the law and violence are found among the ancients.

"9. They committed no sin on account of the greatness of their lustre.

"10. A man of later times who, seeing their deeds, follows them, falls.

"11. The gift (or acceptance of a child) and the right to sell (or buy) a child are not recognized." *A'pastamba*, II, 6, 13.

Elsewhere A'pastamba says:

"2. (A husband) shall not make over his (wife,) who occupies the position of a 'gentilis,' to others than to his 'gentiles' in order to cause children to be begot for himself.

"3. For they declare that a bride is given to the family.

"4. That is (at present) forbidden on account of the weakness of men's senses.

"5. The hand of a 'gentilis' is considered in law to be that of a stranger, as well as that of any other person except the husband.

"6. If the marriage vow is transgressed, both husband and wife certainly go to hell.

"7. The reward (in the next world) resulting from observing the restrictions of the law, is preferable to offspring obtained in this manner (by Niyoga)." *A'pastamba*, II, 10, 27.

Thus A'pastamba makes a clear sweep not only of Niyoga or appointment of a wife to raise issue, but also of the adoption or the buying of a son. It must not be supposed, however, that the ancient customs fell into disuse at once. On the contrary, we find these customs alluded to in Manu and other metrical codes compiled after the close of the Rationalistic Period, and adoption survives to this day.

There is the same dissimilarity of opinion in respect of the partition of property among brothers. The law of primogeniture never obtained in India, but so long as the joint family system remained in vogue, the property of the father was inherited by the eldest son, who supported the rest as a father. It would seem, however, that to live in a joint family under the eldest brother was never the universal custom in India, and even Gautama, the earliest of the Sûtrakâras whose works are extant, considers a partition among brothers preferable, for "in partition there is an increase of spiritual merit." (XXVIII, 4.)

According to Guatama the eldest son gets, as an additional share, a twentieth part of the estate, some animals and a carriage; the middlemost son gets some poor animals, and the youngest get sheep, grain, utensils, a house, a cart, and some animals; and then the remaining property is equally divided. Or he would allow the eldest two shares, and the remaining sons one share each; or he would allow them each to take one kind of property by choice according to seniority; or the special shares may be adjusted according to their mothers. (XXVIII, 5 to 17.)

Further on he says that the property of not reunited brothers, dying without issue, goes to the eldest brother; that the property of a reunited co-parcener goes to the co-parcener; that what a learned co-parcener has acquired by his own efforts he may withhold from his unlearned co-parceners, and that unlearned co-parceners should divide their acquisitions equally. (XXVIII, 27 to 31.)

And lastly, Gautama lays down that a Brâhman's son by a Kshatriya wife, if the eldest, shares equally with a younger brother by a Brâhman wife, and the same rule holds good between the sons of a Kshatriya by a Vaisya wife as between those of a Brâhman by a Kshatriya wife. The son by a Sûdra wife, if righteous, receives a provision by maintenance, while even the son of a wife of equal caste does not inherit if he be living unrighteously. (XXVIII, 35 to 40.)

Vasishtha allows the eldest brother to take a double share and a little of the kine and horses ; he allows the youngest to take the goats, sheep and house, while the middlemost gets utensils and furniture. And if a Brâhman has sons by Brâhman, Kshatriya and Vaisya wives, the first gets three shares, the second two shares, and the third, *i.e.*, the son by the Vaisya wife, gets one share. (XVII, 42 to 50.)

Baudhâyana allows all the children to take equal shares, or the eldest son to take one-tenth in excess. Where there are sons born of wives of different castes, the sons will take four, three, two and one shares, according to the order of the castes. (II, 2, 3, 2 to 10).

A'pastamba differs in this respect also from his predecessors and protests against unequal division of property. He quotes the opinion giving a preference to the eldest son, examines the texts on which the opinion is based, argues that the texts make a statement of facts and is not a rule, and therefore declares the preference of the eldest son to be forbidden. All sons who are virtuous inherit, but he who spends money unrighteously shall be disinherited, though he be the eldest son. (II, 6, 14, 1 to 15.)

The separate property, *viz.*, the nuptial presents and ornaments of a wife, were inherited by her daughters (*Gautama*, XXVIII, 24; *Vasishtha*, XVII, 46; *Baudhâyana*, II, 2, 3, 43.) A'pastamba says that on the failure of sons, the daughter may inherit (II, 6, 14, 4.)

Our account of the system of laws of the Rationalistic Period has been long, but our readers will not probably regret it. For the legal system, as well as the philosophy of this period, shews unmistakeably the vast distance of time between this and the Epic Age, and shews the culture, the training, and the practical method of dealing with intricate subjects which had been achieved during centuries of civilization. Everything that was confused during the Epic Period was brought to order and subjected to a severe method of reasoning ; everything that was discursive was condensed ; everything that was vague and uncertain was

dealt with in a practical manner. The same religious acts, Srauta and Grihya, were still performed, but the elaborate and endless discussions of the Brâhmanas had disappeared, and religious rites were performed under strict and carefully condensed rules. Criminal offences and civil cases were no longer dealt with according to the vague and varying opinions and feelings of learned men and priests, those opinions were arranged, condensed and codified into bodies of laws which learned men were called upon to administer. The caste system itself, which was still pliable in the Epic Period, was unfortunately made more rigid, more in accordance with the inviolable codified rules of the Rationalistic Period; and the whole social system of the Hindus underwent a similar rigid treatment. And lastly, the bold but vague speculations of the Upanishads were matured into closely-reasoned systems of philosophy; and grammar, and geometry, and other branches of learning received the same scientific treatment.

CHAPTER V.

CASTE.

BUT the gain was not all on one side nor the loss on the other. Social manners, as we have stated, underwent the same rigid system of arrangement which pervades the literature and learning of the Rationalistic Period. The system of caste was still a pliable institution in the Epic Period; but the rules of caste were made more rigid and inflexible in the Rationalistic Period, no doubt in order to bring society into better order, and to secure immediate gain, but to the detriment of future progress. Sages and legislators are excellent judges of the laws and institutions which are most conducive to progress in their own times; but no laws and institutions can be made permanent and immutable without interfering with the natural progress of a society capable of advancement in successive ages. Rigid and inflexible social rules, therefore, which are further hallowed by the sanction of religion, serve only to hamper and restrain a nation in its onward march in civilization. But the grave error, the national misfortune, should in justice be attributed not to those wise men who framed rules for their own guidance under the conditions of ancient society, but to those who, from want of religious energy and political life, have failed to modify the rules in accordance with the requirements of modern society. Nor would it be philosophical to blame the modern priestly caste for upholding its privileges and maintaining caste inequality. Priestly supremacy is inevitable when the people are superstitious, just as kingly despotism is inevitable when the people are politically lifeless. Nations are themselves to a great extent responsible for their fate; and the people of modern India are slowly awaking to the conviction that it rests with themselves to cast asunder the broken

links of an ancient chain, and to rise to the dignity of free men and a united nation.

We have seen that in the Epic Age an inviolable line had not yet been drawn between members of different castes. According to one remarkable passage in the Aitariya Brâhmana, the descendants of a member of one caste might enter another by following the profession of the latter; while, according to another equally remarkable passage in the Satapatha Brâhmana, a Brâhman was a Brâhman by knowledge of religion and not by birth. Numerous instances have also been cited to shew that men of low birth actually entered the priestly caste by their knowledge and virtues; that the priestly caste did not acquire a monopoly of religious learning; that they often came as humble pupils to Kshatriya kings to acquire religious knowledge.

We lose sight of all this, or nearly all this, in the Rationalistic Period. The rules of caste became more rigid, and it was impossible for the members of a lower caste to enter within the pale of priesthood. A Kshatriya or a Vaisya might be a Brâhman in succeeding births, but neither he nor his descendants could ever enter the priestly caste. We should remember, however, that a great body of Hindus broke away altogether in this period from the caste rules and followed the leadership of Gautama Buddha. And this fact in itself explains to some extent the greater care and rigidity with which those who remained within the orthodox pale were guarded and chained.

While the caste rules were made more rigid and inviolable in the Rationalistic Period, the real origin of the system was forgotten. We have seen that in the Epic Period the priests and warriors formed castes of their own; that the mass of the Aryan people remained Vaisyas; while the Hinduized non-Aryans were the Sûdras. New tribes of aborigines, as they entered the Hindu community, still followed their ancestral professions and formed different castes at the lowest end of the ladder; and we have found the

names of some of these non-Aryan tribes or castes in the White Yajur Veda.

This intelligible and historical origin of the caste-system was entirely lost sight of or ignored in the Rationalistic Period, and a theory was sought for and obtained which made each caste distinct from the rest by its very origin and inherent formation! The strange fiction was then conceived, that the different castes were created by a sort of permutation and combination among the men and women of the few parent castes! A child of twelve would hardly accept it as true, if he was told, that the medical profession of Modern Europe for instance, has sprung from a valiant knight of the Middle Ages who once took a fancy to a barber's pretty maiden; or that modern novelists are descended from a monkish scribe who once upon a time left the convent, fascinated by the merry glances of a Troubadour's daughter! Strange, ridiculous, childish as such a theory is, it has been scrupulously adhered to in India by Manu and all the later legal writers, and obtains credence to the present day!

Vasishtha says:—

"1. They declare that the offspring of a Sûdra and of a female of the Brâhman caste, becomes a Chandâla.

"2. That of a Sûdra and of a female of the Kshatriya caste, a Vaina.

"3. That of a Sûdra and of a female of the Vaisya caste, an Antyâvasâyin.

"4. They declare that the son begotten by a Vaisya on a female of the Brâhman caste becomes a Râmaka.

"5. The son begotten by the same on a female of the Kshatriya caste, a Paulkasa.

"6. They declare that the son begotten by a Kshatriya on a female of the Brâhman caste becomes a Sûta.

"8. Children begotten by Brâhmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas on females of the next lower, second lower and third lower castes become respectively Ambashthas, Ugras and Nishâdas.

"9. The son of a Brâhman and of a Sûdra woman is a Pârasava." *Vasishtha*, XVIII.

Baudhâyana is somewhat different.

"6. Sons begotten on wives of equal *or of the next lower castes* are called *of equal caste.*

"7. Those born of wives of the second or third lower castes become Ambashthas, Ugras and Nishâdas.

"8. Of females wedded in the inverse order of the castes are born A'yogavas, Mâgadhas, Vainas, Kshattris, Paulkasas, Kukkutakas, Vaidehakas and Chandâlas." *Budhâyana*, I, 9, 16.

Again,—

"3. A Brâhman begets on a female of the Kshatriya caste a Brâhman, on a female of the Vaisya caste an Ambashtha, on a female of the Sûdra caste a Nishâda.

"4. According to some, a Pârasava.

"5. A Kshatriya begets on a female of the Vaisya caste a Kshatriya, on a female of the Sûdra caste an Ugra.

"6. A Vaisya begets on a female of the Sûdra caste a Rathakâra.

"7. A Sûdra begets on a female of the Vaisya caste a Mâgadha, on a female of the Kshatriya caste a Kshattri, but on a female of the Brâhman caste a Chandâla.

"8. A Vaisya begets on a female of the Kshatriya caste an A'yogava, on a female of the Brâhman caste a Sûta."

And so a Svapâka has an Ugra father and a Kshattri mother; a Vaina has a Vaidehaka father and an Ambashtha mother; a Paulkasa has a Nishâda father and a Sûdra mother; a Kukkutaka has a Sûdra father and a Nishâda mother; and "the wise declare those sprung by an intermixture of the castes to be Vrâtyas." *Baudhâyana*, I, 9, 17.

But the wise are surely mistaken, for the Vrâtyas were Aryans like the best born Aryan Brâhmans and Kshatriyas, but did not practise Brâhmanical ceremonies, as stated in Book II, Chapter VIII.

Gautama's enumeration is comprehensive as well as brief, and we will therefore extract it.

"16. Children born in the regular order of the wives of the next, second or third lower castes become Savarnas, *i. e.*, of equal caste, Ambashthas, Ugras, Nishâdas, Daushyantas, and Pârasavas.

"17. Children born in the inverted order (of wives of higher castes) become Sûtas, Mâgadhas, A'yogavas, Kshattris, Vaidehakas, or Chandâlas.

"18. Some declare that a woman of the Brâhman caste has borne successively to husbands of the four castes sons who are Brâhmans, Sûtas, Mâgadhas or Chandâlas;

"19. And that a woman of the Kshatriya caste has borne to the same Murdhâvasiktas, Kshatriyas, Dhîvaras, Paulkasas.

"20. Further, a woman of the Vaisya caste has borne to the same Bhrigyakanthas, Mâhishyas, Vaisyas and Vaidehas.

"21. And a woman of the Sûdra caste to the same Pârasavas, Yavanas, Karanas and Sûdras." *Gautama*, IV.

Here we have an authoritative statement which may well stagger the most faithful believer! Mâgadhas and Vaidehas, who were different races, Chandâlas and Paulkasas, who were undoubtedly non-Aryan tribes, and even Yavanas, who were Bactrian Greeks and foreigners, were all treated by the same general and rigid law which recognized no exception—and were all declared to be descended directly or indirectly from the parent castes! And as the Hindus came to know other foreign nations later on, the elastic theory was stretched, and Manu derived from the Scythians, the Persians and the Chinese from the same Hindu parent castes!

It is remarkable, however, that the castes or races named above, of whom such a strange origin has been expounded, are nearly all aboriginal tribes or foreigners, or Aryans who had incurred odium by their partiality for scepticism and Buddhism. We do not find names of respectable profession-castes, answering to the Kâyasthas, the Vaidyas, or even the goldsmiths, the blacksmiths, the

potters, the weavers, and other artizans of Modern India. How were these professions classed in Ancient India, if they were not classed as separate castes? The reply is plain, that the great and yet undivided Vaisya caste of the Rationalistic Period still embraced all those different professions which in modern times have been divided and disunited into castes.* The Aryan Vaisyas followed different trades and professions in Ancient India, without forming separate castes; they were scribes and physicians, goldsmiths and blacksmiths, potters and weavers, while still belonging to the same common Vaisya caste. Thus the great body of the Aryan population was still united, and was still entitled to religious knowledge and learning, and the worst features of the modern caste system had not therefore yet manifested themselves in the Rationalistic Age.

The study of the Veda, the performance of sacrifices, and the gift of alms are prescribed for all twice born men, *i. e.*, for Brâhmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. The special and additional occupations of a Brâhman are the performance of sacrifice for others, and the receiving of alms, and agriculture and trade were also allowed to him *provided he did not work himself.* (*Gautama*, X, 5.) The abuses begotten of the privileges of caste had already commenced as early as the Rationalistic Period, and Brâhmanas, relieved of manual labour, had already commenced to feed on the resources of the

* One instance will suffice. The Vaidyas or physician caste of Bengal were unknown in the Rationalistic Period, but later tradition has applied to them the same fiction that was developed in the Rationalistic Period, and the Vaidyas are said to have descended from the union of men and women of different castes. And yet common sense would suggest that they are the descendants of a section of the Aryan people,—the Vaisyas,—who specially applied themselves to one particular science as soon as the science was sufficiently developed to call for special application, and thus in course of time formed a hereditary caste. This view receives a curious confermation from the name which the Bengal Vaidyas still bear. All Vaidyas are Guptas (Sena Gupta, Dâsa Gupta, &c.) Now there are passages in the Sûtra literature which clearly lay down that all Brâhmans are Sarmans, all Kshatriyas are Barmans, and *all Vaisyas are Guptas.* We will quote such a passage further on in Chapter VIII of this Book.

industrious classes, without acquiring that learning which would alone justify their exemption from labour. Vasishtha felt the abuse and the injustice keenly, and protested against idlers being supported and fed, in language which could only be indited when Hinduism was still a living nation's religion.

"I. (Brâhmans) who neither study nor teach the Veda nor keep sacred fires *become equal to Sûdras.*

"4. The king shall punish that village where Brâhmans, unobservant of their sacred duties and ignorant of the Veda, subsist by begging, *for it feeds robbers.*

"6. The sin that *dunces, perplexed by ignorance,* and unacquainted with the sacred law, declare to be duty, shall fall, increased a hundred fold, on those who propound it.

"11. An elephant made of wood, an antelope made of leather, and a Brâhman ignorant of the Veda, those three have nothing but the name of their kind.

"12. Those kingdoms where ignorant men eat the food of the learned will be visited by drought; or some other great evil will befall them." *Vasishtha*, III.

Vasishtha could scarcely have foreseen how terribly his wise prophesy was to be fulfilled in time.

The additional occupations of the Kshatriya were governing and fighting and making conquests, to learn the management of chariots and the use of the bow, and to stand firm in battle and not to turn back. (*Gautama*, X, 15 and 16.) The special occupations of Vaisyas were trade, agriculture, tending cattle, lending money and labour for gain, (*Gautama*, X, 49.) Sûdras were to serve the other three castes, but were also allowed to labour for gain (*Gautama* X, 42); and there can be no doubt they traded and earned money by independent work to a large extent in the Rationalistic Period as in all succeeding periods. Religious knowledge was however forbidden to Sûdras.

"To see ourselves as others see us" is always a gain, and hence although our account of the caste system derived from our ancient Sûtras has been long, we will

now examine how that system was regarded by foreigners. It is quite evident that the seven castes spoken of by Megasthenes are virtually the four castes spoken of above. His philosophers and councillors were the Brâhmans, those who engaged themselves in religious study, and those who took employment under the State respectively. His husbandmen, shepherds and artizans were the Vaisyas and Sûdras who engaged themselves in cultivation, in pasture and in manufacture. And his soldiers were the Kshatriyas; while his overseers were only special servants, spies of the king.

Megasthenes further sub-divides the philosophers into Brâhmans or house-holders, and Srâmans or ascetics. Of the former he says that "the children are under the care of one person after another, and as they advance in age, each succeeding master is more accomplished than his predecessor. The philosophers have their abode in a grove in front of the city within a moderate sized enclosure. They live in a simple style, and lie on beds of rushes or (deer) skins. They abstain from animal food and sensual pleasures, and spend their time listening to religious discourse and in imparting their knowledge to such as will listen to them. . . . After living in this manner for seven and thirty years each individual retires to his own property, where he lives for the rest of his days in ease and security. They then array themselves in fine muslin, and wear a few trinkets of gold in their fingers and in their ears. They eat flesh, but not that of animals employed in labour. They abstain from hot and highly seasoned food. They marry as many wives as they please, with a view to have numerous children, for by having many wives, greater advantages are enjoyed, and since they have no slaves, they have more need to have children around them to attend to their wants."

Of the Srâmans or ascetics, Megasthenes tells us that "they live in the wood, where they subsist on leaves of trees and wild fruits and wear garments made from the bark of trees. They communicate with

the kings, who consult them by messengers, regarding the causes of things, and who through them worship and supplicate the deity." Of those who practised medicines, Megasthenes writes : " by their knowledge of pharmacy they can make marriages fruitful, and determine the sex of the offspring. They effect cures rather by regulating diet than by the use of medicines. The remedies most esteemed are ointments and plasters." We learn from this account, as we learn from other sources, that sects of ascetics subsisting on roots and wild fruits, lived in Ancient India and bore the name of Srâmans before and after the time of Gautama Buddha. And when that great reformer preached a holy life and retirement from the world, as the essence of his religion, his followers, who retired from the world, were called Sâkyaputrîya Srâmans, or ascetics who followed the Sâkya,—to distinguish them from other sects of ascetics.

Elsewhere Megasthenes says of the Philosopher-caste that they, "Being exempted from all public duties, are neither the masters nor the servants of others. They are, however, engaged by private persons to offer the sacrifices due in life-time, and to celebrate the obsequies of the dead. They forewarn assembled multitudes about droughts and wet weather, and also about propitious winds and diseases." We have thus a brief but intelligent sketch from the hand of an impartial foreigner of the life which the Brâhmans lived in the Rationalistic Period. They gave religious instruction to the young, they presided at sacrifices and funeral ceremonies, they advised villagers and cultivators about weather and harvests, and they also prescribed simple medicines for various diseases. Kings looked up to them for advice in emergencies, and the class of Brâhmans whom Megasthenes considers a separate caste and calls councillors, also advised the king in state affairs, were entrusted with the treasury, and were the judges in civil and criminal cases. The educated classes looked up to the Brâhmans for priestly advice and assistance at large sacrifices, while the

humble cultivators consulted the wise men about the prospects of the year. With the gradual decline of the nation the caste so universally honored gradually came to abuse its privileges, and tried to strengthen by superstition that pre-eminence which was first acquired by sanctity and knowledge.

Of the military class, or the Kshatriya caste, Megasthenes gives a very brief sketch. The soldiers were organized and equipped for war, but in times of peace gave themselves up to idleness and amusements.

"The entire force, men-at-arms, war-horses, war-elephants, and all are maintained at the king's expense." It was the duty of the overseers to inquire into all that went on in India and report them to the king.

Of the husbandmen, shepherds and artizans, who obviously were the Vaisya and Sûdra castes, Megasthenes gives us a more interesting and life-like sketch. Being exempted from fighting and other public services, the husbandmen "devote the whole of their time to tillage; *nor would an enemy, coming upon a husbandman at work on his land, do him any harm*, for men of this class, being regarded as public benefactors, are protected from all injury. The land thus remaining unravaged, and producing heavy crops, supplies the inhabitants with all that is requisite to make life very enjoyable. They pay a land tribute to the king, because all India is the property of the Crown, and no private person is permitted to own land. Besides the land tribute, they pay into the royal treasury a fourth part of the produce of the soil."*

"The shepherds neither settle in towns nor in villages but live in tents.† By hunting and trapping they clear the country of noxious birds and wild beasts. Of the artizans some are armourers, while others make

* Megasthenes must have made a mistake here, or is describing the exceptionally rigorous land tax imposed by Chandragupta. The land tax in India was one-sixth the produce, and there was no separate tribute beyond this.

† This description must refer to some tribes of aborigines who were scarcely yet completely Hinduized.

the implements which husbandmen and others find useful in their different callings. This class is not only exempted from paying taxes, but even receives maintenance from the royal exchequer."

CHAPTER VI.

AGRICULTURE AND ARTS.

WE learn from the Greek writers what we already know from the ancient literature of India, that the time-honored *dhuti* and *chaddar* (which latter served as a *pagri* also) formed the national dress in Ancient India. Arrian quotes a passage from Nearchus, and says that the Indians "wear an under-garment of cotton which reaches below the knee half way down to the ankles, and also an upper garment which they throw partly over their shoulders and partly twist in folds round their head. * * They wear shoes made of white leather, and these are elaborately trimmed, while the soles are variegated, and made of great thickness." And the great mass of the "people of India live upon grain and are tillers of the soil, but we must except the hillmen who eat the flesh of beasts of chase."

Our faithful guide Megasthenes also gives us an account of cultivation in Ancient India which, on the whole, corresponds with the system of cultivation at the present time, except that Megasthenes speaks of a double rainfall in the year, considering the winter showers as a regular rainfall. He speaks of "many vast plains of great fertility, more or less beautiful, but all alike intersected by a multitude of rivers. *The greater part of the soil, moreover, is under irrigation*, and consequently bears two crops in the course of the year. It teems at the same time with animals of all sorts, beasts of the field and fowls of the air, of all different degrees of strength and size. It is prolific, besides, in elephants, which are of monstrous bulk. In addition to cereals, there grows throughout India much millet, which is kept well watered by the profusion of river streams, and much pulse of different sorts, and rice also, and what is called *bosporum*, as well as many other plant useful for food,

of which most grow spontaneously. The soil yields, moreover, not a few other edible products fit for the subsistence of animals about which it would be tedious to write. It is accordingly affirmed that *famine has never visited India, and that there has never been a general scarcity in the supply of nourishing food.* For since there is a double rainfall in the course of each year,—one in the winter season when the sowing of wheat takes place as in other countries, and the second at the time of the summer solstice, which is the proper season for sowing rice and *bosporum*, as well as sesamum and millet,—the inhabitants of India almost always gather in two harvests annually; and even should one of the sowings prove more or less abortive, they are always sure of the other crop. The fruits, moreover, of spontaneous growth, and the esculent roots which grow in marshy places and are of varied sweetness, afford abundant sustenance for man. . . . But, further, there are usages observed by the Indians which contribute to prevent the occurrence of famine among them; for whereas among other nations, it is usual, in the contest of war, to ravage the soil, and thus to reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians, on the contrary, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger, for the combatants on either side in waging the conflict, make carnage of each other, but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested. Besides, they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire, nor cut down its trees."

It is impossible for a Hindu in the modern day to read without a feeling of pride this impartial testimony of an intelligent and observant foreigner regarding the prosperous condition of India as administered by Hindus over two thousand years ago. An industrious and intelligent peasantry peopled their fair villages and cultivated and irrigated, carefully and laboriously, the endless expanse of fertile fields, while the artisans carried the various manufactures and arts of peace to

a high state of excellence. It is impossible to suppose that these results were achieved without a careful and watchful system of administration, without a fair degree of security of life and property, and without the help of laws which were on the whole just and fair, although stained by invidious distinctions based on caste. And even when kings fell out among themselves, and riotous Kshatriya chiefs were engaged in their frequent wars, a humane custom, unknown elsewhere in the ancient world, mitigated the horrors of war, and saved the peaceful villagers and industrious cultivators from disturbance and danger.

The excellent manufactures of India were known to the traders of Phœnicia and in the markets of Alexandria long before the Christian era. Megasthenes naïvely says that the Indians were "well skilled in the arts, as might be expected of men who inhale a pure air and drink the very finest water." The soil, too, has "under ground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity, and even tin and other metals, which are employed in making articles of use and ornament, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war."

We have elsewhere given an account of town architecture, and have only to add that the oldest *stone buildings*, the ruins of which still exist in India, belong to the Rationalistic Period. Such, for instance, are the *Baithak* of *Jarâsandha*, and the walls of old Râjagriha in Behar, which General Cunningham assigns to a period anterior to the 5th century before Christ; and such also are many of the Buddhist caves like those of Khandagiri and Udayagiri in Orissa which are anterior to the time of Alexander. We have also spoken of the arms and accoutrements of war in a previous section. But the most remarkable progress was made in finery and ornament such as Hindus have always been fond of. Megasthenes says that "in contrast to the general simplicity of their style, they love finery and ornament. Their robes are worked in gold and

ornamented with precious stones, and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin. Attendants walking behind hold up umbrellas over them : for they have a high regard for beauty, and avail themselves of every device to improve their looks."

Vasishtha in his chapter on Purification speaks of objects of gold, silver and copper, of stones and gems, and conch shells and pearl shells like gems, as well as of things made of bone, wood, leather, cloth, &c. (III, 49 to 63). More striking, however, is a passage in which Strabo describes a gorgeous procession such as Megasthenes must have seen paraded in the streets of Pâtaliputra.

" In processions at their festivals, many elephants are in the train, adorned with gold and silver ; numerous carriages drawn by four horses, by several pairs of oxen ; then follows a body of attendants in full dress bearing vessels of gold, large basins and goblets, an *orguia* in breadth, tables, chairs of state, drinking cups and lavers of Indian copper, most of which are set with precious stones, as emeralds, beryls, and Indian carbuncles ; garments embroidered and interwoven with gold ; wild beasts, as buffaloes, panthers, tame lions, and a multitude of birds of variegated plumage and of fine song." *Bohn's Translation of Strabo*, III p. 117.

CHAPTER VII.

SOCIAL LIFE: THE POSITION OF WOMEN.

"A FATHER who has committed a crime, causing loss of caste, must be cast off. *But a mother does not become an outcast for her son.*

"Now they quote also (the following verses): 'The teacher (A'châryа) is ten times more venerable than a sub-teacher (Upâdhyâya),* the father a hundred times more than the teacher, *and the mother a thousand times more than the father.*" *Vasishtha*, XIII, 47 & 48.

Such is the respect for a mother which the ancient religion of the Hindus enjoins, and every true Hindu cherishes and follows that maxim faithfully.

We saw in our account of the Epic Period that ladies sometimes devoted themselves to the pursuit of philosophy, that Gârgî Vâchaknavî distinguished herself among the learned men in the court of Janaka, and that Maitreyî learnt the secrets of the Upanishads from her husband Yâjnavalkya, the priest of Janaka. Megasthenes is a witness to the fact that sacred learning and philosophy were not forbidden in the Rationalistic Period to such ladies as desired to devote themselves to such studies.

Polygamy was allowed in India, but was, as we have remarked before, probably confined to the wealthier classes. The religion of India did not encourage that unwholesome institution, but only permitted it to ensure male issue. A'pastamba distinctly declares—

"12. If he has a wife who is willing and able to perform her share of the religious duties, and who bears sons, *he shall not take a second.*

* Elsewhere Vasishtha defines an A'chârya and an Upâdhyâya. He who initiates a pupil and teaches him the whole Veda is called A'chârya: but he who teaches a portion of the Veda only, or the Vedângas, is called the Upâdhyâya—III, 21 to 23.

"13. If a wife is deficient in one of these two qualities, he shall take another, but before he kindles the fires (of the Agnihotra)." II, 5. 11.

Insanity, impotency, loss of caste or death of a husband were the circumstances (*Vasishtha*, XVII, 20), which justified a woman to marry again. The circumstances which justified a husband to abandon his wife are mentioned in an ancient and well-known passage which is quoted in Baudhâyana, and which we find in Manu.

"Let him abandon a barren wife in the tenth year, one who bears daughters only in the twelfth, one whose children all die in the fifteenth, but her who is quarrelsome without delay." *Baudhâyana*, II, 2, 4, 6. Leaving out the last clause, which was never seriously intended to be followed, it will be observed that it was only the desire for male issue among the ancient Hindus which was the origin of this unjust law of abandonment of a wife. The abandonment probably only meant that the husband took another wife, but still maintained his first wife, as a member of the family, and this is the practice which is still sometimes observed. To send a virtuous wife adrift in the world, because she is incapable of bearing male issue, is a practice unknown in India, and would bring disgrace and dishonour on the family. To unjustly forsake a wife without an adequate reason was looked upon with horror in the Sûtra days, and a penance was prescribed for the sin which young India may remember with advantage. "He who has unjustly forsaken his wife shall put on an ass's skin, with the hair turned outside, and beg in seven houses, saying 'give alms to him who forsook his wife.' That shall be his livelihood for six months. *Âpastamba*, I, 10, 28, 19."

It is in the Sûtras that we first find mention of the different forms of marriage with which we are familiar from the codes of Manu, Vishnu, &c. Vasishtha mentions only six forms, *viz.* :—

Brâhma marriage; the father pours out a libation of water and gives his daughter to a suitor, a student.

Daiva marriage; the father decks his daughter with ornaments and gives her to an officiating priest, when sacrifice is being performed.

A'rsha marriage; the father gives his daughter for a cow or a bull.

Gândharva marriage; when a lover takes a loving damsel.

Kshâtra (or *Râkshasa*) marriage; when a bridegroom forcibly takes a damsel, destroying her relatives by strength of arms.

Mânusha (or *A'sura*) marriage; when a suitor purchases a damsel from her father.

A'pastamba, too, recognizes only these six forms of marriage, but calls the Kshâtra marriage by the name Râkshasa and the Mânusha marriage by the name A'sura. A'pastamba further mentions the first three forms only, *viz.*, the Brâhma, the Daiva and the A'rsha, as praiseworthy.

Gautama and Baudhâyana prescribe, however, eight forms of marriage, adding to the above six forms one rite, Prâjâpatya, which was considered praiseworthy, and another form *Paisâcha* which was sinful. In the Prâjâpatya form the father simply gave away his daughter to the suitor, saying, "Fulfil ye the law conjointly." The Paisâcha form was simply a form of rape, when a man embraced a woman deprived of consciousness. We must remember that Gautama and Baudhâyana are older authorities than Vasishtha and A'pastamba, and the inference therefore is that two of the old forms were omitted by the later authorities, because they scarcely considered those forms to be marriage rites.

Marriages among kinsfolk were rigorously prohibited in the Rationalistic Period. Vasishtha prohibits marriage between a man and a woman of the same *Gotra* or *Pravara*, or who are related within four degrees on the mother's side, or within six degrees on the father's side. (VIII, 1 and 2.) A'pastamba prohibits marriage between men and women of the same *Gotra*, or who are related (within six degrees) on the

mother's or (father's) side. (II, 5, 11, 15 and 16.) But Baudhâyana allows a man to marry the daughter of a maternal uncle or a paternal aunt. (I, 1, 2, 4.)

The marriage of girls at a tender age was probably unknown in the Vedic Period and even in the Epic Period. The custom gradually came into vogue in the Rationalistic Period, but was yet unsettled in that period as we may infer from contradictory rules on the subject. Vasishtha says :—

"67. A maiden who has attained puberty *shall wait for three years.*

"68. After three years, she may take a husband of equal caste.

"69. Now they quote also (the following verses) : 'But if through a father's negligence a maiden is here given away after the suitable age has passed, she who was waiting destroys him who gives her away, just as the fee which is paid too late to the teacher (destroys the pupil).

"70. Out of fear of the appearance of the menses, let the father marry his daughter while she still runs about naked (*i. e.*, while she is still a child). 'For if she stays after the age of puberty, sin falls on the father.'

"74. If a damsel at the death of her husband had been merely wedded by sacred texts, and if the marriage had not been consummated, she may be married again.'" *Vasishtha*, XVII.

Thus, though women were sometimes married in their childhood, yet child-widows were allowed to re-marry in the Rationalistic Period.

The above passage, however, indicates that the marriage of widows, which was a prevalent custom in the Vedic and Epic Periods, became gradually restricted in the Rationalistic Period, and except in the case of child-widows, was not looked upon with favour. The son of a widow married again, was, as will appear from passages quoted in a previous chapter, often classed with adopted sons, or sons by an appointed wife or daughter.

The rules about funeral ceremonies and mourning have been laid down in detail in the Sûtras, but we are unable to make room for many extracts. Vasishtha says that after burning the body of the deceased, the relatives shall enter the water ; pour out water facing the south, for the south is sacred to the manes ; and that on their return home, they shall sit on mats, and fast or live on poor food for three days. *Sapinda* relationship extends to the seventh person in the ascending or descending line, and the impurity caused by death lasts for ten days in the case of Sapindas. (IV, 11 to 17.) At the *Srâddha* or funeral sacrifice the bereaved will feed a small number of Brâhmans, or "even a single Brâhman who has studied the whole Veda, who is distinguished by learning and virtue, and is free from all evil marks." (XI, 29.) The performance of Srâddhas could scarcely have been so advantageous to Brâhmans under the above rule as it is in modern times! And, lastly, in a remarkable verse, Vasishtha says,—"The manes consider him to be their descendant who offers food at Gayâ, and they grant him blessings, just as husbandmen or well ploughed fields." (XI, 42.) The passage appears to be a later interpolation.

Gautama says that Sapinda relationship ceases with the fifth or the seventh (ancestor), and lays down that Sapindas remain impure for ten days after the death, but that a Kshatriya remains impure eleven days, a Vaisya twelve days, and a Sûdra one month. On the failure of sons, Sapindas can offer the funeral oblation. He recommends the feeding of at least nine Brâhmans, but they must be Srotriyas. (XIV, 1 to 5, 13, and XV, 7 to 9.)

Baudhâyana includes only the great-grandfather, the grandfather, the father, oneself, the brothers, the son, grandson and great-grandson among Sapindas. (I, 5, 11, 9.) Âpastamba extends the Sapinda relationship to blood relations within six degrees. (II, 6, 15, 2.)

Such are some of the rules laid down in the Dharma

Sûtras for marriages and funeral ceremonies. We will now briefly review the rules laid down in the same Sûtras regarding the conduct of a student and that of a householder.

The turning point of a young man's life seems to have been his initiation as a student. A Brâhman boy was initiated between 8 and 16, a Kshatriya between 11 and 22, and a Vaisya between 12 and 24. The initiated boy then lived as a religious student in the house of his teacher for 12, 24, 36 or 48 years, according as he wished to master one, two, three or the four Vedas. During this period of his life he avoided all spiced food, perfumes, and articles of luxury, he tied his hair in a knot, he bore a staff and a girdle and a cloth of flax or hemp, or even only a skin. Avoiding all places of amusement and of pleasure, restraining his senses, modest and humble, the young student went out every morning with his staff to beg for food from charitable householders in the neighbouring villages, and all that he obtained in the course of the day, he placed before his teacher; and he only tasted food after his teacher had done with his meals. He went to the forest to fetch fuel, and evening and morning he fetched water for household use. Every morning he swept and cleaned the altar, kindled the fire and placed the sacred fuel on it, and every evening he washed his teacher's feet and rubbed him and put him to bed, before he retired to rest. Such was the humble, obedient and simple life which ancient Hindu students led, when they devoted all the energies of their mind to the acquisition of the sacred learning of their forefathers.

Instruction, it is needless to repeat, was imparted by rote. The student respectfully held the hand of his teacher and fixed his mind on the teacher and said "Venerable Sir, recite," and the Sâvitrî (the well-known Gâyatrî verse of the Rig Veda) was recited, and learnt as the introduction to the learning of the Vedas (*Gautama*, I, 55, 56). And from day to day new lessons were recited and learnt, the student dividing his day's

work between minding his lessons and minding the household work of his teacher.

When after years of study, often under different teachers, the student at last returned to his home, he made a handsome gift to his instructors, married and settled down as a householder or *snâtaka, i.e.*, a man who has bathed after his studentship is over. *Agnihotra*, or the morning and evening libations in the holy fire, and hospitality to strangers are enjoined on him as his principal duties (*A'pastamba*, I, 4, 14). The Sûtrakâras are never tired of impressing on every householder their paramount duty of courtesy and hospitality towards guests, for the reception of guests is an everlasting sacrifice offered by the householder to Prajâpati. *A'pastamba*, II, 3, 7, 1.

Besides the order of the student and that of the householder, there were two other orders of life, *viz.*, those of the ascetic (Bhikshu), and that of the hermit (Vaikhânasa). We learn from later Sanscrit literature that a typical or perfect life was the life of a man who belonged to these four orders in successive periods of his life. A'pastamba, too, who is one of the latest of the Sûtrakâras, says that "if he lives in all these four (orders of life)'... he will obtain salvation." (II, 9, 21, 2.) But this was not probably the original idea, and in early times a man might have chosen to spend the whole of his life in one of these four orders. Thus, Vasishtha says that a man after completing his education may, according to his choice, embrace one of the four orders for the rest of his life (VII, 3) and Baudhâyana, too, quotes a rule that a man on finishing his education may be an ascetic at once (II, 10, 17, 2). It is needless for our purpose to dwell on rules laid down for an ascetic and a hermit respectively. It will suffice to state, that an ascetic shaved his head, had no property or home, practised austerities, fasted or lived on alms, wore a single garment or a skin, slept on the bare ground, and wandered about from place to place, discontinued the performance of all religious ceremonies, but never discontinued the study of the Veda

or the contemplation of the Universal Soul (*Vasishtha*, X). A hermit, on the other hand, though living in woods, living on roots and fruits and leading a chaste life, kindled the sacred fire and offered the morning and evening libations (*Vasishtha*, IX).

Numerous are the sacraments which have been prescribed for householders who form the best of the four orders. For the householders, and not hermits and ascetics, formed the nation, and "as rivers, both great and small, find a resting place in the ocean, even so men of all orders find protection with householders" (*Vasishtha*, VIII, 15).

No less than forty sacraments have been prescribed for the householder (*Gautama*, VIII, 14 to 20), and as we will describe some of these rites in the next chapter, it is necessary only to enumerate them here.

Domestic Ceremonies.—(1) Garbhâdhâna (ceremony to cause conception); (2) Pumsavana (ceremony to cause the birth of a male child); (3) Sîmantonnayana (arranging the hair of the pregnant wife); (4) Jâtakarman (ceremony on birth of a child); (5) ceremony of naming the child; (6) the first feeding; (7) the tonsure of the head; (8) the initiation; (9 to 12) the four vows for the study of the Veda; (13) the bath or completion of studentship; (14) marriage, or, as it is called, the taking a helpmate for the performance of religious duties; and (15 to 19) the five sacrifices to gods, manes, men, goblins, and the Brahman or Universal Soul.

Grihya religious rites, also called *Pâkayajnas.*—They have been already alluded to in Chapter I of this Book, but for facility of reference, we will again enumerate them here. (1) Astakâ, or rites performed in winter; (2) Pârvana, or new and full moon rites; (3) Srâddha, or funeral sacrifices; (4) Srâvanî, a rite performed on the full moon of Srâvana month; (5) A'grahâyanî, performed in the Agrahâyana month; (6) Chaitrî, performed in the month of Chaitra; and (7) A'svayugî, performed in the month of A'svina.

Srauta religious rites.—These are again divided into

two classes, *viz.*, *Haviryajna*, performed with offerings of rice, milk, butter, meat, &c.; and the *Somayajna*, performed with libations of the soma juice. There were seven rites of each class, and they have been described before in Book II, Chapter VIII, of the present work. We will again name them here.

The Haviryajnas are—(1) Agnyâdhâna, (2) Agnihotra, (3) Darsapûrnamâsa, (4) A'grayana, (5) Châturmâsya, (6) Nirûdhapasubandha, and (7) Sautrâmanî.

The Somayajnas are (1) Agnishtoma, (2) Atyagnishtoma, (3) Ukthya, (4) Shodasin, (5) Vâjapeya, (6) Atirâtra, and (7) A'ptoryâma.

Such were the forty sacraments prescribed for householders;—but far above the performance of these sacrifices was esteemed the possession of virtue and goodness which alone led to heaven. A living nation could never forget that,—however much sacrifice might be esteemed and rules for their performance might be multiplied,—it was virtue which held society together and smoothed the path of progress. So long as society was progressive, it commended virtue more than the rites it enjoined, and punished vice more than the breach of caste-rules or the omission of rites. Compassion, Forbearance, Freedom from anger, Purity, Gentleness, the Performance of good actions, Freedom from avarice, and Freedom from covetousness, are esteemed as the eight good qualities, and Gautama says :—

"He who is sanctified by these forty sacraments, but whose soul is destitute of the eight good qualities, will not be united with Brahman, nor does he reach His Heaven.

"But he, forsooth, who is sanctified by a few only of these forty sacraments, and whose soul is endowed with the excellent qualities, will be united with Brahman and will dwell in His Heaven." (VIII, 24 and 25.)

Further on Gautama concludes his account of the duties of a householder with these pregnant rules :—

"68. He shall always speak the truth.

"69. He shall conduct himself as becomes an Aryan.

"70. He shall instruct virtuous men.

"71. He shall follow the rules of purification.

"72. He shall take pleasure in the Veda.

"73. He shall never hurt any being, he shall be gentle, yet firm, ever restrain his senses, and be liberal.

"74. A *snâtaka* who conducts himself in this manner will liberate his parents, his ancestors, and decendants from evil, and never fall from Brahman's heaven." (IX.)

Similarly Vasishtha says :—

"3. The Vedas do not purify him who is deficient in good conduct, though he may have learnt them all together with the six Angas ; the sacred texts depart from such a man even as birds, when full fledged, leave their nests.

"4. As the beauty of a wife causes no joy to a blind man, even so all the four Vedas together, with the six Angas and sacrifices, bring no blessing to him who is deficient in good conduct.

"5. The several texts do not save from sin the deceitful man who behaves deceitfully. But that Veda, two syllables of which are studied with due observances of rules of conduct, purifies, just as the clouds in the month of A'svina." (VI.)

It was but one short step from this to Buddhism which eschewed all sacred texts and sacred rites, and was essentially *a religion of holy life*, which could create for man a heaven in this earth.

Gautama's list of the sins which led to loss of caste confirms the same impression, that so long as Hinduism was the religion of a living nation, immorality was despised and punished more than breach of artificial rules. Murder, drinking spirituous liquor, violation of a guru's bed, incest, theft, atheism, a persistent repetition of sinful acts, harbouring criminals and abandoning blameless friends, instigating others to such sinful acts, and associating with outcasts, giving false evidence, bringing false charges, and similar acts, involved loss of caste. (XXI, 1 to 10.) Vasishtha's list of *Mahâpâtakas* is shorter, but equally points

to the abhorrence for sin and immorality rather than the breach of artificial rules. The violation of a guru's bed, the drinking of spiritious liquor, murder and theft, and spiritual or matrimonial connexion with outcastes, were the five greatest of sins. (I, 19 to 21.)

It is permissible for a historian to turn from ancient customs to modern facts! Ancient Hinduism, which was a living religion, laid down rules for the conduct of Aryans, but detested crime and immorality far more than the breach of artificial rules. Long subjection and political lifelessness have made modern Hindus lose sight of the spirit of the ancient faith, and cling to dead forms, or fabricate new-fangled and hurtful rules. Immorality, the use of spirituous liquor, and even crime, do not involve loss of caste in modern society; that penalty is reserved for the re-marriage of widows which was permitted in ancient days, for intermarriage and social intercourse among people descended from the same old Vaisya stock, for voyage and foreign travel which were permitted to Northern Hindus. Caste was a valuable institution when it repressed crime and ordained a pure life. Modern caste represses harmless or even meritorious acts, and has become valuable in its loss more than in its preservation!

The taking of food cooked by men of inferior castes, which is a principal reason of loss of caste in modern times, does not seem to have entailed the same consequences in the Rationalistic Period. On the contrary, there are directions for keeping Sûdra cooks, provided the cooks had cleanly habits (*A'pastamba*, II, 2, 3, 4 to 9), and the food thus prepared was considered fit even for religious rites. Thus the ancients allowed between Aryans and Sûdras a degree of social intercourse which the moderns will not permit among different professions descended from the same Vaisya stock.

Elaborate rules have been laid down in the Sûtras on the subject of food, and animals and birds which may be used as food have been carefully distinguished from those which should not be so used. Beef was still used as an article of food, but was gradually fall-

ing into disuse on account of the growing disinclination to kill animals except at sacrifices. On this point Dr. Bühler has drawn attention to a remarkable passage from Manu's Dharma Sûtra, which has been quoted by Vasishtha. Manu's Dharma Sûtra exists no longer, having been replaced by the later metrical code of Manu, which is no doubt based on the old Dharma Sûtra. The extract is therefore of the utmost interest to all Sanscrit scholars.

"5. The Mânava (Sûtra states), 'only when he worships the manes and the gods, or honours guests, he may certainly do injury to animals.'

"6. 'On offering a madhuparka (to a guest) at a sacrifice, and at the rites in honor of the manes, but on these occasions only may an animal be slain, that rule Manu proclaimed.'

"7. 'Meat can never be obtained without injuring living beings, and to injure living beings does not procure heavenly bliss; therefore the (sages declare) the slaughter at a sacrifice not to be slaughter.'

"8. 'Now he may cook a full-grown ox or a full-grown he-goat for a Brâhman or Kshatriya guest; in this manner they offer hospitality to such a man.'" *Vasishtha, IV.*

With regard to the above four Sûtras 5 to 8 from Vasishtha, Book IV, Dr. Bühler makes the following remarks, which are worth quoting: "The fact that Vasishtha gives in IV, 5, a prose quotation from Manu, may therefore be considered as certain. Moreover, several of the best manuscripts shew by adding the particle 'iti' at the end of Sûtra 8, that the quotation from the Mânava is not finished with Sûtra 5, but includes the two verses given in Sûtras 6 and 7, and the second prose passage in Sûtra 8. Among the verses the first is found entire in the metrical Manu Smriti, and the second has likewise a representative in that work, *though its concluding portion has been altered in such a manner that the permission to slaughter animals of sacrifices has been converted into an absolute prohibition to take animal life.* Sûtra 8, which again is in prose, has

no counterpart in the metrical 'Manu Smriti' as might be expected *from its allowing a 'full-grown ox' or 'a full-grown he-goat' to be killed in honor of a distinguished Brâhmana or Kshatriya guest.*" The italics are our own, and they shew, if Dr. Bühler's supposition be correct, how the ancient and now lost Mânava Sûtra has been changed into the modern metrical Mânava Sastra to suit the changes in the customs and manners of the Hindu nation.

Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra has, in his paper on Beef in Ancient India, pointed out that in several religious rites the slaughter of animals formed a necessary part. One is called the *Sûlagava* or "spitted cow," *i. e.*, Roast Beef, and it was performed in the autumn or spring season. Another was called *Gavâmanayana* or the sacrifice of the cow, otherwise called, *Ekâshtakâ*. Kâtyâyana recommends the sacrifice of a barren cow to the Maruts and seventeen oxen to Prajâpati in connection with the *Atirâtra* rite. Similarly the *Nirûdha Pasubandha* rite required the sacrifice of oxen. The *Madhuparka* or honey-meat of which mention is made before, and was offered to a respectable guest,—a priest, king, bridegroom or Vedic student, a teacher, a father-in-law, an uncle or a man of rank,—had to be accompanied with the sacrifice of a cow in honor of the guest. Dr. Mitra rightly thinks that the use of beef went out when sacrifices themselves fell into disuse, and was finally abandoned in consequence of the Buddhist appeal to humanity.

But though beef as well as the meat of various other animals was allowed in the Rationalistic Period, the use of spirituous liquor was most strictly prohibited, and was, as we have seen, a Mahâpâtaka both according to Gautama and Vasishtha. The penance was death,—hot liquor of the same kind being poured into the sinner's mouth till he was scalded to death (*Gautama*, XXIII, 1; *Baudhâyana*, II, 1, 1, 18). But as we have said before, these laws indicate the state of society which was aimed at by priests, and not the estate which was ever actually secured. But nevertheless it is some-

thing to know the good results which were aimed at by ancient rules and restrictions. For they have now been replaced by new rules and restrictions which aim at no good results, and reveal neither sense nor reason to the most solicitous inquirer!

CHAPTER VIII.

DOMESTIC CEREMONIES AND GRIHYA RITES.

WE have seen that the forty sacraments prescribed by Gautama included Domestic ceremonies, Grihya rites, and Srauta rites. The Srauta rites are described in detail in the Yajur Veda and the Brâhmanas, and also in a condensed form in the Srauta Sûtras, as we have stated before. These rites and sacrifices throw little light on the manners and customs of the people, and are therefore not of very great importance for our historical purpose. The Domestic ceremonies and Grihya rites on the other hand give us glimpses which are of inestimable value into the manners of the ancient Hindus, and indeed give us perfect pictures of the life that they lived and the habits and customs they followed. These ceremonies and rites form the subject of the Grihya Sutras, and to them we must now turn.

We will first treat of the Domestic ceremonies, the *Samskâras*, as they are called, and afterwards speak of the Grihya religious rites. The most important of the Samskâras are Marriage, Ceremonies during pregnancy of wife, Birth of child; Annaprâsana or the first feeding of a child, Tonsure, Cutting of beard. Initiation, Return from school, and the Building of a house, and Funeral ceremonies. As we read accounts of these domestic ceremonies, we think we survey the whole life of our ancient ancestors ;—and the ceremonies are all the more interesting to us because we continue to practise many of them to the present day, after a lapse of over two thousand years.

Marriage.—The bridegroom sends messengers to the house of the girl's father, reciting verse X, 85, 23, of the Rig Veda which we have translated before. If the proposal pleases both parties, the promise of marriage is ratified, and both parties touch a full vessel into which flowers, fried grain, barley and gold have been

put, and recite a formula. The bridegroom then performs a sacrifice. On the appointed day, the bride's relations wash her with water fragrant with the choicest fruits and scents, make her put on a newly dyed garment, and cause her to sit down by a fire while the family A'châryа performs a sacrifice. The bridegroom who has also bathed and gone through auspicious ceremonies "is escorted by happy young women who are not widows to the girl's house." *Sânkhâyana.*

The actual marriage ceremony, varied in detail in different localities, but agreed in the essential points. "Various indeed are the customs of the different countries, and the customs of the different villages. * * What, however, is commonly accepted, that we shall state." *A'svalâyana.* The bridegroom holds the bride by the hand, and leads her three times round a fire, reciting some verses as "Come let us marry. Let us beget offspring. Loving, bright, with genial mind, may we live a hundred autumns." Each time he makes her tread a millstone, saying "Like a stone be firm." The bride's brother or guardian fills her hands with A'jya or fried grain, and she sacrifices it to the fire. The bridegroom then causes the bride to step forward seven steps, reciting some suitable words, as "For sap with one step, for juice with two steps, for thriving of wealth with three steps, for comfort with four steps, for offspring with five steps, for the seasons with six steps, be friend with seven steps. So be thou devoted to me. Let us acquire many sons who may reach old age." The going round the fire, sacrificing the fried grain to the fire, and stepping forward seven steps, constituted the principal forms of the marriage ceremony. "And she should dwell that night in the house of an old Brâhman woman whose husband is alive, and whose children are alive. When she sees the polar star, the star of Arundhatî, and the Seven Rishis (ursa major) let her break the silence, and say, May my husband live, and I get offspring." *A'svalâyana.* Sânkhâyana says "Let them sit silent, when the sun has set, until the polar star appears. He shews her

the polar star with the words,—'Firm be thou, thriving with me.' Let her say, 'I see the polar star; may I obtain offspring.' Through a period of three nights let them refrain from conjugal intercourse." The last injunction leads to the supposition that girls were generally married after they had attained maturity, in spite of the rules to the contrary which in the Dharma Sûtras. Pâraskara says the prohibition against conjugal intercourse may extend to three nights, or to twelve nights, or to six months, or to a year.

Gobhila lays down a rule about the selection of a wife, which will sound strange in these modern days of courtship and free choice! Eight lumps of earth were to be taken from different places, from an altar, a ploughed field, a lake, a pasture field, a meeting of roads, &c., and a ninth was to be formed by mixing portions of the other eight. These nine were to be placed before the girl,—and she was to be considered a suitable bride or otherwise according to her blind choice!

Pregnancy.—Various were the rites performed during the pregnancy of a wife. In the first place there was the *Grabhalambhana* rite, which was supposed to secure conception. The *Pumsavana* rite was supposed to determine the male sex of the child, and the *Anavalobhana* or *Garbharakshana* secured the child in the womb from dangers. The *Sîmantonnayana*, performed according to A'svalâyana in the fourth month, and according to Sânkhâyana in the seventh month of pregnancy, is a more interesting ceremony. Gobhila says it may be performed in the fourth, sixth, or eight month, and it consisted in the husband affectionately parting his wife's hair with certain rites.

Birth of child.—The rites performed on this occasion are called *Jâtakarman*, or birth ceremony, *Medhâjananam*, or the production of intelligence, and *A'yushya* or rite for prolonging life. On this occasion the father gives the child a secret name,—of an even number of syllables if the child is male, and an uneven number if it is female, and only the father and mother know that name. On the tenth day when the mother gets up

from childbed a name for common use is given to the child. "The name of a Brâhman should end in Sarman (*e. g.*, Vishnu Sarman), that of a Kshatriya in Varman, (*e. g.*, Lakshmî Varman), *that of a Vaisya in Gupta (e. g., Chandra Gupta).*" *Pâraskara*, I, 17, 4.

First feeding of the child with solid food.—This is the well-known *Annaprâsana* ceremony, which is observed to the present day. Only the child seems to have been allowed a greater variety of food in the olden days. "Goat's flesh, if he is desirous of nourishment, flesh of partridge if desirous of holy lustre, boiled rice with ghee, if desirous of splendour," A'svalâyana and Sânkhâyana. "Flesh of the bird called Bhâradvâjî if he wishes fluency of speech; Fish, if swiftness was desired, &c., &c. *Pâraskara.*

Tonsure of the child's head, called *Kaula* or *Chûdâ Karana.* This was performed when the child was one year old according to Sânkhâyana and Pâraskara, or when the child was in his third year according to A'svalâyana Gobhila. The child's head was shaved with a razor with certain mantras, (without mantras in the case of a girl,) and some hair was left and arranged according to the custom of the family.

Cutting of the beard.—The ceremony called *Godâna Karman*, or *Kesânta*, was similar to the tonsure of the head, but was of course performed at a later period. A'svalâyana says it was performed in the sixteenth year of the boy, Sânkhâyana says in the sixteenth or eighteenth year, and Gobhila says in the sixteenth year after initiation.

Initiation or *Upanayana.*—This was an important ceremony, and was performed when a boy was made over by his father or guardian to the teacher for education. The age of initiation, as we have seen before, varied in the case of Brâhmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, and the sacred thread was worn on this occasion by all the three castes.

A garment, a girdle, and a staff of appropriate materials were then assumed by the student, and he approached the teacher.

"He (the teacher) fills the two hollows of his own and the student's joined hands with water, and then says to him (*i. e.*, to the student): 'what is thy name'?

"'I am N. N., Sir,' says the other.

"'Descending from the same Rishis,' says the teacher.

"'Descending from the same Rishis, Sir,' says the other.

"'Declare that thou art a student, Sir.'

"'I am a student, Sir,' says the other.

"With the words 'Bhûr Bhuvah Svah' the teacher sprinkles thrice with his joined hands water on the joined hands of the student.

"And seizing the student's hands with his own hands, holding the right uppermost, he murmurs:—

"By the impulse of the god Savitri, with the arms of the two Asvins, with Pûshan's hands I initiate thee, N. N.

* * * * *

"After one year, the teacher recites the Sâvitrî (Rig Veda, III, 62),

"or after three nights,

"or immediately.

"Let him recite a Gâyatrî to a Brâhman,

"a Trishtubh to a Kshatriya,

"a Jagatî to a Vaisya.

"But let it anyhow be a verse sacred to Savitri.

"They seat themselves to the north of the fire,

"the teacher with his face turned eastward, the other westward.

"After the student has said 'Recite, Sir,'

"the teacher having pronounced the word OM, then causes the other one to say 'Recite the Sâvitrî, Sir.'

"He then recites the Sâvitrî to him, the verse, 'That glorious splendour of Savitri' (Rig Veda, III, 62, 10) firstly pada by pada, then hemistich by hemistich, and finally without a stop." *Sânkhâyana*, II, 2 and 5.

Such was the ceremony of the *Upanayana* in

ancient times, the initiation into the life of a student, the commencement of the study of the Veda. How has the *Upanayana* custom degenerated in modern times. It no longer means the study of the Veda which is now forgotten, nor the performance of sacrifices which have now fallen into disuse. It now means the habitual assumption of a meaningless thread which was neither meaningless nor habitually worn in ancient days; and modern Brâhmans, who do not sacrifice or read the Veda, claim a monopoly of the sacrificial thread which the ancient Brâhmans used to wear along with Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, who all sacrificed and learnt the Veda. Thus national degeneracy has converted significant rites into meaningless forms, all tending to the enforced ignorance of the people, and to the exclusive privileges of priests.

The building of the house.—The student, after he had finished his education, returned to his home, and if he had no ancestral house to go to, had to build a house. This, too, was accompanied by a ceremony and by the utterance of the hymns of the Rig Veda (VII 54, 55.) to Vâstospati, the lord of dwelling-houses, as well as to other divinities. Gobhila, with a curious punctiliousness, lays down that Brâhmans should build their houses on white-grained soil (sand?), Kshatriyas on red-grained soil (gravel?), and Vaisyas on black-grained soil (fertile cultivable clay?). Of course these rules only shew the rage for generalizing, and were never meant to be followed. Many sensible rules are, however, laid down for the selection of desirable places on sanitary grounds. Then followed the setting up of fires,—the Agnyâdhâna—which is a Srauta rite, and which has been described in Chapter VIII of the last Book. The building of a house and the setting up of fires were unnecessary if the father of the young householder and husband was still living. *Gobhila*, I, 1, 12.

Funeral ceremony.—Many eminents cholars have treated of the funeral rites of the Hindus according to the Grihya Sûtras, and we will only note a few important

points. The relations of the deceased carried his sacred fires and sacrificial vessels, and aged men and women carried the dead body. The A'havanîya fire, the Gârhapatya fire, and the Dakshina fire were placed to the south-east, to the north-west, and to the south-west of the ground selected for cremation, and the widow was placed near the body of her dead husband until her brother-in-law, or a pupil, or an aged servant caused her to rise and go away with verse X, 18, 8, of the Rig Veda. A she-animal was sacrificed, and was placed limb by limb on the corresponding limbs of the deceased, and then the three fires mentioned above were lighted together. The relations then left the corpse and had their ablutions. Afterwards the bones were collected in an urn, and were buried in a pit "at a place where the waters from the different sides do not flow together." *A'svalâyana.*

Funeral oblations.—The last of the important rites is the Srâddha; it is considered as one of the Pâkayajnas or Grihya rites, but an account of it comes in more suitably among the domestic ceremonies, and we will glean one or two passages here from A'svalâyana. "Brâhmans who are endowed with learning, moral character and correct conduct," were invited, and sat down "as representatives of the fathers" to whom the oblations were offered. The sacrificer then offered the Arghya water of the fathers with the words, "Father, this is thy Arghya; Grandfather, this is thy Arghya, Great-grandfather, this is thy Arghya." Gifts of perfumes, garlands, incense, lights and clothes were then offered to the Brâhmans. With the permission of the Brâhmans food of the *Sthâlîpâka* prepared for the *Pindapitriyajna* was smeared with ghee and sacrificed in the fire, or in the hands of the Brâhmans, together with other food. And when the sacrificer saw that the Brâhmans were satiated, he recited the verse (Rig Veda, I, 82, 2), "They have eaten, they have enjoyed themselves."

Our account of Domestic ceremonies, though condensed as far as possible, has occupied a considerable

space; but no Hindu reader will regret it, as many of the ceremonies are still observed by us, and it is interesting and instructive to learn how they were observed by our forefathers. The same reason emboldens us to add here an account of the Pâkayajnas or Grihya rites, many of which we still observe to the present day, though they have lost their original purpose and character and even their name.

Parvan.—This was the rite observed on the new and full moon days, and consisted in fasting as well as in offering cooked oblations to the deities of the festivals of those days, with appropriate mantras. Orthodox Hindus still make it a point to fast on these days.

Srâvanî.—This was a rite observed on the full moon day of the month of Srâvana in the rainy season, and the idea was to propitiate serpents which multiply in India in the rains. The words uttered were sufficiently grotesque.

"6. With the words 'May the Lord of the celestial serpents wash himself! May the celestial serpents wash themselves!'—he pours water into it.

"7. With the words 'May the Lord of the celestial serpents comb himself! May the celestial serpents comb themselves!'—he makes movements with a comb.

"8. With the words 'May the Lord of the celestial serpents paint himself! May the celestial serpents paint themselves!'—he pours out portions of paint."

And similarly a desire was expressed that the celestial serpents might deck themselves with flowers, put on clothing, anoint their eyelashes, look at themselves in a looking glass, and then accept food, and appropriate offerings were made with each wish! The aëreal serpents were then propitiated,—and lastly terrestrial serpents. *Sânkhâyana*, IV, 15.

The worship of serpents as such has nearly disappeared from the upper classes of the people of India, and they will have some difficulty in recognizing the rite performed at the *Râkî Pûrnimâ* as the last trace of the *Srâvanî* rite of the Rationalistic Period. The

Rakî string bracelet which friends distribute to friends, and sisters affectionately send to their brothers, is a bracelet which is intended to save from harm and evil proceeding from serpents.

Asvayugî.—This was a rite performed on the full moon day of A'svayuga or A'svina month.

"1. On the full moon day of A'svayuga a milk-rice oblation to Indra.

"2. Having sacrificed A'jya with the words 'To the two Asvins, svâhâ! To the two A'svayuj, svâhâ! To the full moon of A'svayuga, svâhâ! To the autumn, svâhâ! To Prajâpati, svâhâ! To the tawny one, svâhâ!'

"3. He shall sacrifice a mixture of curds and butter with this hymn, 'The cows come hither,' (Rig Veda, VI, 28,) verse by verse.

"4. That night they let the calves join their mother.

"5. Then feeding of the Brâhmans."

This is all the account which Sânkhâyana gives of this rite, and it is impossible not to suspect, from the above account, that the rite is essentially agricultural. This suspicion is confirmed when Pâraskara tells us that the above rite was to be followed by a sacrifice to Sîtâ, *the goddess of the field furrow.*

"In whose substance dwells the prosperity of all Vedic and worldly works, *Indra's wife, Sîtâ*, I invoke. May she not abandon me in whatever work I do Svâhâ!

"Her, who, rich in horses, rich in cows, rich in delight, indefatigably supports living beings, *Urvarâ (the fertile), who is wreathed with threshing floors*, I invoke at this sacrifice, the firm one. May she not abandon me. Svâhâ!" (II, 17, 9.)

The worship of Sîtâ or the furrow goddess, following the A'svajugî rite, her description as the wife of Indra, the rain giver, and as Urvarâ or the fertile, wreathed

* A new and aboriginal goddess, the *Manasâ*, is now worshipped in Bengal to save men from snake-bite, and the story of her admission into the Hindu Pantheon is dimly seen in the popular tale of *Manasâr Bhâsân*

with threshing floors, all suggest that the A'svajugî rite was an agricultural rite of thanksgiving on the reaping of the crop which was harvested in A'svina. And if this rite of agricultural thanksgiving was already somewhat obscure in the Rationalistic Period, how has that rite been further obscured in the *Kojâgara Lakshmî Pûjâ* of modern India.

Lakshmî is a young goddess who was unknown in the Rationalistic Period, but is now the most cherished deity in the Hindu Pantheon. Sîtâ is remembered only as the heroine of the Râmâyana and as a pattern of female virtue and female self-abnegation; but Lakshmî has taken her place as the goddess of crops and of rice. Is it a wonder, then, the worship of Sîtâ has been replaced by that of Lakshmî on the full moon night of the autumnal harvest?

And if Lakshmî is a modern name of Sîtâ as the goddess of grain, is it an improbable conjecture which we have elsewhere made (Book II, Chapter III,) that Râma himself is another name of Indra, the Vedic husband of Sîtâ?

We have seen that the Kojâgara Lakshmî Pûjâ is the modern form of the ancient A'svajugî rite. Still more recent than the Lakshmî Pûjâ is the worship of Durgâ, which has in Bengal assumed wonderful dimensions within recent times, owing, no doubt, to the gladness of the harvest season, and has thrown the Lakshmî Pûjâ into shade. How has the petty harvest festival,—the milk-rice oblation to Indra and his consort Sîtâ,—developed in modern times!

A'grahâyanî.—This rite was performed on the full moon day of Agrahâyana month. This particular night was considered to be the consort of the year, or the image of the year, and adoration was offered to the year, to Samvatsara, Parivatsara, Idâvatsara, Idvatsara and to Vatsara, which terms designate the different years of the quinquennial period of Yuga. *Pâraskara*, III, 2, 2.

Ashtakâ.—So called because they were rites which were performed on the *eighth* day of the three or four

successive dark fortnights after the full moon of Agrahâyana. Sânkhâyana and Pâraskara prescribe three Ashtakâs, A'svalâyana prescribes four. Gobhila quotes older authorities and says, that Kautsa prescribed four, while Audgâhamâni, Gautama and Vârkakhandî prescribed three. The majority of opinions is therefore in favor of three Ashtakâs, followed by three Anvashtakâs, and the three Ashtakâs were performed on the eighth days of the dark fortnights in Agrahâyana, Pausha and Mâgha respectively. According to Sânkhâyana oblations were made with vegetables, flesh and cakes respectively, according to the order of the three Ashtakâs, but Pâraskara and Gobhila prescribe the oblation in a different order, beginning with cakes and ending with vegetables.

Gobhila quotes different opinions as to the object of these interesting rites, and says they may be for the gratification of Agni, or of the Fathers, or of Prajâpati, or of the Season Gods or of all the Gods (*Gobhila*, III, 2, 3). The intelligent reader will hardly fail to perceive, however, that the rites were suggested by the winter season, which is an enjoyable season in India, when the Amon rice is harvested and wheat and barley thrive, and when cakes and flesh and vegetables are not only acceptable to the "season gods," but are also highly gratifying to men! And the Hindu reader will, no doubt, at once perceive that a relic of this ancient rite still exists in Bengal in the *Pausha Pârvana*, when after the Amon has been harvested, our ladies delight in the preparation of delicious cakes of various kinds to the infinite joy of the young and old alike!

Modern Hindus will, however, scarcely wish to be reminded that, whereas our present *Pausha Pârvana* is performed with vegetables and cakes, our ancestors relished the flesh of cow in the middle or *Pausha Ashtakâ* (*Sânkhâyana*, III, 14, 3; *Gobhila* III, 9, 14, &c.) For the rest, the Ashtakâs came naturally to be regarded as goddesses, who had with motherly

tenderness produced the good things of earth for the benefit of men.

"She in whom Yama, the son of Vivasvat and all gods are contained, the Ashtakâ, whose face is turned to all sides, she has satiated my desires." *Sânkhâyna*, III, 12, 5.

"Thirty sisters * go to the appointed place, putting on the same badge. They spread out the seasons, the knowing sages; having the metres in their midst, they walk around, the brilliant ones. Svâhâ!

"The shining one clothes herself with clouds, with the ways of the sun, the divine night: manifold animals which are born look about in this mother's lap. Svâhâ!" *Pâraskara*, III, 3, 5.

Chaitrî, the last rite in the year, was performed on the full moon day of Chaitra. According to Sânkhâyana, Indra and Agni were worshipped, and balls were offered to Rudra, and the Nakshatras or constellations were propitiated.

Such were the domestic ceremonies and Grihya rites in which Hindu ladies delighted in ancient times. And if some of these rites have since lost their original significance, and have even been replaced by modern and more degenerate forms, we can nevertheless trace most of them in the rites that we practice to this day, after a lapse of two thousand years and more. The conservative spirit of the Hindus and their loyalty to the past are pre-eminently conspicuous in their adherence to ancient ceremonies, which were generally conceived in a pure and healthy spirit. And the healthy joyousness which attended ancient Hindu celebrations has certainly lost nothing in the course of many centuries of foreign subjection and national decline.

* Apparently the days of the month.

CHAPTER IX.

GEOMETRY, GRAMMAR, AND THE PROGRESS OF LEARNING.

WE have stated before that it was in the Rationalistic Age that all the learning and religious rites and laws of the previous ages received a philosophical treatment, and were condensed, arranged and codified. It was in this period that the contents of the verbose and somewhat chaotic Brâhmans were brought into order, that civil and criminal laws and the law of inheritance were codified, that the caste system and social laws were rigidly fixed, and the duties of men, both as citizens and as members of a family, defined. And it can well be imagined, therefore, that science and philosophy received a high degree of development in this age, and some departments of inquiry and thought received their last development in India in this period. If we were to seek a parallel to the epochs of Indian History in the annals of Greece, we would compare the Epic Age of India with the Homeric Age of Greece, and we would identify the Rationalistic Period of India with the age of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. The Vedic Age in India has no parallel in Greek history, for all accounts of the first settlement of the Aryans in Greece are lost.

We do not know what progress was made in this period in Astronomy. No Sûtra work on Astronomy has come down to us, and there can be little doubt that the astronomical works of the Rationalistic Period have long since been replaced by the later and completer works of the Paurânik Period,—by the wonderful discoveries of A'ryabhatta and Varâha Mihira, of Brahmagupta and Bhâskarâchârya. But there is one branch of mathematics which was carried to a high degree of excellence in the Rationalistic Period. Dr. Thibaut has deserved the thanks of all oriental scholars by pub-

lishing the fact that Geometry, as a science, was first discovered in India. The Greeks of a later age cultivated the science with greater success, but it should never be forgotten that the world owes its first lessons in Geometry not to Greece, but to India.

Geometry like Astronomy owes its origin in India to religion, and Grammar and Philosophy, too, were similarly inspired by religion. As Dr. Thibaut remarks:—"The want of some rule by which to fix the right time for the sacrifices, gave the first impulse to astronomical observations; urged by this want, the priest remained watching night after night the advance of the moon through the circle of the nakshatras, and day after day the alternate progress of the sun towards the north and the south. The laws of phonetics were investigated because the wrath of the gods followed the wrong pronunciation of a single letter of the sacrificial formulas; grammar and etymology had the task of securing the right understanding of the holy texts. The close connexion of philosophy and theology,—so close that it is often impossible to decide where the one ends and the other begins,—is too well known to require any comment." And the learned Doctor then lays down the principle, which should never be overlooked by Indian Historians, that whatever science "is closely connected with the Ancient Indian Religion must be considered as having sprung up among the Indians themselves," and not borrowed from other nations.*

Geometry was developed in India from the rules for the construction of altars. The Taittirîya Sanhitâ (V, 4, 11) enumerates the different shapes in which altars could be constructed, and Baudhâyana and A'pastamba furnish us with full particulars about the shape of these *chitis* and the bricks which had to be employed for their construction. (1) The Chaturasrasyena is a falcon-shaped altar built of square bricks, and is the most ancient. (2) The Syena Vakrapakshavyastapuch-

* Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1875, p. 227.

chha is an altar of the shape of a falcon with curved wings and outspread tail. (3) The Kankachit is a heron-shaped altar with two feet, and (4) the Alajachit is very similar to it. (5) The Praugachit is of the shape of the fore part of the poles of a chariot, an equilateral triangle, and (6) the Ubhayatah Praugachit is of the form of two such triangles joined with their bases. Then follow (7) the Ratha Chakrachit and (8) the Sâraratha Chakrachit of the shape of wheels, without and with spokes (9) The Chaturasradronachit and (10) the Parimandaladronachit are of the shape of a drona or vessel, square or circular. (11) The Parichâyyachit is also of a wheel-shape, and (12) the Samûhyachit has likewise a circular shape. (13) The Smasânachit is a sloping quadrilateral altar, wider at one base than at the other, and higher at the wider end. The last chiti mentioned is the Kurma or tortoise, which may be either (14) Vakrânga, curved, or (15) angular, or (16) Parimandala, circular.

The area of the earliest Chaturasra Syena was to be 7½ square purushas, which means 7½ squares, the side of each square being equal to a purusha, *i.e.*, the height of a man with uplifted arms. When any other shape of altar was required, *the size or area did not change*, so that a wheel, an equilateral triangle, or a tortoise had to be constructed,—all of the area of 7½ purushas. Then, again, at the second construction of the altar, one square purusha had to be added to the area, and at the third construction, two square purushas had to be added *without changing the shape or the relative proportions of the figure*. All this could not be done without a considerable knowledge of Geometry, and the science of Geometry was thus invented. As Dr. Thibaut says, "squares had to be found which would be equal to two or more given squares, or equal to the difference of two given squares; oblongs had to be turned into squares and squares into oblongs; triangles had to be constructed equal to given squares or oblongs; and so on. The last task, and not the least, was that of finding a circle, the area of which

might equal as closely as possible that of a given square."

The result of these operations was the compilation of a series of Geometrical rules which are contained in the Sulva Sûtras, which form a portion of the Kalpa Sûtras as we have stated before. These Sulva Sûtras date from the eighth century before Christ. The Geometrical theorem that the square of the hypotenuse is equal to the squares of the other two sides of a rectangular triangle, is ascribed by the Greeks to Pythagoras; but it was known in India at least two centuries before, and Pythagoras undoubtedly learnt this rule from India. The proposition referred to above is contained in two rules, *viz.*, (1) The square of the diagonal of a square is twice as large as that square; and (2) The square of the diagonal of an oblong is equal to the square of both its sides.

Our limits forbid us to follow Dr. Thibaut's remarks contained in his most valuable and instructive paper, and all we can do is to briefly mention a few of the most important results achieved in the Sulva Sûtras. One remarkable result was to find the value of a diagonal in number in relation to the side of the square. The rule laid down is "Increase the measure by its third part, and this third by its own fourth, less the thirty-fourth part of that fourth." In other words, if 1 represents the side, the diagonal will be

$$1 + \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{3 \times 4} - \frac{1}{3 \times 4 \times 34} = 1{\cdot}4142156.$$

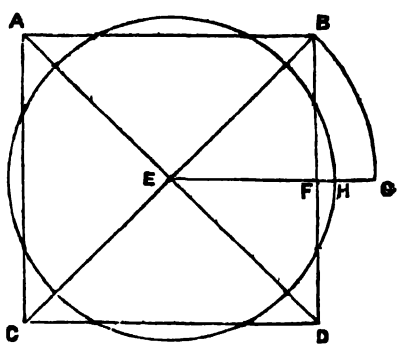
The real value of the diagonal is, we know, $\sqrt{2} = 1{\cdot}414213....$, and we see, therefore, that the rule given in the Sulva Sûtras, is correct up to five places of the decimal.

Rules were framed for the formation of squares of three, four, five or any times the area of a given square; for combining two squares of different sizes; for deducting one square from another; for turning an oblong into a square or a square into an oblong; for turning a square into a circle or a circle into a square. As an

example we will quote the rule of describing a circle equal to a given square.

The rule is this: "If you wish to turn a square into a a circle, draw half of the cord stretched in the diagonal from the centre towards the Prâchî line (*i. e.*, the line due east); describe the circle together with the third part of that piece of the cord which will lie outside the square."

The rule may be thus illustrated :—



E B is half of the cord of the square A B C D stretched in the diagonal C B. Keep the point E fixed, and draw the cord towards the Prâchî or eastern line E F. A part of the cord, *i. e.*, F G, will lie outside the square. Take a third part of it F H together with the part inside E F, and describe a circle with the radius E H.

It is needless to add that the result is only approximately correct.

Similarly; "If you wish to turn a circle into a square, divide the diameter into eight parts, and again one of these eight parts into twenty-nine parts; of these twenty-nine parts remove twenty-eight, and moreover the sixth part (of the one left part) less the eighth part (of the sixth part)."

The meaning of the rule is this :—

$$\frac{7}{8} + \frac{1}{8 \times 29} - \frac{1}{8 \times 29 \times 6} + \frac{1}{8 \times 29 \times 6 \times 8} \text{ of the}$$

diameter of a circle is the side of a square, the area of which is equal to the area of the circle.

Geometry is a lost science in India; for as soon as it was found that geometrical truths could be represented by algebra and arithmetic, geometry gradually fell

out of use. The brilliant results achieved in arithmetic and algebra in the Pauranik Period probably led to the neglect of geometrical studies. And the practical necessity for geometrical studies no longer existed in India, when Hindus began to worship images in the Pauranik Age, and the setting up of sacred fires in the worshipper's house was discontinued, and the construction of altars was forgotten.

While the Greeks soon left the Hindus far behind in Geometry, they could never rival their Asiatic brethren in the science of Numbers. The world owes the decimal notations to the Hindus, and Arithmetic as a practical science would have been impossible without the Decimal Notation. The Arabs first learned that notation from the Hindus, and introduced it into Europe. The ancient Greeks and Romans were ignorant of it, and consequently never made much progress in the numerical science.

There is, however, yet another science in which the Hindus were the first in the field, and achieved results in the Rationalistic Period which have never since been surpassed in the world. Professor Max Müller says that the Hindus and the Greeks are the only nations which have developed the science of Grammar; but the achievements of the Greeks in Grammar are poor indeed compared with the marvellous work of Pânini,—the greatest grammarian that the world has ever seen. We will not enter into the controversy on the age of Pânini. Max Müller calls him the contemporary of Kâtyâyana, and gives the fourth century before Christ as his probable date, while Goldstücker maintains that the grammarian lived in the ninth or eleventh century before Christ. Our own opinion is that he lived long before Kâtyâyana, but after Yâska,—and that the eighth century before Christ is not an improbable date. He undoubtedly belongs to the Rationalistic Period, the period when every department of thought received a philosophical treatment and generalization. But being born in Kandahar in the extreme west of India, he may not have been acquainted with, or may not have

recognized the Brâhmanas and Upanishads, which, as we have seen before, were mostly produced among the nations of the Gangetic Valley, who were widely separated by their learning, their customs, and even their form of religion from the Punjab Hindus.

It would be foreign to our purpose to attempt even a brief review of Pânini's system of Grammar. The startling discovery has been made in Europe in the present century, that the tens of thousands of words in a language can be resolved to a small number of roots. This discovery was made in India three thousand years ago, before the time of Pânini, and the great grammarian resolves the Sanscrit language of his time to its simple roots. No grammarian of any other nation had the faintest suspicion of this fact, and no other language furnishes such clear evidence on this point as the Sanscrit.

It is the knowledge of Sanscrit which has enabled European scholars in the present century to discover the Science of Language or Philology; and Bopp and Grimm and Humboldt, and a host of other learned scholars, have resolved the Aryan languages to the same roots to which Pânini resolved the Sanscrit language in the dawn of Aryan history, when Athens and Rome were unknown!

CHAPTER X.

THE AGNOSTIC SANKHYA AND THE THEISTIC YOGA PHILOSOPHY.

BUT the glory of the Rationalistic Period consists in the philosophy of Kapila and the religion of Buddha. Kapila and Buddha are the Voltaire and Rousseau of Ancient India,—the man of intellect and the man of feeling. Only the philosophy of Kapila was more clear and closely reasoned and consistent than anything that Voltaire wrote, and the morality and human sympathy of Buddha were loftier, purer and more comprehensive than that of Rousseau.

Kapila and Buddha worked to some extent on the same lines. They both started with the great object of affording humanity a relief from the suffering and pain which is the lot of all living beings. They both rejected, with evident scorn, the remedies which the Vedic rites pretended to offer, and called those rites impure, because connected with the slaughter of living beings. They both declared knowledge and meditation to be the means of salvation (see Sânkhya Kârikâ 1 and 2). They both adopted the doctrine of transmigration from the Upanishads (Sânkhya Kârikâ 45), and declared that pious acts lead to higher states of life. And lastly, they both aimed at Nirvâna (Sânkhya Kârikâ 67), and the creed of the philosopher as well as of the reformer is agnostic.

But here the parallel ends. Kapila, who probably lived a century or two before Buddha, started the system of philosophy, but meant it only as philosophy. He addressed himself to high thinkers, and to speculative scholars. His philosophy knows nothing of sympathy with mankind in general, he did not go to the masses, he founded no society or class. Buddha came after him, and was probably born in the very town sanctified

by the memory of the great philosopher.* Certain it is that he was well versed in the philosophy of Kapila and obtained his principal tenets from that source. But he possessed, what his predecessor did not possess, a living, all-embracing sympathy, a feeling for the poor, a tear for the bereaved and the sufferer. This was the secret of Buddha's great success. For philosophy is barren if it is not true to its name, if it does not seek earnestly, and in a loving spirit, the good of fellow creatures, if it does not look with equal eye on the rich and the poor, on the Brâhman and the Sûdra. And the Sûdra and the poor came to Buddha one by one for his loving sympathy and meek beneficence. Good men admired his high-souled piety, just men yielded to his theory of the equality of men, and all the world admired his pure system of morality. The tide of the new religion rolled onwards, and swept away in its course the inequality of laws and the inequality of castes. Three centuries after his death, the Emperor of Pâtaliputra, who ruled over the whole of Northern India, accepted the poor man's religion, and proclaimed it as the religion of all India. And a living nation accepted the faith of the equality of men, such as the Hindus have never done again since they have ceased to be a living nation.

These matters, however, will be treated in future chapters, and we return therefore to the philosophy of Kapila,—"the first recorded system of philosophy" in the world, "the earliest attempt on record to give an answer from reason alone, to the mysterious questions which arise in every thoughtful mind about the origin of the world, the nature and relations of man and his future destiny." †

The original work composed by Kapila has been lost to us. The *Sânkhya Pravachana* or *Sânkhya Sûtra* is ascribed to Kapila himself, but has probably been

* Buddha was born in Kapila Vastu, which, according to the Pali Dâtha Vansa, was built by the sons of Ikshvâku by the permission of the sage Kapila.

† Davies's *Hindu Philosophy*.

compiled at a more recent age. An excellent edition of the work with commentaries and translation has been published by Dr. Ballantyne. The *Tattva Samâsa* is another authoritative work which is also incorrectly ascribed to Kapila. The *Sânkhya Sâra* is composed by Vijnâna Bhikshu, the commentator of Sânkhya Pravachana, and was probably composed in the sixteenth century ; it is edited by Dr. FitzEdward Hall. And lastly, the *Sânkhya Kârikâ* is an ancient and concise treatise on the subject in only 72 distichs, composed by Isvara Krishna, and commented on by Gaudapada and Vâchaspati. This small but excellent treatise has been translated into Latin by Lassen, into German by Windischmann and Lorinser, into French by Pantier and St. Hilaire, and into English by Colebrooke and Wilson, and recently by Davies. This small treatise will be our guide, specially as we have Mr. Davies's valuable notes to help us. We have only to add that it is impossible to give our readers the barest skeleton of Sânkhya Philosophy in a few pages, and that all we can do here is to notice a few essential principles of the system.

To relieve mankind from the three kinds of pain, *viz.*, (1) bodily and mental, (2) natural and extrinsic, (3) divine or supernatural, is the object of Kapila's philosophy. Vedic rites are inefficacious, because they are impure, and are tainted with the slaughter of living beings ; the complete and final emancipation of the soul is secured by knowledge alone.

Nature and Soul are eternal and self-existent. From Nature (*Prakriti*) is produced the *intellect*, the *consciousness*, the five *subtle elements*, the five *grosser elements*, the five *senses of perception*, the five *organs* of *action*, and the *mind*. Soul (*A'tman* or *Purusha*) produces nothing, but is only linked with Nature, with the corporeal body, until its final emancipation. Kapila does not accept the orthodox opinion of the Upanishads that all souls are portions of the Universal Soul. He asserts that each soul is separate, and has a separate existence after its emancipation from the bonds of Nature.

It will be seen that according to Kapila everything except Soul is derived from Nature or primodial matter and is therefore material. Not only the elements and the senses and the organs of action, but the mind, the consciousness, and the intellect, are results of matter, of "mind stuff," as European philosophers call it. Kapila only differs from modern materialistic philosophers in asserting that there is a soul, independent of matter and eternal, though for a time linked with matter

It is necessary to clearly understand the distinctions between the senses, the organs, the mind the consciousness, the intellect, the elements, and the soul, in order to grasp the mental philosophy of Kapila.

The five senses simply observe, *i. e.*, receive impressions; the five organs of action, the voice, hands, feet, &c., act according to their functions. (S. K. 28). The mind *(manas)* is not what is implied by the English word, but is only a sense organ (S. K. 27), it is the *sensorium commune*, it simply arranges the impressions and presents them to ego or consciousness. Ego is self-consciousness (S. K. 24); it individualizes those impressions as "mine." And the intellect distinguishes and discriminates (S. K. 23), and forms them into ideas. It will thus be seen that the distinctions made between the senses, the *manas*, the consciousness and the intellect are real distinctions in the functions of the mind. In the language of European philosophy *manas* receives the sensations and makes them actual perceptions; consciousness individualized them as "mine," and intellect turns these individualized perceptions into "concepts or judgments" in the language of Sir W. Hamilton.

Hindu commentators love to describe this mental operation in a poetic garb. "As the headmen of the village," says Vâchaspati, "collect the taxes from the villagers and pay them to the governor of the district; as the local governor pays the amount to the minister, and the minister receives it for the use of the king, so the *manas*, having received ideas from the external organs, transfers them to consciousness, and consciousness delivers them to the intellect, the general superin-

tendent, who takes charge of them for the use of the sovereign Soul." Such metaphorical descriptions should not disguise from us the strictly scientific nature of the distinctions made,—distinctions which are recognized by European philosophers as well as by Hindu thinkers. "Sensation proper," says Morell in his Elements of Psychology, "is not purely a passive state, but implies a certain amount of mental activity." A clock, for instance, may strike within our hearing, and yet we may be perfectly unconscious of the fact if we are absent-minded, *i.e.*, if our mind is not sufficiently active to catch the sensation; and this mental activity, which has no special name in European philosophy, is the *manas* of Kapila.

It shews no ordinary philosophic acumen in Kapila to have declared, at a time when the functions of the brain were still imperfectly understood, that the *manas*, the consciousness or *ahankâra*, and even the intellect or *buddhi*, were material in their origin. More than this, Kapila declares that the subtle elements and the gross elements proceed from conciousness. Kapila herein seems to anticipate the philosophy of Berkeley and Hume and Mill, that objects are but permanent possibilities of sensations, and agrees with Kant that we have no knowledge of an external world except as by the action of our faculties it is represented to the soul, and take as granted the objective reality of our sense perceptions.

What again are the subtle principles of Kapila? He is not content with enumerating the five gross elements, ether, air, earth, fire and water, but adds the five subtler principles, sound, tangibleness, odour, visibility, and taste. What are we to understand by the statement that these subtle principles have an independent existence? "The doctrine of Kapila seems to be, that in hearing, the ear has a relation not only to the ether, but to the subtler principle which underlies it, a dim apprehension of the truth that hearing depends not only on some channel of communication between the ear and the source of sound, but on some modification of the

material element through which the sound is conducted."*

Kapila recognizes only three kinds of evidence, *viz.*, Perception, Inference and Testimony. (S. K. 4.) The Nyâya or Logical school recognizes four,—dividing Kapila's Perception into *Anumâna* or perception, and *Upamâna* or analogy. The Vedantic school adds a fifth, which is called *Arthâpatti*, an informal kind of information ; as "Devadatta does not eat by day and yet is fat, it is presumed therefore that he eats by night."

Kapila will admit nothing which cannot be known by his three kinds of evidence. He rejects all inner ideas, and as neither Perception, nor Inference, nor reliable Testimony, presents to him the idea of an external Author of all things, the idea of a Supreme Deity is not admitted into his philosophy. This was the great want which made the Hindus as a body recoil from Kapila's system of philosophy, and other systems were started, as we will see further on, to meet the want. And this was the want also which probably finally sealed the fate of Buddhism in India, however excellent and righteous the religion may have been in other respects.

Kapila, however, believes in causation ; *sat—kâryam—asat—akâranât*, what exists must have been caused, as there can be no existence without cause. (S. K. 9.) He also appeals to the observation of mankind that cause and effect imply each other, and ends by stating that an effect is identical with cause, or, as Sir William Hamilton puts it, "all that we at present come to know as an effect must have previously existed in its causes."

The three *gunas*, or constituent elements of nature, *sattva* (goodness), *rajas* (passion), and *tamas* (darkness), form an important part of all Hindu philosophy, and find a place in Kapila (S. K. 11). The *gunas* are only a hypothesis which accounts for the manifest differences in the conditions of all formal existences.

Kapila argues the production of all formal existences

* Davies, p. 72.

from *Prakriti* or Nature on five different grounds (S. K. 15). Firstly, specific objects are finite in their nature and must have cause. Secondly, different things have common properties and must be different species of the same primary genus. Thirdly, all things are in a constant state of progression, and shew an active energy of evolution which must have been derived from a primary source. Fourthly, the existing world is an effect, and there must be a primary cause. And fifthly, there is an undividedness, a real unity in the whole universe, which argues a common origin. It was this unity, this harmony in nature, which led some of the Rishis of the Rig Veda to ascribe all created things to the One Unborn, and which led the sages of the Upanishads to postulate the existence of one Universal Soul. The agnostic Kapila noted the same uniformity and harmony, but his categories of evidence did not allow him to admit the idea of a Deity, and like the materialistic philosophers of the modern day, he referred all formal existences to primordial Matter.

All except Soul. And his reasons for the separate existence of soul also deserve mention. The first is the celebrated argument of design,—but Kapila uses it differently from modern theologians. Matter has been apparently collected and arranged with a design,—but this proves, according to Kapila, not a Designer, but the existence of Soul for which the things must have been arranged (S. K. 17). As a bed, argues Gaudapada, which is an assemblage of bedding, props, cotton, coverlet and pillows, is for another's use, not its own, even so this world, which is an assemblage of the five elements, is for the use of the Soul.

Secondly, Matter furnishes materials for pleasure and pain, hence sentient nature, which feels pleasure and pain, must be different from it. Thirdly, there must be a superintending force. Fourthly, there must be a nature that enjoys. And the fifth argument is Plato's argument quoted in Addison's Cato, that the yearning for a higher life points to the possibility of

gaining it. These are Kapila's arguments for the existence of Soul independent of Matter, but he will not believe in one soul, but asserts and gives reasons for believing that the souls of different beings are different, not one (S. K. 18.) Here he goes counter to the Upanishads and to the Vedantic school.

The vital actions of living systems are ascribed to certain subtle forces, and are generally described in Hindu philosophy as the five vital "airs," having some resemblance to the "vapours" of which the medical men of Europe spoke only a few generations ago. It was these subtle forces which were supposed to cause respiration, excretion, digestion, the circulation of blood, and the sensibility of the skin.

We have already said that Kapila borrowed the idea of transmigration of souls from the creed of the Upanishads. And having borrowed this idea, he had to suit it to his own system of philosophy. The soul, according to Kapila, is so passive that the individuality of a man is scarcely stamped on it. The Intellect, the Consciousness, the *manas*, all belong to the material part of a man. Hence Kapila was constrained by his own rigid reasoning to assume that something more than the soul migrated, that a subtle body, consisting of the Intellect, the Consciousness, and the *manas* and the subtle principles, migrated with the soul (S. K. 39 and 40.) And this idea of a subtle body, the *linga sarira*, runs through the whole of Hindu philosophy; and Manu says (XII, 16) that a subtle body envelopes the souls of the wicked that they may suffer the torments of hell. The religious systems of all nations furnish something analogous to this idea, and the notion of a *linga sarira* is accepted by Hindus as the doctrine of the resurrection of the body is accepted by all Christian nations. This *linga sarira* forms the personality of an individual and ascends to a higher region or descends to a lower with the soul, according to the virtues or vices committed in this life (S. K. 44). The different regions are (1) that of Pisâchas, (2) that of Râkshasas, (3) that of Yakshas, (4) that of Gand-

harvas, (5) that of Indra (sun), (6) that of Soma (moon), (7) that of the Prajâpatis, the abode of the Fathers and Rishis, and (8) that of Brahmâ, the highest heaven. Besides these eight superior orders of beings there are five inferior orders: (1) domestic quadrupeds, (2) wild quadrupeds, (3) birds, (4) reptiles, fishes and insects, and (5) vegetables and inorganic bodies. Man stands alone between the eight superior orders and the five inferior orders (S K. 53) The quality of *sattva* prevails in the superior orders, of *rajas* in man, and of *tamas* in the lower orders (S. K. 54). A man, according to his actions, may descend or ascend to a lower or higher order, or be born again as man of some caste or other. When the soul is finally rid of the *linga sarîra*, it is finally emancipated.

It is the knowledge which the soul acquires through its union with nature that leads to its final emancipation. "As a dancer having exhibited herself on the stage ceases to dance, so does Nature *(Prakriti)* cease when she has made herself manifest to soul." (S. K. 59.)

Even after the soul has obtained complete knowledge, it resides for a time in the body, "as a potter's wheel continues to revolve from the force of the previous impulse." This is the *Nirvâna* of Buddha, a state of quietude, when perfect knowledge has been gained, when all passions have been restrained, all desires have been checked, and the enlightened soul awaits its final emancipation. That separation of soul and matter comes at last. Nature ceases to act, as her purpose has been accomplished, and the soul obtains an abstraction from matter, and both continue to exist eternally isolated from each other, and independent. (S K. 68.)

Such is the barest outline of Sânkhya philosophy. The latest German philosophy, the system of Schopenhauer (1819) and Von Hartmann (1869), is "a reproduction of the philosophic system of Kapila in its materialistic part, presented in a more elaborate form, but on the same fundamental lines. In this respect the human intellect has gone over the same ground that it occupied more than two thousand years ago; but

on a more important question it has taken a step in retreat. Kapila recognized fully the existence of a soul in man, forming indeed his proper nature,—the absolute ego of Fichte,—distinct from matter and immortal; but our latest philosophy, both here and in Germany, can see in man only a highly developed physical organization. 'All external things,' says Kapila, 'were formed that the soul might know itself and be free.' 'The study of psychology is vain,' says Schopenhauer, 'for there is no Psyche.'"*

The great want of Kapila's philosophy as a creed for the people was its agnosticism,—and the Yoga system of philosophy sought to remove this want. It is ascribed to Patanjali, who, according to Dr. Goldstücker, lived in the second century before Christ. All that we know of the life and history of Patanjali is that his mother was called Gonikâ, as he himself tells us; and that he resided for a certain time in Kashmir, a circumstance which may have led to his great grammatical commentary having been preserved by the kings of that country. Patanjali calls himself Gonardiya, or a native of Gonarda, a place in the eastern part of India.

We have seen before that Kâtyâyana attacked Pânini's grammar about the 4th century B. C., and Patanjali's greatest work was his Mahâbhâsya or Great Commentary, in which he defended Pânini, and left a monument of his profound erudition and unrivalled critical acumen. The Yoga system of philosophy is also ascribed to him, and it is quite reasonable to suppose that the great defender of Pânini also sought to popularize Kapila among his countrymen, by adding to his cold and agnostic philosophy the doctrine of faith in a Supreme Deity, as well as some mystic practices and meditation by which beatitude (it was believed) could be obtained.

Patanjali's work, the *Yogasûtra* or *Yogânusâsana*, has been edited and translated into English by Dr. Rajendra

* *Davies' Preface.*

Lala Mitra, who also gives a brief abstract of its contents in his preface. As a system of philosophy the Yoga has no value whatever by the side of the Sânkhya, and our account of it will therefore be brief; and the learned translator of the Yoga Sûtra will be our guide in our brief account of the system.

The Yoga Sûtra comprises 194 aphorisms, divided into four chapters. The first chapter is called *Samâdhi Pâda*, and contains 51 aphorisms treating of the nature of meditation. The second chapter consists of 55 aphorisms, and is called *Sâdhana Pâda*,, and treats of the practices and exercises required in meditation. The third chapter is called *Vibhûti Pâda*, and treats in 55 aphorism of the occult powers which may be acquired. The fourth chapter is called *Kaivalya Pâda*. and treats in 33 aphorisms of the isolation and detachment of the soul from all worldly ties, which is the ultimate object of meditation.

In the first chapter *Yoga* is derived from *Yuj*, "to join" or "to meditate," and this meditation is possible only by the suppression of the functions of the mind. By constant exercise and by dispassion the functions of the mind may be suppressed, and Yoga, conscious or unconscious, may be attained. Ths latter form of Yoga is higher than the former, and is devoid even of deliberation or joy, egoism, or the exercise of reason.

Devotion to God hastens the attainment of this coveted state of mind. The conception of God or Isvara is that of a Soul untouched by affliction, works, deserts and desires. In Him "the seed of the Omniscient attains infinity," and He "is the instructor of even all early ones, for He is not limited by time" (*Yoga Sûtra*, I, 25 & 26), The sacred syllable *om* indicates the Deity.

Disease, doubt, worldly-mindedness, &c., are obstacles to the attainment of Yoga, but these may be overcome by concentration of the mind, by benevolence, by indifference to happiness or misery, and even by the regulation of the breath. The chapter ends with a description of various kinds of Yoga.

The second chapter details the exercises necessary for the performance of the Yoga. Asceticism, the muttering of a mantra, and devotion to God, are the earliest exercises. These overcome all afflictions like ignorance, egoism, desire, and aversion or ardent desire to live. These are the motives to work, and works must bear their fruits in subsequent births. We will see hereafter that this is the Buddhist theory of *Karma*, about which so much has been written. The object of Yoga is to devise means to abstain from works, and so preclude future births.

We have then the Sânkhya definition of the soul and the intellect; knowledge finally severs the connexion between the two, and thenceforward the soul is free, and an end is put to future births and suffering. Knowledge passes through seven stages before it is perfect, and eight means (which remind one of the eight-fold path of the Buddhists) are prescribed, by which this perfect knowledge can be obtained. The first means is abstaining from evil actions, slaughter, falsehood, theft, incontinence and avarice, and the second consists of an obligation to perform certain acts,—purification, contentment, penance, study, and devotion to God. These two means are prescribed for all, householders and ascetics alike. Then come the duties special to Yogins. The third means is assuming special postures for meditation; the fourth is regulation of the breath; the fifth is the abstraction of the organs from their natural functions; and the sixth, seventh and eight are steadfastness (*Dhâranâ*), contemplation (*Dhyâna*), and meditation (*Samâdhi*), which three are the essential constituents of Yoga itself. When these three are united, *Samyama* follows, and results in the acquisition of occult powers.

The occult powers or *Siddhis* described in the third chapter are indeed wonderful! One may know the past and the future, make himself invisible to men, observe the details of what is passing in distant regions or in the stars and planets, converse with spirits, travel in the air or through water, and acquire various super-

human powers! The noble philosophy of Kapila was trailed through dirt and mire as soon as it was blended with popular superstitions!

But these occult powers are not the final objects which a Yogin seeks. The ultimate isolation of the soul is the final object of the Yogin, and this is discussed in the fourth and last chapter. We come back now to the theory that all works, all sensations and impressions on the mind, bear their fruit in future births. A discussion ensues regarding the nature of sensations and perceptions, of the intellect and the soul,—and the distinctions are much the same as in Sânkhya philosophy. Having explained these distinctions, Patanjali concludes by saying that perfect knowledge sweeps away all residue of former works (IV, 28 to 30), and the moment at last arrives when the three qualities become defunct, and the soul abides solely in its own essence. This emancipation of the soul is the object of the Yoga (IV, 33); it is absolute and eternal, and the soul which has attained it remains free for evermore.

It will thus be seen that as a system of philosophy, Yoga is valueless;—all its fundamental maxims about the soul and intellect and sensations, about the transmigration of souls, and their eternity and final emancipation by knowledge, are those of the Sânkhya Philosophy. In fact, Patanjali tried to blend the idea of a Supreme Deity with the philosophy of Kapila; but unfortunately he also mixed up with it much of the superstition and the mystic practices of the age! Or is it an untenable conjecture that the great Grammarian founded a pure theistic system of philosophy which has since been mixed up with much of popular superstitions and mystic rites, and the result is the *Yoga Sûtra* as we find it now. In still later times the philosophy of the Yoga system has been completely lost sight of, and the system has degenerated into cruel and indecent Tantrik rites, or into the impostures and superstitions of the so-called Yogins of the present day.

CHAPTER XI.

NYAYA OR LOGIC, AND VAISESIKA OR ATOMIC PHILOSOPHY.

GAUTAMA or Gotama is the Aristotle of India, and his system of Nyâya is the Hindu Logic. His date is unknown, and he is said to have married Ahalyâ. He lived, no doubt, in the Rationalistic Period, but probably a century or two after Kapila. The *Nyâya Sûtra*, which is ascribed to him, is divided into five books, each divided into two "days" or diurnal lessons, and these are again divided into articles, and each article consists of a number of Sûtras. Nyâya is still a favorite study in India, and we have seen students from Kashmir and Rajputana and Northern India attending the celebrated Nyâya schools in Navadvipa in Bengal, living in the houses of their teachers, and pursuing their studies for years together, in the very same way in which students among the Magadhas and Angas and Kosalas and Videhas pursued their studies when Gautama, the logician, lived and taught! Everything else has changed in India, but ancient traditional learning is still handed down in *tols* from generation to generation in the same ancient method. The spirit of the time, however, has told on these time-honored institutions, the mass of students turn away from these secluded seats of learning to schools and universities; the founders of *tols* get scarcely enough to subsist upon, and travel from place to place to seek the bounty of well-disposed men; and the number of students is getting fewer year by year. Nevertheless, with their wonderful loyalty to the past, Hindu pandits and Hindu students still adhere to this ancient system of teaching, of which we have given a brief account before from the Dharma Sûtra; and it is to be hoped this relic of the past will yet survive modern changes and innovations.

The Nyâya system starts with the subjects to be discussed. These are (1) *Pramâna*, proof, and (2) *Prameya*, or the thing to be proved. These are the principal subjects, while there are fourteen subsidiary subjects, *viz.*, (3) Doubt, (4) Motive, (5) Instance or Example, (6) Determined truth, (7) Argument or Syllogism, (8) Confutation, (9) Ascertainment, (10) Controversy, (11) Jangling, (12) Objection, (13) Fallacy, (14) Perversion, (15) Futility, and (16) Reasoning.

Proof, as we have said before, is of four kinds: Perception, Inference, Analogy, and Verbal Testimony. Cause *(Kârana)* is that which necessarily precedes an effect, which could not be without the cause; and effect *(Kârya)* is that which necessarily ensues and otherwise could not be. For the relation of cause and effect, the connexions might be two-fold,—simple conjunction *(Sanjoga)*, and constant relation *(Samavâya)*. Hence cause may be of three kinds: (1) Immediate and direct, as the yarn is of cloth; (2) Mediate or indirect, as the weaving is of cloth; and (3) Instrumental, as the loom is of cloth.

The things to be proved, the objects of knowledge are (1) Soul, (2) Body, (3) the Senses, (4) the Objects of Sense, (5) Intellect, (6) *Manas*, (7) Production, (8) Fault, (9) Transmigration, (10) Fruit or Retribution, (11) Pain, (12) Emancipation.

The soul is different in each person, and is separate from the body *and the senses*, and is the seat of knowledge. Each individual soul is infinite, eternal, and transmigrates according to the works performed in life. So far we see an agreement with Kapila's philosophy. But the Nyâya adds that the Supreme Soul is one, the seat of eternal knowledge, and the maker or former of all things. The body is earthly, the five external senses are also material, and the *manas* is the organ of the senses. The reader will mark here in how far the Nyâya system, and indeed every system of Hindu philosophy, is indebted to the Sânkhya Philosophy, which may justly be called the first basis of Hindu Philosophy, as well as its highest development.

Intellect is two-fold, including *memory* and *concept*. A concept is true if derived from clear proof, and is wrong if not derived from proof. Similarly, memory may be right or wrong. The objects of sense are odour, taste colour, touch and sound.

Production or action is the cause of virtue or vice, of merit or demerit; and the only motive to action, as we are told by European philosophers also, is the desire to attain pleasure or to avoid pain.

Transmigration is the passing of the soul to successive bodies. Pain is the primary evil, and there are twenty-one varieties of evil which are causes of pain. The soul attains its emancipation by knowledge and not by action.

It will be seen from the foregoing sketch that there is scarcely anything that is original in the Nyâya system as a system of mental philosophy. The speciality of Nyâya is its development of inference by the construction of a true syllogism, and, as Mr. Davies states, "the right methods of reasoning have been discussed with as much subtlety as by any of the Western logicians." We quote below an instance of Hindu syllogism:

1. The hill is fiery.
2. For it smokes.
3. Whatever smokes is fiery, as a kitchen.
4. The hill is smoking.
5. Therefore it is fiery.

The Hindu syllogism, therefore, consists of five parts, which are called (1) the proposition (*pratijnâ*), (2) the reason (*hetu* or *apadesa*), (3) the instance (*uddharana* or *nidarsana*), (4) the application of the reason (*upanaya*), and (5) the conclusion (*nigamana*). If the first two or the last two parts are omitted, it becomes a perfect syllogism of Aristotle.

Among the many technical terms in use in Hindu logic, *Vyâpti* and *Upâdhi* are the most important. *Vyâpti* means invariable concomitance,—the connection in the major premiss of Aristotle's syllogism. "Whatever smokes is fiery,"—this invariable concomitance is

Vyâpti. As Sankara Misra argues, "It is not merely a relation of co-extension. Nor is it the relation of totality. For if you say that invariable concomitance is the connexion of the middle term with the whole of the major term, such connexion does not exist in the case of smoke (for smoke does not always exist where there is fire). We proceed then to state that invariable concomitance is a connexion requiring no qualifying term or limitation. It is an extensiveness co-extensive with the predicate. In other words, invariable concomitance is invariable co-inherence of the predicate."*

On the other hand, the qualifying term or limitation is called *Upâdhi.* Fire always underlies smoke, but smoke does not invariably accompany fire. The proposition, therefore, that smoke accompanies fire, requires a qualifying condition,—a limitation,—an *Upâdhi, viz.,* that there must be moist fuel.

We have no room to enter into the technicalities and the rigid and abstruse ratiocination of Hindu logic. Logic is a favorite study with learned Hindus, and neither the Ancient Greeks, nor the Mediæval Arabs, nor the European schoolmen of the middle ages, ever displayed more acuteness and subtlety in reasoning, or more rigid and scientific strictness in their discussions, than is witnessed in the numerous works of the Hindus on Logic.

Kanâda's atomical philosophy is supplementary to Gautama's logic, as the Yoga philosophy is supplementary to Sânkhya, and therefore need not detain us long. The cardinal principle of Kanâda is that all material substances are aggregates of atoms. The atoms are eternal, the aggregates only are perishable by disintegration.

The mote which is visible in the sunbeam is the smallest perceptible object. But being a substance and an effect, it must be composed of what is less than itself;—the ultimate atom only is not a compound, but is simple.

* Gough's Translation.

The first compound is of two atoms; the next consists of three double atoms, and so on. The mote visible in the sunbeam is thus a compound of six atoms. In this way two earthly atoms acting under an unseen law, *adrishta*, (and not under the will of God, which is unknown in Kanâda's philosophy,) constitute a double atom of earth; three binary atoms constitute a tertiary atom; four tertiary atoms make a quarternary atom; and so on to gross, grosser and grossest masses of earth. In this manner the great earth is produced, the great water is thus produced from aqueous atoms, great light from luminous atoms, and great air from aerial atoms.

Kanâda recognizes six categories or objects *(padârtha)*, *viz.*, (1) Substances, (2) Quality, (3) Action, (4) Community, (5) Particularity, (6) Coherence, and (7) Non-existence.

Under the first of these categories, the nine substances of Kanâda are (1) Earth, (2) Water, (3) Light, and (4) Air, all eternal in atoms, but transient and perishable in aggregates. Next is (5) *Ákâsa* or Ether, which transmits sound, and which has no atoms but is infinite, one and eternal. As in Kapila's philosophy so in Kanâda's, we find a dim perception of the scientific truth, that what conveys sound is not the air, but a certain subtler cause which was called by the name of *A'kâsa*. (6) Time and (7) Space similarly are not material, and therefore are not compounded of atoms. They are infinite, one and eternal. The last two in the category are (8) Soul and (9) *Manas* or the Internal Organ.

The second category, Quality, embraces 17 varieties or qualities of the nine substances enumerated above. The qualities are colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, extension, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, intellections, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion and volition. *Light and heat are considered as only different forms of the same substance.* A'kâsa or ether has the quality of sound; and Manas or the internal organ, is supposed to be extremely small, like an atom.

The third category, Action, is divided into five kinds, upward and downward movement, contraction, dilation, and general motion.

The fourth category, Community, is the source of our notion of genus. It denotes qualities common to many objects and also denotes species. These genera and species have a real and objective existence according to Kanâda, but not according to the Buddhas, who affirm that individuals only have existence, and that abstractions are false conceptions. "It is the quarrel revived in the Realist and Nominalist theories of the mediæval schoolmen."*

The fifth category, Particularity, denotes simple objects, devoid of community. They are soul, mind, time, place, the ethereal element, and atoms.

The sixth category, Coherence (the *samavâya* of Gautama's philosophy), is connection between things which must be connected so long as they exist, as yarn and cloth.

The seventh category, Non-existence, is either universal or mutual.

It will be seen from the above brief account that the Vaisesika system of Kanâda, in so far as it is an original system, is physics more than philosophy. It was the first attempt made in India to inquire into the laws of matter and force, of combination and disintegration.

In every system of Hindu Philosophy (except Vedântism) matter is supposed to be eternal, and distinct from soul. The Vedântists alone regard matter as the manifestation of the One Supreme Soul who comprises and is himself *all*. Of this system we will speak in the next chapter.

* *Davies*, p. 131.

CHAPTER XII.

THE TWO MIMANSA SCHOOLS, OR ORTHODOX PHILOSOPHY.

WE now come to the last two systems of the philosophy of the Hindus, the Pûrva Mimânsâ of Jaimini and the Uttara Mimânsâ of Bâdarâyana Vyâsa. As philosophy, the Mimânsâ schools have little that is new, but to the historian of India they are of the utmost importance and value. For the Mimânsâ schools represent the conservative phase of the Hindu mind at a time when philosophers and laymen were alike drifting towards agnostic and heterodox opinions. Sânkhya philosophy led away hosts of thinking men from the teachings of the Upanishads on the Universal Soul; and the Buddhist religion was embraced by masses of the lower classes as a relief from caste inequalities and elaborate Vedic rites. Against this general movement of the day, the Mimânsâ schools made a stand. The Pûrva Mimânsâ insisted on those Vedic rites and practices which modern philosophers had come to regard as useless or even as unholy; and the Uttara Mimânsâ proclaimed those theistic doctrines which the Upanishads had taught before.

The controversy, or rather the division in opinion, went on for centuries, but orthodoxy prevailed in India in the end. The great Kumârila Bhatta, who lived in the seventh century after Christ, wrote his celebrated Vârtika or commentary on the Pûrva Mimânsâ Sûtras, and was the most redoubted champion of the reviving Hinduism of his day, and the most uncompromising antagonist of decaying Buddhism. He not only vindicated the ancient rites of the Vedas, he not only proclaimed against the heterodox opinions of the Buddhists, but he denied them any consideration even when they happened to agree with the Veda.

The Uttara Mimânsâ, too, had its champion,—and a greater man than Kumârila rose, two centuries later, in the celebrated Sankarâchârya. The Uttara Mimânsâ or Vedânta Sûtra is known as the Sârîraka Mimânsâ or Brahma Sûtra, and Sankara's great commentary is known as the Sârîraka Mimânsâ Bhâsya. Colebrooke, Wilson and Raja Ram Mohan Roy fixed the close of the eighth century, or the commencement of the ninth as the date when Sankara flourished. Later researches have confirmed this supposition, and it has been ascertained that Sankara was born in 788 A. D., and therefore wrote and preached in the first half of the ninth century.

Thus both Kumârila and Sankarâchârya belong to the Pauranik Period, but they finally secured the triumph of that orthodox philosophy which took its rise in the Rationalistic Period. The history of philosophy in India is the history of the Hindu mind ; and an account of the systems of philosophy which took their rise in the Rationalistic Period would not be intelligible, unless we indicated, however briefly, the bearings of these systems on the later history of the nations.

The Sûtras of the Pûrva Mimânsâ are ascribed to Jaimini, and are divided into twelve lectures, and subdivided into sixty chapters. The Sûtras have an old commentary by Sabara Svâmî Bhatta. Kumârila Bhatta came later on the stage, and his commentary, as we have stated before, marks a new epoch in the history of this school, and has been respected by a host of succeeding commentators.

Jaimini's Sûtras, as stated before, are divided into twelve lectures. The first lecture treats of the authority of enjoined duty. The varieties of duty, supplemental duties, and the purpose of the performance of duties are treated in the second, third and fourth chapters. The order of their performance is considered in the fifth, and the qualification for their performance is treated in the sixth. This completes the first half of the Sûtras.

The subject of indirect precept is treated in chapters seventh and eighth. Inferrable changes are discussed

in the ninth, and exceptions in the tenth chapter. Efficacy is considered in the eleventh chapter, and the work closes with a discussion of co-ordinate effect in the twelfth chapter.

These are the principal topics of the Pûrva Mimânsâ Sûtras, but a great many other matters are introduced, and we will briefly notice some of them which Colebrooke has presented at greater length to the English reader in his excellent analysis.

In the very first lecture we are told that the Vedas are eternal and revealed. It had no human origin, because no human author is remembered. This eternal and superhuman (*i. e.*, revealed) Veda consists of two parts, *Mantra* and *Brâhmana*. Mantras are distinguished under three designations, *viz.*, (1) those in metre are Rik, (2) those chanted are Sâman, and (3) the rest are Yajus. Generally a Mantra is a prayer or invocation; a Brâhmana is a precept directing religious observances, and the Brâhmanas include the Upanishads.

After the Veda, which is *Sruti*, comes the *Smriti*, or works *composed by holy personages*, and possessing authority as grounded on the Veda. *Smriti* includes the *Dharmasâstras* (the Dharma Sûtras of the Rationalistic Period), comprising the institutes of civil and religious law.

Besides the Dharma Sûtras we are told of the *Kalpa Sûtras*, also composed by authors conversant with the Veda. The Kalpa Sûtras are not a part of the Veda, and have no authority except as is derived from the Veda. The reader will mark the broad line of demarcation which Hindus draw between the Brâhmana literature, which is considered revealed and eternal, and the Sûtra literature, which is ascribed to human authors, and has no independent authority. The priority of the Brâhmana literature may fairly be inferred from this.*

Sacrifice (*Yâga*) is the act of religion most inculcated in the Veda, and consequently most discussed in the

*See *ante*, Book II, Chapter I.

Mimânsâ. Three ceremonies are mentioned as types of the rest: they are the setting up of the sacrificial fire, the presenting of an oblation, and the preparation of the Soma. Various curious questions are raised and discussed and answered with regard to sacrifices. One very remarkable example will suffice.

At certain sacrifices the votary is told to bestow all his property to the officiating priests. The question is raised, whether a king should give up all lands, including pasture lands, highways, and the sites of lakes and ponds. The answer is that *a king has no property in the land*, and cannot bestow it. His kingly power is for the government of the realm, but the right of property is not thereby vested in him, else he would have property in house and lands appertaining to his subjects. The lands of a kingdom cannot be given away by a king; but a house or field acquired by purchase, &c., may be given away.

Similarly, the question of self-immolation on fire, the question of performing sacrifices to injure others, and various similar questions are discussed with considerable acumen and closeness of reasoning. A complete *Adhikarana* or argument according to the Mimânsâ consists of five members, *viz.*, (1) the subject, (2) the doubt, (3) the first side, (4) the answer, (5) the pertinence or relevency. Jaimini's aphorisms do not ordinarily exhibit all these five members; some are left to be surmised. But the disquisitions of the Mimânsâ resemble judicial disquisitions. As Colebrooke remarks, the logic of the Mimânsâ is the logic of the law. "Each case is examined and determined upon general principles, and from the cases decided the principles may be collected. A well ordered arrangement of them would constitute the philosophy of the law; and this is in truth what has been attempted in the Mimânsâ."

To return to the subject of sacrifices, which is the all-pervading subject of the Pûrva Mimânsâ, we are told the full complement of persons officiating at a great ceremony is seventeen, *viz.*, the sacrificer and sixteen

priests. On occasions of less solemnity four priests only are engaged.

The number of victims varies according to the nature of the sacrifice. At an *Asvamehda* sacrifice there must be not fewer than 609 victims of all kinds, tame and wild, terrestrial and aquatic, walking, flying, swimming, and creeping things!

The cardinal idea of the Mimânsâ is to teach man his *Duty*. Jaimini commences his Mimânsâ with the enunciation of Duty, the only topic he has to propound. "Now then," he begins, "the study of Duty is to be commenced. Duty is a purpose which is inculcated by a command. Its reason must be inquired." But his idea of Duty is extremely orthodox, it consists in the proper performance of Vedic rites and practices! Pûrva Mimânsâ Philosophy is therefore a philosophy of Vedic rites.

In his anxiety to insist on ancient Vedic rites and practices Jaimini has forgotten to speak of Vedic faith and belief! As Dr. Banerjea says in his Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy, Jaimini "urges the consideration of *duty* without caring for any to whom it may be *due*." While insisting on the eternity of the Veda, as Sabda or the Word, he has made no mention "of any co-eternal Intelligence uttering or revealing it." While enjoining the performance of the sacrifices inculcated in the Brâhmanas, he has nothing to say of the Universal Soul of the Upanishads. The Philosophy of Jaimini has therefore, although orthodox, been stigmatized as atheistical or at least agnostic in some of the Purânas; and even Sankarâchârya admits that God is not deducible from his philosophy.

A supplementary system of philosophy was therefore called for, and the Uttara Mimânsâ or Vedânta supplied this want. It is Vedânta which tells us of the Supreme Spirit, the Universal Soul, the Pervading Breath, as the Purva Mimânsâ speaks of rites and sacrifices. The Vedânta is the direct outcome of the Upanishads as the Purva Mimânsâ is the outcome of the Brâhmanas. The very first aphorism of

the Vedânta substitutes Brahma or God, for Dharma or Duty. The two schools of Mimânsâ, taken together, represent orthodox Vedic Hinduism,—Hinduism in rites and observances, and Hinduism in its theistic belief. The two schools taken together are an answer to Buddhist heretics who ignored Vedic rites and ignored a Supreme Being. The two schools together are an answer also to the agnostic Sânkhya system of philosophy, and form the basis of modern Hinduism in its philosophical aspect.

The Sârîraka Mimânsâ Sûtra or Brahma Sûtra is attributed to Bâdarâyana Vyâsa, who is said to be identical with Krishna Dvaipâyana Vyâsa, the alleged compiler of the Vedas, although the Sûtra must have been compiled a thousand years after the Vedas were first compiled! The Brahma Sûtra refers to the doctrines of Kapila, and the Yoga of Patanjali; and also to the Atomic theory of Kanâda, which is itself a sequel to the Nyâya of Gautama. There is reference also to Jaimini, and to the sects of Jainas, Buddhas, and Pâsupatas; and altogether the Brahma Sûtra is undoubtedly the latest of the six schools of philosophy.

The Vedânta adopts the adhikarana of the Pûrva Mimânsâ with its five members, and the syllogism of Nyâya with the obvious improvement of reducing its five members into three as in the syllogism of Aristotle. Colebrooke thinks this improvement was borrowed from the Greeks.

Bâdarâyana's Sârîraka Mimânsâ or Brahma Sûtra is divided into four lectures, and each lecture is subdivided into four chapters. Anything like a complete analysis of this work is impossible within our limits, and we must therefore glean a few leading tenets from Colebrooke's excellent analysis, to which we refer those of our readers who wish to have an adequate idea of the subject.

The Uttara Mimânsâ opens precisely as the Pûrva Mimânsâ, announcing its purport in the very same terms, only substituting Brahma or God for Dharma or Duty. The author then confutes the Sânkhya

doctrine of Nature being the material cause of the universe, and declares a Sentient Rational Being to be the First Cause. That Supreme Being is the material as well as the efficient cause of the universe, and to Him meditation should be directed, and on Him the thoughts are to be fixed for obtaining final emancipation.

The second lecture continues the confutation of Kapila's Sânkhya philosophy as well of Patanjali's Yoga and Kanâda's Atomic theory. All the universe is rigidly assigned to Brahma, who is the Cause and the Effect. The distinction between cause and effect, and between different effects, does not invalidate the unity of the whole. "The sea is one and not other than its waters; yet waves, foam, spray, drops, froth and other modifications of it differ from each other." (II, 1, 5). "As milk changes into curd, and water to ice, so is Brahma variously transformed." (II, 1, 8).

Then follows a confutation of the doctrines of the Sânkhyas, the Vaisesikas, the Bauddhas, the Jainas, the Pâsupatas and Pâncharâtras; the Nyâya is unnoticed.

The soul is active, not passive as the Sânkhyas maintain. Its activity is, however, adventitious. As the carpenter, having tools in hand, toils and suffers, and laying them aside, rests and is easy, so the soul in conjunction with the senses and organs is active, and quitting them, reposes (II, 3, 13). The soul is a portion of the Supreme Ruler, as a spark is of fire (II, 3, 17.) As the sun's image reflected on water is tremulous, quaking with the undulations of the pool, without, however, affecting the images on other sheets of water, or the solar orb itself, so the sufferings of one individual affect not another, nor the Supreme Ruler. The corporeal organs and the vital actions are all modifications of Brahma.

The third lecture treats of transmigration of souls, of the attainment of knowledge, of final emancipation, and of the attributes of the Supreme Being. The soul transmigrates, invested with a subtle frame, passing from one state to another. Departing from one

body, it ascends the moon, experiences there the recompense of its works, and returns to occupy a new body with the resulting influence of its former deeds. Evil doers suffer in seven appointed regions of retribution. The returning soul passes through ether, air, vapour, mist, and cloud into rain, and thus finds its way into a plant, and thence through the medium of nourishment into an animal embryo (III, 1, 1 to 6).

The Supreme Being is unpassable, unaffected by worldly modifications, as the clear crystal seemingly coloured by the hibiscus flower is really pellucid. He is pure Sense, Intellect, Thought.

"Like the sun and other luminaries, seemingly multiplied by reflection though really single, and like space apparently subdivided in vessels containing it within limits, the Supreme Light is without difference or distinction." "There is none other but He" (III, 2). The reader will perceive that the Vedânta philosophy is a direct and legitimate result of the Upanishads, and the idea of Monoism is carried to the extreme limit in the Vedânta as in the Upanishads.

The last half of this lecture relates to devout exercises and pious meditation, which are necessary for the reception of divine knowledge.

The fourth and last lecture relates to the fruit of pious meditation properly conducted, and the attainment of divine knowledge. So soon as that knowledge is attained, past sins are annulled and future sins are precluded. In like manner the effects of merit and virtue are also annulled. And "having annulled by fruition other works which had begun to have effect, having enjoyed the recompense and suffered the pains of good and bad actions, the possessor of divine knowledge, on the demise of the body, proceeds to a reunion with Brahma" (IV, 1, 14). This is the final emancipation of the Vedântists.

There are two other less perfect forms of emancipation: one which qualifies the soul for reception at Brahma's abode, but not for immediate reunion and identity with his being; another, which is still less

perfect, is called *Jîvan-mukti*, which can be acquired in lifetime by Yogis, and enables them to perform supernatural acts, as evoking the shades of forefathers, assuming different bodies, going immediately to any place at pleasure, &c. This is only a repetition of the superstition of the Yoga philosophy, described in a previous chapter.

The attributes of God according to the Vedânta philosophy have thus been recapitulated by Colebrooke: "God is the omnicient and omnipotent cause of the existence, continuance, and dissolution of the universe. Creation is an act of His will. He is both efficient and material cause of the world, creator and nature, framer and frame, doer and deed. At the consummation of all things, all are resolved into Him. * * The Supreme Being is one, sole existent, secondless, entire, without parts, sempiternal, infinite, ineffable, invariable, ruler of all, universal soul, truth, wisdom, intelligence, happiness."*

An idea has become current among later Vedântists that all the universe, except Brahma, is *Mâyâ*, *i. e.*, an illusion, a phantasy, an unreal appearance only. This notion is no part of the original Vedânta philosophy, and finds no sanction in ancient works. Ancient Vedântism declares the universe to be a portion of Brahma, emanating from Brahma, and resolving into Brahma; but it does not declare that this emanation from Brahma, this universe, is unreal or illusory.

Such are the six systems of philosophy which were developed in India in the Rationalistic Period; such are the answers which Hindu philosophers have given to the questions which were started in the Upanishads, to questions which rise in the mind of every reflective man, but which it is not given to him to answer satisfactorily,—what is God, and what is the universe?

For the rest, the Rationalistic Period is rich in results of which every Hindu may be proud. It was probably in this period, that the great Epics of India received

* *The Philosophy of the Hindus. Vedânta.*

their epic form. It was in this period that the infant sciences of Geometry and of Grammar were first discovered by Hindus and proclaimed to the world. It was in this period that the first-recorded systems of Mental Philosophy and of Logic were conceived and perfected. It was in this period that Laws and the rules of social life were codified and treated on a scientific basis. It was in this period that the whole of Northern India was first brought under one great and able ruler, and that an excellent and enlightened system of administration was finally perfected. And, lastly, it was in this period that the great saint and reformer Gautama Buddha proclaimed that religion of equality and brotherhood of man, which is at the present day the living faith of one-third of the human race. To that great revolution we now turn.

CHAPTER XIII.

BUDDHIST SACRED LITERATURE.

IN the sixth century before Christ, India witnessed the commencement of a great revolution. Her ancient religion, which the Hindu Aryans had practised and proclaimed for fourteen centuries, had degenerated into forms. The gods of the Rig Veda whom the ancient Rishis had invoked and worshipped, lovingly and fervently, had come to be regarded as so many names; and Indra and Ushas raised no distinct ideas and no grateful emotions. The simple libations of the Soma juice, or offerings of milk, corn, or flesh, which the Rishis of old had offered to their gods in the simplicity of their hearts, had developed into cumbrous ceremonials, elaborate rites, unmeaning forms. The descendants or successors of those Rishis had now stepped forth as a powerful and hereditary caste, and claimed the right to perform elaborate religious rites and utter sacred prayers for the people. The people were taught to believe that they earned merit by having these rites performed and prayers uttered by hired priests. The religious instinct, the loving emotions which had inspired the composers of the Vedic hymns, were dead; vast ceremonials, dead forms, remained.

A reaction had taken place. About the eleventh century before Christ, *i.e.*, five centuries before the time of which we are now speaking, earnest and thoughtful Hindus had ventured to go beyond the wearisome rituals of the Brâhmana literature, and had inquired into the mysteries of the soul and its Creator. The composers of the Upanishads had dared to conceive the bold idea, that all animate and inanimate nature proceeded from One Universal Deity, and were portions of One Pervading Soul. Inquiries were made into the mysteries of death and the future

world, conjectures were made about the transmigration of souls, and doctrines were started containing, in a crude form, the salient principles of Hindu philosophy.

But few could devote their lives to these abstruse speculations, and the abstruse philosophy which they led to. The mass of the Aryan householders,—Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas,—contented themselves with performing the rites, unintelligible to them, which the Brâhmanas had laid down and the Sûtras had condensed. The rules of social and domestic life were similarly condensed for the people in the Sûtras, and all the learning and science known to the age were also codified in the Sûtra form.

Such was the state of things in India in the sixth century before Christ. Religion in its true sense had been replaced by forms. Excellent social and moral rules were disfigured by the unhealthy distinctions of caste, by exclusive privileges for Brâhmans, by cruel laws for Sûdras. Honor and reverence were paid those who lived piously and duteously, but in a higher degree to those who were born Brâhmans. Such exclusive caste privileges did not help to improve the Brâhmans themselves. As a community they became grasping and covetous, ignorant and pretentious, until Brâhman Sûtrakâras themselves had to censure the abuse in the strongest terms. For the Sûdras, who had come under the shelter of the Aryan religion, there was no religious instruction, no religious observance, no social respect. Despised and degraded in the community in which they lived, they sighed for a change. And the invidious distinction became unbearable as they increased in number, pursued various useful industries, owned lands and villages, and gained in influence and power. Thus society was still held in the cast-iron mould which it had long out-grown; and the social, religious, and legal literature of the day still proclaimed and upheld the cruel injustice against the Sûdra long after the Sûdra had become civilized and industrious, and a worthy member of society.

To an earnest and inquisitive mind, to a sympathetic

and benevolent soul, there was something anomalous in all this. Gautama of the Sâkya race was versed in the Hindu learning and religion of the age, but he pondered and asked if what he had learnt could be efficacious or true. His righteous soul rebelled against the unrighteous distinctions between man and man; and his benevolent heart hankered for a means to help the humble, the oppressed, and the lowly. The dead ceremonials and rites which householders practised appeared as vain and fruitless to him as the penances and mortifications which hermits voluntarily underwent in forests. The beauty of a holy life, of a sinless benevolent career, flashed before his mind's eye as the perfection of human destiny, as the heaven on earth; and with the earnest conviction of a prophet and a reformer, he proclaimed this as the essence of religion. His world-embracing sympathy led him to proclaim this method of self-culture and holy living to suffering humanity, and he invited the poor and the lowly to end their sufferings by cultivating virtue, by eschewing passions and desires, and by spreading brotherly love and universal peace. The Brâhman and the Sûdra, the high and the low, were the same in his eyes, all could equally effect their salvation by a holy life, and he invited all to embrace his catholic religion of love. Mankind responded to the touching appeal, and Buddhism in the course of a few centuries became the prevailing faith, not of a sect or a country, but of the continent of Asia.*

* The figures given below will shew approximately the proportion of Buddhists to the world's population :—

Jews	7,000,000
Christians	328,000,000
Hindus	160,000,000
Mussulmans	155,000,000
Buddhists	500,000,000
Not included in the above	100,000,000
Population of the world	1,250,000,000

Between the fifth and tenth centuries after Christ, more than one-half of the human race were Buddhists.

Nevertheless, it would be historically wrong to suppose that Gautama Buddha consciously set himself up as the founder of a new religion. On the contrary, he believed to the last that he was proclaiming only the ancient and pure form of religion which had prevailed among Hindus, among Brâhmans, Srâmans and others, but which had been corrupted at a later day. As a matter of fact, Hinduism recognized wandering bodies of ascetics who renounced the world, performed no Vedic rites, and passed their days in contemplation (see *ante*, p. 284). Such bodies were known as Bhikshus in the Hindu law books, and were generally known as Srâmans. Gautama founded only one sect of Srâmans among many sects which then existed, and his sect was known as that of the Sâkyaputrîya Srâmans to distinguish them from others. He taught them relinquishment of the world, a holy life, and pious meditation, such as all sects of Srâmans recommended and practised.

What then is the distinguishing feature in Buddha's life-work which has made his tenets a religion,—and the religion of a third of the human race?

We answer, *his character*. Gautama's holy and pious life, his world-embracing sympathy, his unsurpassed moral precepts, his gentle and beautiful character, stamped themselves on his teachings which were not altogether new, gathered round him the meek and the lowly, the gentlest and the best of the Aryans, struck kings on their thrones and peasants in their cottages, and united sects and castes together as in a communion of love! And the sacred recollections of his life and doings remained after he had passed away, and held together the community which cherished his teachings, and in course of time gave those teachings the character of a distinct and noble religion.

Inspired by his love of purity, and a holy, gentle life, Gautama eschewed the rites of the Vedas and the penances of ascetics alike; he insisted only on self-culture, on benevolence, on pious resignation. He knew no difference between man and man except by their

acts; he recognized no meritorious ceremonials and no meritorious penances, except the practice of virtue. This is what has made Buddhism a living and life-giving religion, when so many rival forms of asceticism have withered and died away.

It will be our endeavour to indicate the salient features of the Buddhist religion, and its far-reaching consequences on the people of India. Fortunately, we have no reason to complain of want of materials.

Indeed, so much has been written about Buddhism in recent years that it is almost difficult to imagine that Buddhist literature and religion were almost an unknown subject half a century ago. The distinguished missionary, Dr. Marshman, who lived and wrote in India for many years, could give no better account of Buddha in 1824 than that his worship was probably connected with the Egyptian Apis! And theories more wild and more imaginary were seriously recorded by other scholars.

Happily those days are past. Earnest enquirers and scholars have collected oriental manuscripts and works in different Buddhist countries, have studied, published, and translated many of them, and have thus formed a generally accurate idea of the religion as it was first preached by Gautama, and as it was subsequently modified in different times among different nations. It is not our purpose to record here a history of the researches into Buddhism during the last half century, but a few facts are so interesting that they cannot be passed over.

Mr. Hodgson was the English resident of Nepal from 1833 to 1843, and he was the first to collect original manuscripts on which a sober account of the religion could be based. He sent 85 bundles to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 85 to the Royal Asiatic Society of London, 30 to the India Office Library, 7 to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and 174 to the Société Asiatique in Paris, or to M. Burnouf, personally. Mr. Hodgson also gave some account of these works and of the Buddhist religion in his essays.

The genius of Eugene Burnouf breathed life into these dead manuscripts, and his "Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism," published in 1844, was the first rational, scientific, and comprehensive account of the Buddhist religion. The fame of the eminent scholar, and the great ability and philosophical acumen with which he treated the subject, attracted the attention of learned Europe to this wonderful religion, and the enquiry which Burnouf started has continued to the present day, and has been fruitful of great results.

What Hodgson did in Nepal, Alexander Csoma Korosi, a Hungarian scholar, did in Thibet. The annals of literary inquiry and research have few more wonderful stories to tell than that of the single-minded devotion of this simple Hungarian. He early made up his mind to devote himself to the study of eastern languages, and he set forth from Bucharest in 1820, without friends or money, and travelled on foot or by water on a raft till he came to Bagdad. He pushed on to Teharan, and thence started again with a caravan and came by Khorasan to Bokhara. In 1822 he came to Kabul and thence to Lahore, and from Lahore he travelled through Kashmir to Ladak where he finally settled. He sojourned and travelled long in these parts, and in 1831 he was at Simla "dressed in a coarse blue cloth loose gown, extending to his heels, and a small cloth cap of the same material. He wore a grizzly beard, shunned the society of Europeans, and passed his whole time in study."* In 1832 he came to Calcutta, where he was kindly received by Dr. Wilson and Mr. James Prinsep, and resided many years. In 1842 he left Calcutta again to go to Thibet, but died of fever on his way, at Darjeeling. The Asiatic Society of Bengal has raised a monument on his grave in Darjeeling. The present writer had the mournful satisfaction of paying a visit to this grave not many months ago.

About his work on the Thibetan Buddhist books, we find all necessary information in Vol. XX of the

* Quoted in Beal's *Buddhism in China*, from Ralston's *Thibetan Tales*.

Asiatic Researches. Since Csoma's time other scholars have laboured in the same field of Thibetan Buddhist literature, and have added to our knowledge of the subject.

To the Rev. Samuel Beal is due the credit of procuring a complete collection of Chinese works on Buddhism. A request was made to this effect to the Japanese ambassador who visited England, and the ambassador at once acceded to the request, and on his return to Tokio, ordered the entire collection known as "The Sacred Teaching of the Three Treasures" to be sent to England. The collection contains over 2,000 volumes, and represents the entire series of sacred books taken during successive centuries from India to China, as also works and commentaries of native Chinese priests.

Buddhism and Buddhist scriptures were carried to Ceylon in the reign of Asoka the Great, about 242 B. C., and the whole of the Buddhist scriptures, the "three baskets," exist to this day in Ceylon, as we will see further on, in the Pâli language, and in almost the identical shape in which they were taken there over two thousand years ago. A number of eminent scholars, Turnour, Fausboll, Oldenberg, Childers, Spence Hardy, Rhys Davids, Max Müller, Weber and others, have worked on these materials, and much of the Pâli scriptures has been published, and the most important portions of them have been translated.

Burma too has contributed to our knowledge of Buddhism, and a great deal of information on Burmese Buddhism is embodied in Bigandet's life of the Gaudama first published in 1858. All countries near and around India have furnished us with valuable records and contributions towards a scholarlike knowledge of this great religion. India alone,—the home of that religion,—the country where it flourished more or less for nearly fifteen centuries,—has kept no memorials worth the name of that noble faith! So complete has been the destruction of Buddhism, Buddhist monasteries, and Buddhist records in India!

Thanks to the researches of the scholars whom we

have named above, the English-reading public have sufficient materials before them now for studying the developments of Buddhism in the different countries of the world, in China, Japan and Thibet, in Burma and Ceylon. English readers can thus study the progress of the religion in its various phases, at different ages, and among different conditions of life and civilization.

The historian of India must, however, forego that pleasant and most interesting task. The developments which Buddhism received in China, and Thibet and Burma, have no direct bearing on Indian history. It is his duty, therefore, to select from the materials before him those works only which illustrate the history of *Early Buddhism in India*. It is necessary for him to go to the fountain source of the information which is available, and to place his reliance on those works specially which illustrate the rise of Buddhism in India in the Rationalistic Period

The form of Buddhism prevailing in Nepal and Thibet, China and Japan, is called Northern Buddhism, while the form prevailing in Ceylon and Burma is called Southern Buddhism. The Northern Buddhists furnish us with scanty materials directly illustrating the religion in its earliest from in India. The sacred books of the Northern Buddhists are not included in any comprehensive common name, and, as far as is known, none of them can be referred to the period immediately following on Gautama's death. Kanishka, the King of Kashmir, convened a great council of Northern Buddhists in the first century after Christ, but the council, instead of collecting together the sacred works of the Northern Buddhists, wrote three great commentaries. The Lalita Vistâra, a most important work of the Northern Buddhists, is only a gorgeous poem; it is no more a biography of Gautama than the Paradise Lost is a biography of Jesus. It was composed probably in Nepal in the second or third or fourth century after Christ, although it contains passages,—the Gathas,—which are of a very much older date. In China, Buddhism was introduced

from the first century after Christ, but did not become the State religion until the fourth century, and the works on Buddhism which were then carried by Chinese pilgrims from India from century to century, and translated into the Chinese language, do not illustrate the earliest phase of Buddhism in India. And lastly, Thibet has drifted still further away from primitive Buddhism in India, and has adopted forms and ceremonies which were unknown to Gautama and his followers in the fifth century before Christ.

On the other hand the Southern Buddhists furnish us with the most valuable materials for our purpose. The sacred books of the Southern Buddhists are known by the inclusive name of the Three Pitakas; and there is evidence to shew that these Pitakas, now extant in Ceylon, are substantially identical with the canon as settled in the Council of Patna about 242 B. C. It is necessary that we should here briefly indicate the nature of this evidence.

The date of Buddha's death was for a long time believed to be 543 B. C.; but many facts ascertained within the last thirty years lead to the conclusion that the great reformer was born about 557 B. C., and died in 477 B. C. A Council of 500 monks was held in Râjagriha, the capital of Magadha, immediately after his death, and they chanted the sacred laws together to fix them on their memory. A hundred years later, *i. e.*, in 377 B. C., a second Council was held in Vesâli, mainly for the discussion and settlement of ten questions on which difference of opinion had arisen. A hundred and eighteen years after this, *i. e.*, in 259 B. C., the great Asoka was coronated king of the Magadhas, and a third Council was held by him in Patna about 242 B. C. to finally settle the religious works or Pitakas.

It is well known that Asoka was a most zealous Buddhist, and sent missionaries to foreign countries, and even to Syria, Macedon and Egypt, to preach the religion. He sent his own son Mahinda to Tissa, the king of Ceylon, about 242 B. C., and Mahinda took with him a number of Buddhist monks, and thus conveyed to Ceylon

the Pitakas as just settled in the Council of Patna.* It is needless to say that Tissa, the king of Ceylon, was glad to embrace the religion which Asoka recommended and his son preached, and thus Ceylon embraced Buddhism in the third century B. C. About a hundred and fifty years after this, these Pitakas were formally reduced to writing, and thus we have the most authentic account of the earliest form of Buddhism in Magadha in the Pâli Pitakas of Ceylon.

These facts will shew that the Three Pitakas of the Southern Buddhists can claim a date anterior to 242 B. C. For no work which could not claim a respectable antiquity was included as canon by the Council of Patna. Indeed, there is internal evidence in the Vinaya Pitaka to lead to the supposition, that the main portions of that Pitaka were settled before the Vesâli Council, *i. e.*, before 377 B. C. For in the main portions of the Vinaya Pitaka there is no mention of the discussion on the ten questions alluded to above,—questions which were "as important for the history of Buddhism as the Arian controversy for that of Christianity," and which agitated the whole of the Buddhist world to its very centre. The ten points in dispute were also matters of ecclesiastical law, and yet there is no decision in the main portions of the Vinaya Pitaka on these points of law, no allusion to the great contr versy which burst into flame in the 4th century B.C., and required the convocation of the Vesâli Council. The inference is irresistible that the main portion of the Vinaya Pitaka is anterior to the date of the Council, *i. e.*, anterior to 377 B. C.

The same may be said of the main portions of the Sutta Pitaka. The third or Abhidamma Pitaka gradually grew up later, and assumed its place by the side of Vinaya and Sutta, at the time of Asoka or earlier.

We have thus found in the Scriptures of the Southern

* Dipavansa, XII. According to this historical epic of Ceylon, Mahinda was the son of Asoka (born when Asoka was a sub-king at Ujjayini, under his father who was king at Magadha), by the daughter of the Sethi or banker of Vidisâ. *Dipavansa*, VI, 15 and 16.

Buddhists reliable materials for the history of India for the centuries immediately before the time of Asoka. For the contents of the Three Pitakas were composed, settled and arranged in India during the hundred or two hundred years after the death of Gautama, just as the four Christian Gospels were composed and settled within a century or two after the death of Jesus. Hence the Three Pitakas illustrate the manners and life of the Hindus and the history of Hindu kingdoms on the Gangetic valley. And, lastly, they give us a more consistent, and a less exaggerated account of the life and work and teachings of Buddha himself than anything which the Northern Buddhists can supply us with. Both as an index to the Hindu civilization of the period, and as an account of Gautama's life and work, the Three Pitakas will be our guide. It is to these Pâli works that "we must go in preference to all other sources, if we desire to know whether any information is obtainable regarding Buddha and his life." *

The Three Pitakas are known, as we have seen before, as the Sutta Pitaka, the Vinaya Pitaka, and the Abhidhamma Pitaka. The works comprised in the Sutta Pitaka profess to record the sayings and doings of Gautama Buddha himself. Gautama himself is the actor and the speaker in the earliest works of this Pitaka, and his doctrines are conveyed in his own words. Occasionally one of his disciples is the instructor, and there are short introductions to indicate where and when Gautama or his disciple spoke. But all through the Sutta Pitaka, Gautama's doctrines and moral precepts are preserved, professedly in Gautama's own words.

The Vinaya Pitaka contain very minute rules, often on the most trivial subjects, for the conduct of monks and nuns,—the Bhikkhus and the Bhikkhunîs who had embraced the holy order. Gautama respected the lay disciple (Upâsaka), but he held that to embrace the Order was a quicker path to salvation. As the

* Oldenberg's *Buddha*, (translation). p. 75.

number of Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunîs multiplied, it was necessary to fix elaborate rules, often on very minute subjects, for their proper conduct and behaviour in the Vihâra or monastery. As Gautama lived for nearly half a century after he had proclaimed his religion, there can be no doubt that he himself settled many of these rules. At the same time it is equally certain that many of the minute rules grew up after his death, but they are all attributed in the Vinaya Pitaka to the direct order of the Blessed One himself.

And lastly, the Abhidamma Pitaka contains disquisitions on various subjects, like the conditions of life in different worlds, on the explanations of personal qualities, on the elements, the causes of existence, &c. They have been miscalled metaphysics, for early Buddhism knows little of metaphysics. We now subjoin a list of works contained in the Three Pitakas.

I. Sutta Pitaka.

1. Dîgha Nikâya or long treatises, being a collection of 34 Suttas. Seven of them with translations by Burnouf and Gogerly have been edited in Paris, and one other, the Mahâ Parinibbâna Sutta has been translated by Rhys Davids in his "Buddhist Suttas."

2. Majjhima Nikâya or middling treatises, a collection of 152 Suttas of moderate size. They are being edited by Dr. Trenckner.

3. Samyutta Nikâya, or the connected treatises.

4. Anguttara Nikâya, treatises in divisions the length of which increases by one. They are being edited by Dr. Morris.

5. Khuddaka Nikâya or short treatises. It contains 15 works which should be mentioned in detail.*

(1) Khuddaka Pâtha or short passages, published with translation by Childers.

(2) Dhammapada, published by Fausböll with Latin translation in 1855, and since translated into German by Weber (1860) and into English by Max Müller (1881).

* The 15 works composing the fifth Nikâya, are by some classed as Abhidhamma, and not in the Sutta Pitaka.

(3) Udâna, 82 short lyrics supposed to have been uttered by Gautama at different periods under strong emotion.

(4) Itivuttika, 110 sayings of Buddha.

(5) Sutta Nipâta, 70 didactic poems, thirty of them translated by Sir Coomara Swamy; the whole translated by Fausböll.

(6) Vimâna Vatthu, stories of celestial mansions.

(7) Peta Vatthu on departed spirits.

(8) Thera Gâthâ, stanzas of monks. } Being edited for the
(9) Therî Gâthâ, stanzas of nuns. } Pâli Text Society.

(10) Jâtaka, 550 stories of former births, text and commentary published by Fausböll and translated by Rhys Davids.

(11) Niddesa, explanations on the Sutta Nipâta (No. 5) by Sâriputta.

(12) Pati sambhidâ, on intuitive insight.

(13) Apadâna, legends about Arhats or Saints.

(14) Buddha Vansa. Lives of 24 preceding Buddhas and of Gautama the historical Buddha. Being edited for the Pâli Text Society.

(15) Kariya Pitaka, Gautama's virtuous acts in former births.

II. Vinaya Pitaka. (Edited by Oldenberg.)

1. Vibhanga. Doctors Oldenberg and Rhys Davids consider it as only an extended reading of the Pâtimokkha, *i.e.*, as the Pâtimokkha with notes and commentary included. The Pâtimokkha is a formular of sins and their punishments recited every new moon and full moon day, and the members of the order who have committed any such sin are supposed to confess it and are disburdened of it. The Pâtimokkha is translated by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg.

2. Khandakas, *i.e.*, the Mahâvagga and the Chullavagga. Translated by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg.

3. Parivâra Pâtha, admittedly an appendix and a later resumé of the preceding portions of the Vinaya Pitaka.*

* But compiled before the time of Asoka and carried to Ceylon by his son Mahinda according to the Dîpavansa VII, 42. The works learnt and

III. Abhidhamma Pitaka.

1. Dhamma Sangam. Conditions of life in different worlds. Edited for the Pâli Text Society.
2. Vibhanga, 18 books of disquisitions.
3. Kathâ Vatthu, 1000 subjects for controversy.
4. Puggala Pannatti. On Personal Qualities.
5. Dhâtu Kathâ. On the elements.
6. Yamaka, *i.e.*, pairs, *i.e.*, on apparent contradictions or contrasts.
7. Patthâna. On the causes of existence.

Such are the contents of the Three Pitakas which have preserved to us the most reliable materials that are available for the history of Buddha's life and work, and the history of Buddhist India. Although writing was known when the Three Pitakas were settled and compiled, yet for hundreds of years they were preserved solely by memory, even as the Vedas in India were preserved by memory.

"The text of the Three Pitakas and the commentary too thereon.

"The wise Bhikkhus of former time had handed down by word of mouth."*

And it was in the first century before Christ, about 88 B. C., that the sacred works were at last recorded into writing as we have seen before.

It is well known that Gautama, disregarding the precedent set by all classical writers and thinkers in India, preached his doctrine and morality to the people of India in the language of the people, not in Sanscrit. It is said in the Chullavagga (V, 33, 1), that "There were, two brothers, Bhikkhus, by name Yamelu and Tekula, Brâhmans by birth, excelling in speech, excelling in pronunciation." And they went up to Gautama and said, "At the present time, Lord, Bhikkhus differing in

carried to Ceylon by Mahinda are thus described. The five Nikâyas (Sutta Pitaka), the seven sections (Abhidhamma), the two Vibhangas, the Parivâra and the Khandaka (Vinaya).

* Dipavansa XX, 20, 21.

name, differing in lineage, differing in birth, differing in family have gone forth. These corrupt the word of the Buddhas by their own dialect. Let us, Lord, put the word of the Buddhas into Sanscrit Verse (Chhandaso âropema)."

But Gautama would have none of this;—he worked for the humble and the lowly, his message was for the people, and he wished it to be conveyed to them in their own tongue. "You are not, O Bhikkhus, to put the word of the Buddhas into (Sanscrit) verse. * * I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to learn the word of the Buddhas *each in his own dialect*."

Generally we can apply to the Three Pitakas the remarks which Doctors Rhys Davids and Oldenberg make in respect of the Vinaya Pitaka. "The text, as it lies before us, stands so well against all proofs, whether we compare its different parts one with another, or with the little that is yet known of its Northern counterparts, that we are justified in regarding these Pâli books as in fact the authentic mirror of the old Mâgadhî text as fixed in the central schools of the most ancient Buddhist Church That text in the dialect of Magadha may have been lost to us once for all; and we can scarcely hope, unless some isolated sentences may hereafter be found preserved here and there in inscriptions, that this loss will ever be even partially made good. But we may well be thankful that the faithful zeal and industry of these old monks has preserved for us a translation, in a dialect so nearly allied to the original, and in so perfect and trustworthy a state as the Pâli version of the Vinaya still undoubtedly presents."*

* Vinaya Texts, (translation), Part I, Introduction XXXVI.

CHAPTER XIV.

LIFE OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA.

IN the sixth century before Christ, the kingdom of Magadha was rising to power and greatness. The kingdom, corresponding to modern South Behar, extended to the south of the Ganges, and on either side of the Son river. To the north of the Ganges it had a powerful rival in the haughty confederation of the Lichchavis. Râjagriha to the south of the Ganges was the capital of Bimbisâra, king of the Magadhas, and Vaisâli to the north of the Ganges was the capital of the Lichchavis. To the east lay the kingdom of Anga of East Behar, which is spoken of in connection with Magadha, and Champâ was the capital of Anga. Far to the north-west lay the ancient kingdom of the Kosalas, and the capital had been removed from Ayodhya or Sâketa further northwards to the flourishing town of Srâvasti, where Prasenajit reigned at the time of which we are speaking. The equally ancient country of the Kâsis lying to the south seemed to be at this time subject to the king of Srâvasti, and a viceroy of Prasenajit ruled at Benares.

A little to the east of the Kosala kingdom two kindred clans, the Sâkyas and the Koliyans, lived on the opposite banks of the small stream Rohini, and enjoyed a sort of precarious independence, more through the jealousies of the rival kings of Magadha and Kosala than by their own power. Kapilavastu was the capita of the Sâkyas, who were then living in peace with the Koliyans, and Suddhodana, king of the Sâkyas had married two daughters of the king of the Koliyans.

Neither queen bore any child to Suddhodana for many years, and the hope of leaving an heir to the principality of the Sâkyas was well nigh abandoned. At last, however, the elder queen promised her husband an heir, and according to ancient custom left for

her father's house in order to be confined. But before she reached the place she was confined in the pleasant grove of Lumbinî of a son. The mother and the child were carried back to Kapilavastu, where the former died seven days after, leaving the child to be nursed by his step-mother and maternal aunt, the younger queen.

The birth of Gautama is naturally the subject of many legends which have a most remarkable resemblance with the legends about the birth of Jesus Christ. One of them may be quoted here. The Rishi Asita saw the gods delighted, and

"Seeing the gods with pleased minds, delighted, and shewing his respect, he said this on that occasion: 'Why is the assembly of the gods so exceedingly pleased, why do they take their clothes and wave them?' * *

"The Bodhisatta, the excellent pearl, the incomparable is born for the good, and for a blessing in the world of men, in the town of the Sâkyas in the country of Lumbini. Therefore, we are glad and exceedingly pleased."

Having obtained this reply, the Rishi went to Suddhodana's palace and asked "where is this Prince, I wish to see him."

"Then the Sâkyas shewed to Asita the Child, the Prince, who was like shining gold, manufactured by a very skilful smith in the mouth of a forge, and beaming in glory and beautiful." And the Rishi foretold that the boy would reach the summit of enlightenment and would establish righteousness, and that his religion would be widely spread. *Nâlaka Sutta.*

The boy was named Siddhârtha, but Gautama was his family name. He belonged to the Sâkya tribe, and is therefore often called Sâkya Sinha; and when he had proclaimed and preached a reformed religion, he was called Buddha or the "awakened" or "enlightened."

Little is known of the early life of young Gautama, except that he was married to his cousin Subhadhrâ or Yasodharâ, daughter of the king of Koli, about the age of eighteen. It is said that Gautama neglected the

manly exercises which all Kshatriyas of his age delighted in, and that his relations complained of this. A day was accordingly fixed for the trial of his skill, and the young prince of the Sâkyas proved his superiority to his kinsmen. It is not possible to decide what foundation this story has in truth.

Ten years after his marriage Gautama resolved to quit his home and his wife for the study of philosophy and religion. The story which is told of the young prince abandoning his home and his position is well known. He must have for a long time pondered deeply and sorrowfully on the sins and sufferings of humanity, he must have been struck with the vanity of wealth and position. In the midst of his prosperity, position and wealth, he must have felt a secret yearning after something higher, which neither wealth nor position could satisfy; and a strong irresistible desire to seek for a remedy for the sufferings of men must have arisen in his heart even in the midst of the luxuries and comforts of his palace-home. It is said that the sight of a decrepit old man, of a sick man, of a decaying corpse, and of a dignified hermit led him to form his resolution to quit his home. The story has little foundation in truth, and only represents, in a concrete shape, the thoughts that must have arisen in his mind with regard to the woes of a worldly life, and the holy calm of a retired life.

At this time a son was born unto him. It is said that the news was announced to him in a garden on the river side, and the pensive young man only exclaimed "This is a new and strong tie I shall have to break." The news gladdened the heart of the Sâkyas, and Kapilavastu resounded with notes of joy at the birth of an heir to the throne. A perfect ovation awaited Gautama on his return to that town, and among the deafening cheers which arose, Gautama heard a young girl say "Happy the father, happy the mother, happy the wife of such a son and husband." Gautama understood the word "happy" in the sense of "emancipated" from sins and new births, and he took off

his necklace of pearls and sent it to the girl. The girl believed the young prince was enamoured of her, and little knew the thoughts which were struggling within him.

That night he repaired to the threshhold of his wife's chamber,—and there, by the light of the flickering lamp, he gazed on a scene of perfect bliss. His young wife lay surrounded by flowers, and with one hand on the infant's head. A yearning arose in his heart to take the babe in his arms for the last time before relinquishing all earthly bliss. But this he might not do. The mother might be awakened, and the importunities of the fond and loving soul might unnerve his heart and shake his resolution. Silently then he tore himself away from that blissful sight,—that nest of all his joy and love and affection. In that one eventful moment, in the silent darkness of that night, he renounced for ever his wealth and position and power, his proud rank and his princely fame, and more than all this, the affection of a happy home, the love of a young wife and of a tender infant now lying unconscious in sleep. He renounced all this, and rode away that night to become a poor student and a homeless wanderer. His faithful servant Channa asked to be allowed to stay with him and become an ascetic, but Gautama sent him back, and repaired alone to Râjagriha.

Râjagriha as we have stated before, was the capital of Bimbisâra, king of the Magadhas, and was situated in a valley sorrounded by five hills. Some Brâhman ascetics lived in the caves of these hills, sufficiently far from the town for studies and contemplation, and yet sufficiently near to obtain supplies. Gautama attached himself first to one Alâra, and then to another Udraka, and learnt from them all that Hindu philosophy had to teach.

Not satisfied with this learning Gautama wished to see if penances would bring superhuman insight and power as they were reputed to do. He retired therefore into the jungles of Uruvelâ, near the site of the present temple of Buddha Gayâ, and for six years, attended

by five disciples, he gave himself up to the severest penances and self-mortification. His fame spread all round, for the ignorant and the superstitious always admire self-inflicted pain ; but Gautama did not obtain what he sought. At last one day he fell down from sheer weakness, and his disciples thought he was dead. But he recovered, and despairing of deriving any profit from penance, he abandoned it. His disciples, who did not understand his object, lost all respect for him when he gave up his penances ; they left him alone and went away to Benares.

Left alone in the world, Gautama wandered towards the banks of the Niranjarâ, received his morning meal from the hands of Sujâtâ, a villager's daughter, and sat himself down under the famous Bo-tree or the tree of wisdom. Many are the legends told of Mâra, the evil spirit, having tempted him on this occasion, legends which have a curious resemblance with the legends of the temptation of Jesus Christ ; but we have no space to narrate them here. For a long time he sat in contemplation, and the scenes of his past life came thronging into his mind. The learning he had acquired had produced no results, the penances he had undergone were vain, his disciples had left him alone in the world. Would he now return to his happy home, to the arms of his loving, widowed wife, to his little child now a sweet boy of six years, to his affectionate father and his loyal people? This was possible ; but where would be the satisfaction? What would become of the mission to which he had devoted himself. Long he sat in contemplation and in doubt, until the doubts cleared away like mists in the morning, and the day-light of Truth flashed before his eyes. What was this Truth which learning did not teach and penances did not impart? He had made no new discovery, he had acquired no new knowledge, but his pious nature and his benevolent heart told him, that a holy calm life and love towards others were the panacea for all evils. Self-culture and universal love,—this was his discovery,—this is the essence of Buddhism.

The conflict in Gautama's mind which thus subsided in calm is described in Buddhist writings by marvellous incidents. Clouds and darkness prevailed, the earth and oceans quaked, rivers flowed back to their sources, and peaks of lofty mountains rolled down. Dr. Rhys Davids justly states that these legends have a deep meaning, and are "the first half-inarticulate efforts the Indian mind had made to describe the feelings of a strong man torn by contending passions."*

Gautama's old teacher Alâra was dead, and he went therefore to Benares to proclaim the truth to his five former disciples. On the way he met a man of the name of Upaka, belonging to the A'jivaka sect of ascetics, who, looking at the composed and happy expression on Gautama's face, asked, "Your countenance, friend, is serene; your complexion is pure and bright. In whose name, friend, have you retired from the world? Who is your teacher? What doctrine do you profess?" To this Gautama replied that he had no teacher, that he had obtained Nirvâna by the extinction of all passions, and added, "I go to the city of the Kâsîs to beat the drum of the immortal in the darkness of the world." Upaka did not understand him, and replied after a little conversation, "It may be so friend," shook his head, took another road and went away. *Mahâvagga*, 1, 6.

At Benares Gautama entered the Deer Park (Migadâya) in the cool of the evening, and met his former disciples. And he explained to them his new tenets.

"There are two extremes, O Bhikkhus, which the man who has given up the world ought not to follow,—the habitual practice, on the one hand, of those things whose attraction depends upon the passions, and specially of sensuality, a low and pagan way, unworthy, unprofitable, and fit only for the worldly minded:—and the habitual practice, on the other hand, of asceticism which is painful, unworthy, and unprofitable.

* *Buddhism.*—Dr. Rhys Davids quotes a passage from Milton's Paradise Regained, describing a similar disturbance of the elements on the occasion of Christ's temptation.

"There is a middle path, O Bhikkhus, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathâgata (Buddha), a path which opens the eyes and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvâna!"

And then he explained to them the four truths concerning suffering, the cause of suffering, the destruction of suffering, and the way which leads to such destruction of suffering. And the way was described to be eight-fold, and consisted in correct beliefs, aims, speech and actions, in correct living and endeavour, mindfulness and meditation.* And this doctrine, Gautama rightly said "was not, O Bhikkhus, among the doctrines handed down" 'In Benares, in the hermitage of Migadâya, the Supreme Wheel of the Empire of Truth has been set rolling by the Blessed One,—that wheel which not by any Srâman or Brâhman, not by any god, not by any Brahmâ or Mâra, not by any one in the universe, can ever be turned back."—*Dhamma Chakka Ppavattina Sutta Anguttara Nikâya*

It is needless to say that the five former disciples were soon converted, and were the first members of the Order.

Yasa, son of the rich Sethi (banker) of Benares, was his first lay disciple, and the story of the conversion of this young man, nurtured in the lap of luxury and wealth, is worth repeating. "He had three palaces, one for winter, one for summer, one for the rainy season." One night he awoke from sleep and found the female musicians still sleeping in the room with their dress and hair and musical instruments in disorder. The young man who had apparently been satiated with a life of luxury, became disgusted with what he saw and in a moment of deep thoughtfulness said. 'Alas! what distress; alas! what danger!" And he left the house and went out.

* We shall have to dwell hereafter on these four truths and the eight-fold path which are the cardinal principles of Buddhism. The above extracts will shew that they were also the principles which Gautama proclaimed to the world at the very outset of his career.

It was dawn, and Gautama was walking up and down in the open air and heard the perplexed and torrowful young man exclaiming, "Alas! what distress; alas! what danger!" The sage replied, "Here is no distress, Yasa, here is no danger. Come here, Yasa, sit down; I will teach you the Truth." And Yasa heard the Truth from the lips of the saintly Instructor.

Yasa's father and mother and wife missed him and they all came to Gautama and listened to the holy truth. Yasa became a personal follower of Gautama, the other three remained his disciples.—*Mahâvagga I, 7 and* 8.

Within five months after his arrival at Benares, Gautama had sixty followers. And now he called them together and dismissed them in different directions to preach the Truth for the salvation of mankind. "Go ye now, O Bhikkhus, and wander, for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the good, for the gain, for the welfare of gods and men. *Let not two of you go the same way.* Preach, O Bhikkhus, the doctrine which is glorious in the beginning, glorious in the middle, glorious in the end, in the spirit, and in the letter; proclaim *a consummate perfect and pure life of holiness.*" *Mahâvagga I*, 11, 1. No missionaries of later days have evinced a holier zeal to proclaim the truth to the ends of the earth, than the followers of Gautama, acting on the sacred mandate quoted above. Gautama himself went to Uruvelâ, and Yasa remained in Benares.

At Uruvelâ, Gautama achieved distinguished success by converting three brothers named Kâsyapa, who worshipped fire in the Vedic form, and had high reputation as hermits and philosophers. The eldest brother Uruvelâ Kâsyapa and his pupils first "flung their hair, their braids, their provisions, and the things for the *agnihotra* sacrifice into the river," and received the Pabbâjja and Upasampadâ ordination from the Blessed One. His brothers who lived by the Nadî (River Niranjarâ) and at Gayâ soon followed the example.—*Mahâvagga I*, 15 *to* 20.

The conversion of the Kâsyapas created a sensation, and Gautama with his new disciples and a thousand followers walked towards Râjagriha, the capital of Magadha. News of the new prophet soon reached the king, and Seniya Bimbisâra, surrounded by numbers of Brâhmans and householders (Vaisyas), went to visit Gautama. Seeing the distinguished Uruvelâ Kâsyapa there, the king could not make out if that great Brâhman had converted Gautama, or if Gautama had converted the Brâhman. Gautama understood the king's perplexity, and in order to enlighten him, asked Kâsyapa: "What knowledge have you gained, O inhabitant of Uruvelâ, that has induced you, who were renowned for your penances, to forsake your sacred fire." Kâsyapa replied that he had "seen the state of peace," and "took no more delight in sacrifices and offerings." The king was struck and pleased, and with his numerous attendants, declared himself an adherent of Gautama, and invited him to take his meal with him the next day.

The solitary wanderer accordingly went, an honored guest, to the palace of the king, and the entire population of the capital of Magadha turned out to see the great luminary of the religion of holiness and love who had suddenly appeared on the scene. The king then assigned a bamboo grove (Veluvana) close by for the residence of Gautama and his followers, and there Gautama rested for some time. Shortly after Gautama obtained two renowned converts, Sâriputra and Moggallâna. *Mahâvagga I. 22 to 24.*

The daily life of Gautama has been well described by Dr. Oldenberg. "He, as well as his disciples, rises early, when the light of dawn appears in the sky, and spends the early moments in spiritual exercises or in converse with his disciples, and then he proceeds with his companions towards the town. In the days when his reputation stood at its highest point, and his name was named throughout India among the foremost names, one might day by day see that man before whom kings bowed themselves, alms-bowl

in hand, through streets and alleys, from house to house, and without uttering any request, with downcast look, stand silently waiting until a morsel of food was thrown into his bowl."

Such was the manner in which the greatest man of his age begged his food, day by day, from house to house, and preached his maxims of holiness and forgiveness to men and to women. For women were Gautama's listeners as well as men. "The seclusion of women from the outer world, which later custom has enjoined, was quite unheard of in ancient India; women took their share in the intellectual life of the people, and the most delicate and tenderest of the epic poems of the Indians shew us how well they could understand and appreciate true womanhood." *

The fame of Gautama had now travelled to his native town, and his old father expressed a desire to see him once before he died. Gautama accordingly went to Kapilavastu, but, according to custom, remained in the grove outside the town. His father and relations came to see him there; and the next day Gautama himself went into the town, begging alms from the people who once adored him as their beloved prince and master! The story goes on to say that the king rebuked Gautama for this act, but Gautama replied, it was the custom of his race. "But," retorted the king, "we are descended from an illustrious race of warriors, and not one of them has ever begged his bread." "You and your family," answered Gautama, "may claim descent from kings, my descent is from the prophets (Buddhas) of old."

The king took his son to the palace where all the members of the family came to greet him except his wife. The deserted Yasodharâ, with a wife's grief and a wife's pride, exclaimed, "If I am of any value in his eyes, he will himself come, I can welcome him better here." Gautama understood this and went

* Oldenberg's *Buddha*. (Translation). pp. 149 & 164.

to her with only two disciples with him. And when Yasodharâ saw her lord and prince enter,—a recluse with shaven head and yellow robes,—her heart failed her, she flung herself to the ground, held his feet, and burst into tears. Then, remembering the impassable gulf between them, she rose and stood aside. She listened to his new doctrines, and when, subsequently, Gautama was induced to establish an order of female mendicants,—Bhikkhunis,—Yasodharâ became one of the first Buddhist nuns. At the time of which we are now speaking, Yasodharâ remained in her house, but Râhula, Gautama's son, was converted.

Gautama's father was much aggrieved at this, and asked Gautama to establish a rule that no one should in future be admitted to the Order without his parents' consent. Gautama consented to this, and made a rule accordingly. *Jâtaka* 87—90. *Mahâvagga I*, 54.

On his way back to Râjagriha, Gautama stopped for some time at Anupiyâ, "a town belonging to the Mallas." And while he was stopping here, he made many converts both from the Koliyan and from the Sâkya tribe some of whom deserve special mention. Anuruddha, the Sâkya, went to his mother and asked to be allowed to go into the houseless state. His mother did not know how to stop him and so told him "If, beloved Anuruddha, Bhaddya, the Sâkya Râja, will renounce the world, thou also mayest go forth into the houseless state."

Anuruddha accordingly went to Bhaddya, and it was decided that they would embrace the Order in seven days. "So Bhaddya the Sâkya Râja, and Anuruddha and A'nanda, and Bhagu and Kimbila, and Devadatta, just as they had so often previously gone out to the pleasure ground with fourfold array, even so did they now go out with fourfold array, and Upâli the barber went with them, making seven in all.

"And when they had gone some distance, they sent their retinue back and crossed over to the neighbouring district, and took off their fine things, and wrapped them in their robes, and made a bundle of them, and

said to Upâli the barber, 'Do you now, Upâli, turn back. These things will be sufficient for you to live upon.'" But Upâli was of a different mind and so all the seven went to Gautama and became converts. And when Bhaddya had retired into solitude he exclaimed over and over, "O happiness! O happiness!" and on being asked the cause said:

"Formerly, Lord, when I was a king, I had a guard completely provided both within and without my private apartments, both within and without the town, and within the (borders of my) country. Yet though, Lord, I was thus guarded and protected I was fearful, anxious, distrustful and alarmed. But now, Lord, even when in the forest, at the foot of a tree, in solitude, I am without fear or anxiety, trustful and not alarmed; I dwell at ease, subdued, secure, with mind as peaceful as an antelope." *Chullavagga VII*, 1.

It is necessary to add here that of these converts, A'nanda became the most intimate friend and companion of Gautama, and after his death led the band of 500 monks in chanting the Dharma in the Council of Râjagriha. Upâli, though a barber by birth, became an eminent member of the Order, and his name is often mentioned in connexion with the Vinaya Pitaka. It is a striking proof how completely the caste system was ignored in the Order established by Gautama. Devadatta became subsequently the rival and opponent of Gautama, and is even said to have advised Ajâtasatru the prince of Magadha to kill his father Bimbisâra, and then attempted to kill Gautama himself, *Chullavagga VII*, 2 *to* 4. All the charges, however, which are heaped on Devadatta, who was a rival of Gautama, should not be accepted. And, lastly, Anuruddha lived to become the greatest master of Buddhist metaphysics.

After spending his second *vassa* or rainy season in Râjagriha, Gautama repaired to Srâvasti, the capital of the Kosalas, where, as we have seen before, Prasenajit reigned as king. A wood called Jetavana was presented to the Buddhists, and Gautama often repaired

and preached there. Gautama's instructions were always delivered orally, and preserved in the memory of the people, like all the ancient books of India, although writing was known at his time.*

The third *vassa* was also passed in Râjagriha, and in the fourth year (from the date of his proclaiming his creed) Gautama crossed the Ganges, went to Vaisâli and stopped in the Mahâvana grove. Thence he is said to have made a miraculous journey through the air to settle a dispute between the Sâkyas and the Koliyans about the water of the boundary river Rohini. In the following year he again repaired to Kapilavastu, and was present at the death of his father then ninety-seven years old.

His widowed step mother Prajâpati Gautami, and his no less widowed wife Yasodharâ had now no ties to bind them to the world, and insisted on joining the Order established by Gautama. The sage had not yet admitted women to the Order, and was naturally most reluctant to do so. But his mother was inexorable and followed him to Vaisâli, and begged to be admitted

A'nanda pleaded her cause but Gautama still replied, "Enough A'nanda! Let it not please thee that women should be allowed to do so." But A'nanda persisted and asked—

"Are women, Lord, capable—when they have gone forth from the household life and entered the homeless state, under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Blessed One,—are they capable of realizing the fruit of conversion or of the second path, or of Arhatship?"

There could be only one reply to this. Honor to women has ever been a part of religion in India, and salvation and heaven are not barred to the female sex by the Hindu religion. "They are capable, A'nanda,"

* "Brief written communications (brief written notifications, appear to have been common in India even at that time, (*i. e.* Gautama Buddha's time): books were not written but learnt by rote and taught from memory." Oldenberg's *Buddha*, (Translation), p. 477.

reluctantly replied the sage. And Prajâpati and the other ladies were admitted to the Order as Bhikkhunîs under some rules making them strictly subordinate to the Bhikkhus. *Chullavagga X*, 1. After this Gautama retired to Kosambî near Prayâga.

In the sixth year after spending the rains at Kosambî Gautama returned to Râjagriha, and Kshemâ, the queen of Bimbisâra, was admitted to the Order. In the same year Gautama is said to have performed some miracles at Srâvasti, and went to heaven to teach Dharma to his mother who had died seven days after his birth.

In the eleventh year Gautama converted the Brâhman Bhâradvâja by the parable of the sower which is so pretty that it deserves to be quoted.

Kâsî Bhâradvâja's five hundred ploughs were tied in the sowing season. He went to the place where his men were distributing food to the poor, and he saw Gautama standing there to get alms. On this he said :—

"I, O Srâman, both plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, I eat, thou also, O Sârman, shouldst plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, thou shouldst eat."

"I also, O Brâhman, both plough and sow and having ploughed and sown, I eat." So said Bhagavat.

"Yet we do not see the yoke or the plough, or the ploughshare, or the goad, or the oxen of the venerable Gautama."

Bhagavat answered,—"Faith is the seed, penance the rain, understanding my yoke and plough, modesty the pole of the plough, mind the tie, thoughtfulness my ploughshare and goad * *

"Exertion is my beast of burden; carrying me to Nibbâna, he goes without turning back to the place where, having gone, one does not grieve."

The Brâhman was abashed, and after further instructions joined the Order.— *Sutta Nipâta, Kâsî Bhâradvâja Sutta.**

* Compare Gospel of St. John, V. 17.

In the next year he undertook the longest journey he had ever made, and went to Mantala and returned by Benares, and then preached the famous Mahâ Râhula Sutta to his son Râhula, then eighteen years old. Two years after, Râhula, being twenty, was formally admitted in the Order, and the Râhula Sutta was preached.

In the following year, *i. e.*, in the fifteenth year from the date of his proclaiming his creed, he visited Kapilavastu again, and addressed a discourse to his cousin Mahânâma who had succeeded Bhadraka, the successor of Suddhodana, as the king of the Sâkyas. Gautama's father-in-law, Suprabuddha king of Koli, publicly abused Gautama for deserting Yasodharâ, but is said to have been swallowed up by the earth shortly after.

In the seventeenth year he delivered a discourse on the death of Srimati, a courtezan; in the next year he comforted a weaver who had accidentally killed his daughter; in the following year he released a deer caught in a snare and converted the angry hunter who had wanted to shoot him; and in the twentieth year he similarly converted the famous robber Angulimâla of the Chaliya forest.

For twenty-five years more Gautama wandered through the Gangetic valley, preached piety and a holy life to the poor, the lowly and the misguided, made converts among the high and the low, the rich and the poor, and proclaimed his law through the length and breadth of the land. His pure life of benevolence and his pure religion of love were widely known and universally respected by his followers and the orthodox Hindus alike, nations and their kings honored the doctrines of the saintly reformer whose acts were those of kindness and benevolence; and when Gautama died in the advanced age of eighty, Buddhism was already a power in the land, which, not by any Srâman or Brâhman, "not by any god, not by any Brahmâ or Mâra, not by any one in the universe, could ever be turned back."

Gautama lived forty-five years from the date of his proclaiming his new religion; and accepting the year

477 B. C. as the year of his death, the main facts of his life may be thus arranged :—

Born near Kapilavastu	557 B. C.
His marriage with Yasodharâ ...	538 B. C.
He left his home, wife and infant ...	528 B. C.
He became enlightened at Buddha Gayâ—and proclaimed his religion at Benares ...	522 B. C.
He revisted his home	521 B. C.
His father Suddhodana died, and his stepmother and wife joined the Order ...	517 B. C.
His son Râhula joined the Order ...	508 B. C.
Yasodharâ's father died	507 B. C.
Gautama died	477 B. C.

Happily we have a fairly complete account of the events immediately before his death in the *Mahâparinibbâna Sutta* in the *Dîgha Nikâya*, and to these facts we now turn.

Gautama was now eighty years of age, and the generation among whom he had worked in his youth had passed away. Most of those men whom he had known in his early days were dead, and the aged saint preached to sons and grandsons the same holy law which he had proclaimed to their sires and grandsires before. Many of his intimate friends were dead, but the faithful A'nanda still accompanied him like his shadow, and ministered to his wants. The old king of Râjagriha was no more ; his warlike and ambitious son Ajâtasatru had ascended the throne of Magadha—it is said by murdering his father,—and was now maturing schemes of conquest. It was no part of Ajâtasatru's policy to offend so popular and widely respected a person as Gautama, and outwardly at least, Ajâtasatru honored the reformer.

The powerful Vajjian clans who occupied the plains on the northern shores of the Ganges, opposite to Magadha, first attracted Ajâtasatru's attention. They were a Turanian tribe who had entered into India through the northern mountains and had established a republican form of government in the very centre of Hindu civilization, and were threatening the conquest

of all Magadha. They were probably the same Yu-chi tribe * who conquered Kashmir and Western India four or five centuries later, and became, under Kanishka, the most powerful supporters of Buddhism.

Ajâtasatru Videhiputra † said to himself, "I will root out these Vajjians, mighty and powerful though they be, I will destroy these Vajjians, I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin."

Gautama was then residing in the Vulture's Peak (Gridhrakûta), a cave on the side of the loftiest of the five hills overlooking the beautiful valley of Râjagriha. Ajâtasatru, who was not without some kind of superstitious faith in prophecies, sent his prime minister Vassakâra to Gautama to enquire how his expedition against the Vajjians would end. Gautama was no respecter of kings, and replied that so long as the Vajjians remained united in their adherence to their ancient customs "we expect them not to decline, but to prosper."

From the Vulture's Peak Gautama wandered to neighbouring places—to Ambalathikâ, to Nâlanda and to Pâtaligrâma, the site of the future capital of Magadha, Pâtaliputra. At the time of Gautama it was an insignificant grâma or village, but "Sunidha and Vassakâra, the chief ministers of Magadha, were building a fortress at Pâtaligâma to repel the Vajjians." Such was the origin of the town which became the capital of Chandragupta and Asoka, and was the metropolis of India for nearly a thousand years. Gautama is said to have prophesied the greatness of the place and said to Ânanda:

"And among famous places of residence and haunts of busy men, this will become the chief, the city of Pâtaliputra, a centre for the interchange of all kinds of wares." Modern readers who disbelieve in prophesies, will argue from this that the Mahâparinibbâna

* See Beal's *Buddhism in China*, p. 43 *Yuyi-Yuchi*

† This appellation shews that the king's mother was a lady of the ancient Videha tribe. Persons were frequently called in those days by their mother's name; and Upatissa, the distinguished disciple of Gautama was always better known as Sâriputra.

Sutta, or at least this passage was composed when Pâtaliputra had already become the busy capital of Magadha. Gautama is said to have also foretold that "three dangers will hang over Pâtaliputra, that of fire, that of water and that of dissension,"—a very safe prophecy to make about any riverside capital town in India!

Vassakâra and Sunîdha, the ministers of Ajâtasatru, invited Gautama there and fed him with "sweet dishes of boiled rice and cakes," and after this Gautama left the place, and is said to have crossed the Ganges which was then "brimful and overflowing." by a miracle,—passing over the water without a boat or a raft.

He then went to Kotigrâma, and then to Nâdika where he rested in "brickhall," which was a resting place for travellers. There Gautama taught A'nanda the pregnant lesson that each disciple could ascertain for himself if he had attained salvation. If he was conscious, if he felt within himself, that he had faith in the Buddha, that he had faith in the Truth, that he had faith in the Order; then he was saved. Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha became the Trinity of the Buddhists.

From Nâdika, Gautama came to Vaisâli, the capital of the powerful confideracy of the Lichchavis to the north of the Ganges. Ambapâli, a courtezan, heard that the saint was stopping in her mango grove and came and invited him to a meal, and Gautama accepted the invitation.

"Now the Lichchavis of Vaisâli heard that the Blessed One had arrived at Vaisâli and was staying at Ambapâli's grove. And ordering a number of magnificent carriages to be made ready, they mounted one of them and proceeded with their train to Vaisâli. Some of them were dark, dark in colour and wearing dark clothes and ornaments; some of them were fair, fair in colour and wearing light clothes and ornaments; some of them were red, ruddy in colour and wearing red clothes and ornaments; some of them were white, pale in colour and wearing white clothes and ornaments.

"And Ambapâli drove against the young Lichchavis, axle to axle, wheel to wheel, and yoke to yoke; and the Lichchavis said to Ambapâli the courtezan, How is it Ambapâli, that thou drivest up against us thus.

"My Lords, I have just invited the Blessed One and his brethren for their morrow's meal, said she.

"Ambapâli give us this meal for a hundred thousand, said they.

"My Lords, were you to offer all Vaisâli with its subject territory, I would not give up so honorable a feast.

"Then the Lichchavis cast up their hands exclaiming, 'we are outdone by this mango-girl,* we are outreached by this mango-girl,' and they went on to Ambapâlikâ's grove."

There they saw Gautama and invited him to a meal on the morrow, but Gautama replied, "O Lichchavis, I have promised to dine to-morrow with Ambapâli the courtezan." And Ambapâli fed Gautama and his brethren with "sweet rice and cakes" and "waited upon them till they refused any more." And then she was edified and instructed, and said, "Lord, I present this mansion to the order of mendicants, of which Buddha is the chief," and the gift was accepted.†

From Ambapâli's grove, Gautama went to Beluva. He felt his end approaching and said to the faithful A'nanda, "I am now grown old and full of years, my journey is drawing to its close, I have reached the sum of my days, I am turning eighty years of age. * * Therefore, O A'nanda! be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the Truth as a lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the Truth."

In Chapâla Chetiya, Gautama delivered a discourse

* *Ambapâlika* means the grower of mangoes.

† Bishop Bigandet says: 'In recording the conversion of a courtezan like Apapâlika, her liberality and gifts to Buddha and his disciples, and the preference designedly given to her over princes and nobles, who, humanly speaking, seemed in every respect better entitled to attentions,—one is almost reminded of the conversion of a woman that was a sinner,' mentioned in the Gospels."—*Life or Legend of Gautama*.

in which he enumerated four classes of men, *viz.*, the Nobles, the Brâhmans, the Householders and the Srâmans;—and four classes of angels, *viz.*, the Angels, the Great Thirty-three,* Mâra † and Brahmâ ‡

At Kûtâgâra Gautama once more proclaimed to his followers the substance and essence of his religion, and enjoined upon them to practice it, to meditate upon it, and to spread it abroad, "in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes"

Having paid his last visit to Vaisâli, Gautama then wandered through villages, Bhandagrâma, Hastigrâma, Ambagrâma, Jambugrâma, and Bhoganagara, and then went to Pâvâ. There Chunda, a goldsmith and ironsmith, invited him to a meal, and gave him "sweet rice and cakes and a quantity of dried boar's flesh." Gautama never refused the poor man's offering, but the boar's flesh did not agree with him. "Now when the Blessed One had eaten the food prepared by Chunda, the worker in metal, there fell upon him a dire sickness, the disease of dysentery, and sharp pain came upon him even unto death. But the Blessed One, mindful and self-possessed, bore it without complaint."

On his way from Pâvâ to Kusinagara, Gautama converted a low caste man Pukkusa At Kusinagara, eighty miles due east from Kapilavastu, Gautama felt that his death was nigh. With that loving anxiety which had characterised all his life, he tried on the eve of his death to impress on his followers, that Chunda was not to blame for the food he had supplied, but that the humble smith's act, kindly meant, would redound to length of life, to good birth, and to good fortune.

It is said that just before his death the trees were in

* Vedic gods reduced to the position of beneficent spirits.

† The tempter or evil spirit "Mâra est le demon de l'amour, du péché et de la mort; ce la tentateur et l'ennemi de Buddha."—Burnouf.

‡ The Universal Being of the Upanishads reduced to the position of a beneficent spirit.

bloom out of season, and sprinkled flowers on him; that heavenly flowers and sandalwood powder descended on him, and that music and heavenly songs were wafted from the sky. But the great Apostle of holy life said, "It is not thus, Ananda, that the Tathâgata (Buddha) is rightly honoured, reverenced, venerated, held sacred or revered. But the brother or the sister, the devout man or the devout woman, who continually fulfils all the greater and the lesser duties, who is correct in life, walking according to precepts,—it is he who rightly honours reverences, venerates, holds sacred, and reveres the Tathâgata with the worthiest homage." Who is not reminded by these noble precepts of the holy precept in the Bible so happily rendered into verse by a Christian poet,—

"But thou hast said, the flesh of goat,
"The blood of ram, I would not prize,
"A contrite heart, an humble thought,
"Are my accepted sacrifice."

On the night of Gautama's death, Subhadra, a Brâhman philosopher of Kusinagara, came to ask some questions, but Ananda, fearing that this might be wearisome to the dying sage, would not admit him. Gautama, however, had overheard their conversation, and he would not turn back a man who had come for instruction. He ordered the Brâhman to be admitted, and with his dying breath explained to him the Law and the Truth. Subhadra was the last disciple whom Gautama converted, and shortly after, at the last watch of the night, the great sage departed this life—with the exhortation to his brother men still on his lips, "Decay is inherent in all component things, work out your salvation with diligence."

The body of Gautama was cremated by the Mallas of Kusinagara who surrounded his bones "in their council-hall with a lattice work of spears and with a rampart of bows; and there, for seven days, they paid honour and reverence and respect and homage to them with dance and song and music, and with garlands and perfumes."

It is said that the remains of Gautama were divided into eight portions. Ajâtasatru of Magadha obtained one portion and erected a mound over it at Râjagriha. The Lichchavis of Vaisâli obtained another portion and erected a mound at that town. Similarly the Sâkyas of Kapilavastu, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Râmagrâma, the Mallas of Pâvâ, the Mallas of Kusinagara, and a Brâhman Vethadîpaka obtained portions of the relics and erected mounds over them. The Moriyans of Pipphalivana made a mound over the embers, and the Brâhman Dona made a mound over the vessel in which the body had been burnt.

This account of the division of relics is undoubtedly mythical, and was probably invented when Buddhists had adopted the custom of preserving relics, long after Gautama's death.

CHAPTER XV.

DOCTRINES OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA.

IT is not possible that we should, within the limits of a single chapter, give our readers anything like a complete summary of the doctrines of a religion which now forms the subject of so much elaborate and learned inquiry by so many distinguished and able scholars. Our attempt will rather be to give here the substance of that lesson, and those ideas which Gautama preached and inculcated to his countrymen.

Buddhism is, in its essence, a system of self-culture and self-restraint. Doctrines and beliefs are of secondary importance in this system; the effort to end human suffering by living a holy life, free from passions and desires, is the cardinal idea with which Gautama was impressed on the day on which he was "enlightened" under the Bo-tree in Buddha Gayâ, and it was the central idea which he preached to the last day of his life.

When he went from Buddha Gayâ to Benares, and first preached his religion to his five old disciples, he explained to them the Four Truths and the Eightfold Path, which form the essence of Buddhism.

"This, O Bhikkhus, is the *Noble Truth of Suffering*. Birth is suffering, decay is suffering, illness is suffering, death is suffering. Presence of objects we hate is suffering, not to obtain what we desire is suffering. Briefly, the fivefold clinging to existence (*i. e.*, clinging to the five elements) is suffering.

"This, O Bhikkhus, is the *Noble Truth of the Cause of Suffering*. Thirst, that leads to re-birth accompanied by pleasure and lust, finding its delight here and there. (This thirst is threefold), *viz.*, thirst for pleasure, thirst for existence, thirst for prosperity.

"This, O Bhikkhus, is the *Noble Truth of the Cessation of Suffering*. It ceases with the complete cessation

of thirst,—a cessation which consists in the absence of every passion, with the abandoning of this thirst, with the doing away with it, with the deliverance from it, with the destruction of desire.

"This, O Bhikkhus, is the *Noble Truth of the Path* which leads to the cessation of suffering. That holy Eightfold Path, *viz.*—

Right Belief,
Right Aspiration,
Right Speech,
Right Conduct,
Right Means of Livelihood,
Right Exertion.
Right Mindfulness,
Right Meditation."—*Mahâvagga I*, 6.

The substance of this teaching is that life is suffering, the thirst for life and its pleasures is the cause of suffering, the extinction of that thirst is the cessation of suffering, and that such extinction can be brought about by a holy life. It is impossible to convey in a few words all that is implied by the eight maxims into which a holy life has been analysed, but to Buddhists, trained in the traditions of the Law, these maxims speak volumes. Correct views and beliefs must be learnt and entertained; high aims and aspirations must always remain present before the mind's eye; truthfulness and gentleness must characterize every word that is uttered; uprightness and absolute integrity must mark the conduct. A livelihood must be sought and adhered to which does no harm to living and sentient things; there must be a lifelong perseverance in doing good, in acts of kindness, gentleness and beneficence; the mind, the intellect, must be active and watchful; a calm and tranquill meditation shall fill the life with peace. This is the Eightfold Path for conquering desires and passions and thirst for life. A more beautiful picture of life was never conceived by poet or visionary; and a more perfect system of self-culture was never proclaimed by philosopher or saint.

The idea of self-culture was no doubt developed

during the long course of meditation and practical good work in which Gautama passed his life. On the eve of his death he called together his brethren, and appears to have recapitulated the entire system of self-culture under seven heads, and these are known as the Seven Jewels of the Buddhist Law.

"Which, then, O brethren, are the truths which, when I had perceived, I made known to you; which when you have mastered, it behoves you to practise, meditate upon, and spread abroad, in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men?

"They are these:—

The four earnest meditations,
The fourfold great struggle against sin,
The four roads to saintship,
The five moral powers,
The five organs of spiritual sense,
The seven kinds of wisdom, and
The Noble Eightfold Path."—*Mahâparinibbâna Sutta, III*, 65.

Here, again, it is simply impossible to convey in a few words any adequate conception of all that is implied by these rules of discipline; a volume could be written on this most edifying subject.

The four earnest meditations alluded to are the meditations on the body, the sensations, the ideas, and the reason. The fourfold struggle against sin is the struggle to prevent sinfulness, the struggle to put away sinful states which have arisen, the struggle to produce goodness, and the struggle to increase goodness. The fourfold struggle comprehends in fact a life-long, earnest, unceasing endeavour on the part of the sinner towards more and more of goodness and virtue. The fourfold roads to saintship are the four means,—the will, the exertion, the preparation, the investigation,—by which Iddhi is acquired. In later Buddhism Iddhi means supernatural powers, but what Gautama meant

was probably the influence and power which the mind by long training and exercise can acquire over the body. The five moral powers, and the five organs of spiritual sense, are Faith, Energy, Thought, Contemplation, and Wisdom ; and the seven kinds of wisdom are Energy, Thought, Contemplation, Investigation, Joy, Repose, Serenity. The Eightfold Path has already been described before.

It is by such prolonged self-culture, by the breaking of the ten fetters, doubt, sensuality, &c., that one can at last obtain NIRVA'NA.

"There is no suffering for him who has finished his journey, and abandoned grief, who has freed himself on all sides, and thrown off all fetters.

"They depart with their thoughts well collected, they are not happy within abode ; like swans who have left their lake, they leave their house and home.

"Tranquil is his thought, tranquil are his word and deed, who has been freed by true knowledge, who has become a tranquil man." *Dhammapada*, 90, 91, 96.

It was generally believed that "Nirvâna" implied final extinction or death ; and Professor Max Müller was the first to point out, what most scholars have now accepted, that Nirvâna does not mean death, but only the extinction of that sinful condition of the mind, that thirst for life and its pleasures which brings on new births. What Gautama meant by Nirvâna is attainable in life ; it is what he attained in life ; it is the sinless calm state of mind, the freedom from desires and passions, the perfect peace, goodness and wisdom, which continuous self-culture can procure for man. As Rhys Davids puts it, "the Buddhist heaven is not death, and it is not on death but on a virtuous life here and now, that the Pitakas lavish those terms of ecstatic description which they apply to Arhatship, the goal of the excellent way, and to Nirvâna as one aspect of it."

But is there no future bliss, no future heaven beyond "the virtuous life here and now" for those who have

attained Nirvâna? This was a question which often puzzled Buddhists, and they often pressed their great Master for a categorical answer. Gautama was an agnostic,—and there never was an honester religious teacher born than Gautama. He would not inspire in his followers a false hope which he did not feel in his own heart,—and to all questions about a future life after the attainment of Nirvâna, his consistent reply was, "I do not know. It is not given to me to know."

Malûkyaputta pressed this question on Gautama, and desired to know definitively if the perfect Buddha did or did not live beyond the death. Gautama inquired "Have I said, come, Malûkyaputta, and be my disciple; I shall teach thee whether the world is everlasting or not everlasting?" "That thou hast not said, sire," replied Malûkyaputta. "Then, said" Gautama, "do not press the inquiry." Gautama taught the lessons which contributed to peace and enlightenment and holiness in this life, and invited his brother men to accept these great lessons without inquiring after the unknown. If a man struck by a poisoned arrow, says to his physician, "I shall not allow my wound to be treated until I know who the man is by whom I have been wounded, whether he is a Kshatriya, Brâhman, a Vaisya or a Sûdra,"—what would be the end of him? He would die of his wound. And so would the man perish who did not strive after enlightenment and a holy life, because he did not know what lay beyond. Therefore, Malûkyaputta, whatsoever has not been revealed by me, let that remain unrevealed, and what has been revealed, let it be revealed." *Kûla-Malukya-Ovâda, Majjhima Nikâya.*

In the same manner we are told that King Prasenajit of Kosala, during a journey between his two chief towns, Sâketa and Srâvasti, fell in with the nun Khemâ, renowned for her wisdom. The King paid his respects to her, and asked,—"Venerable lady, does the Perfect One exist after death?" She replied,—'The Exalted One, O great King, has not declared that the Perfect One exists after death." "Then, does the Perfect One

not exist after death, Venerable lady?" inquired the King. But Khemâ still replied—"This also, O great King, the Exalted One has not declared, that the Perfect One does not exist after death." *Samyutta Nikâya.*

These extracts will shew that Gautama's religion was a perfect and consistent agnosticism, which did not and could not look beyond the Nirvâna.* Gautama's aim was clear and well defined; he invited all men, by a strict self-culture, to end their sufferings, to avoid future states of suffering, to attain in this world to a state of holy bliss and perfect sinlessness, which is Nirvâna.

If a man does not attain to this state of Nirvâna in life, he is liable to future births. Gautama did not believe in the existence of a soul; but, nevertheless, the theory of transmigration of souls was too deeply implanted in the Hindu mind to be eradicated, and Gautama therefore adhered to the theory of transmigration without accepting the theory of soul! But if there is no soul, what is it that undergoes transmigration? The reply is given in the Buddhist doctrine of KARMA.

The doctrine is, that "Karma," or the "doing" of a man cannot die, but must necessarily lead to its legitimate result. And when a living being dies, a new being is produced according to the Karma of the being that is dead. Thus, though the pious Buddhist does not believe in a soul, he believes that his state of life is determined by his Karma in a previous birth. And Buddhist writers are fond of comparing the relation of one life to the next, as that of the flame of a lamp to the flame of another lighted by it. And if the innocent man suffers in this world, he argues, "it is the result of my own work, why should I complain?" But wherein is the identity of the man who suffers with the man who is dead, if there be no soul? The Buddhist an-

* See the question fully and elaborately discussed by Dr. Oldenberg in his work on *Buddha, His life, His doctrine, His order.* The learned scholar has based his opinion on a careful examination of the entire body of the Buddhist canon.

swers,—"In that which alone remains when a man dies and is dissolved into atoms—in his action, thought and speech, in his Karma which cannot die."

The reasoning seems to us like arguing in a circle,—but nevertheless there is one aspect of the theory the correctness of which will be admitted by modern social philosophers. The Buddhist believes, as well as the modern philosopher, that each generation is the heir to the consequences of the virtues and sins of the preceding generation, and that in this sense, a nation reaps as it sows. "The Buddhist saint does not mar the purity of his self-denial by lusting after positive happiness which he himself shall enjoy hereafter. *His* consciousness will cease to feel, but his virtue will live and work out its full effect in the decrease of the sum of the misery of sentient beings." *

But the theory of transmigration was not the only doctrine which Gautama accepted from ancient Hinduism and adopted in a modified form into his own religion. The whole of the Hindu Pantheon of the day was similarly accepted, and similarly modified to suit his cardinal idea, the supreme efficacy of a Holy Life. The thirty-three gods of the Rig Veda were recognized,—but they were not supreme. Brahmâ, the Supreme Deity of the Upanishad, was recognized, but was not supreme. Holy Life alone was supreme; they who had attained the Nirvâna or perfect bliss by holy life,—the Buddhas,—were supreme, higher than the 33 gods, higher than the angel hosts, higher than Brahmâ. Never was there such a daring attempt made by man to elevate holiness and purity above the supernatural and the celestial; to raise goodness,—attainable by man,—above the gods and the unknown powers of the universe!

In a passage to which we have already referred in the previous chapter, four kinds of celestial or supernatural beings are named, Brahmâ, the thirty-three gods, angels and Mâra, or the evil one. Except Mâra all the rest

* Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*, p. 104.

are regarded as a kind of fairies, generally beneficent, but more or less ignorant. They are not eternal, being liable like men to dissolution, and not entitled to worship; they are all subject to repeated births, and can only obtain the salvation of Nirvâna by walking along the Eightfold Path. Brahmâ himself is no exception to the rule; he knows the superior greatness of Buddha, he assisted at his birth, induced him to proclaim the truth when he had discovered it under the Bo-tree, and gave utterance to the universal sorrow on Buddha's death. In a legend about an anterior birth of Gautama as a great king, we are told that Sakra (Indra) directed Visvakarmâ to build a palace for that king, and Visvakarmâ vanished from the heaven of the Great Thirty-three (gods), and appeared before the king to build the palace. *Mahâsudassana Sutta*, *I*, 67, 68.

It is necessary, however, to remark that it is doubtful whether Gautama himself adopted such stories, or even recognized the Hindu Pantheon. It is not impossible that the Devas and Gandharvas and Brahmâ lingered in the traditional language of the people who had adopted Buddhism. Gautama was probably indifferent towards such popular beliefs; his whole mind and heart were devoted to preaching a Holy Life.

Similarly the popular beliefs about heaven and hell, were passively adopted without ever attaining to much importance in Gautama's religion. We are told in one place, that "evil-doers go to hell, righteous people go to heaven; those who are free from all worldly desires attain Nirvâna"—*Dhammapada*, 126. And in another place Gautama is said to have given an account of different hells,* and backbiters are sent to the very worst hell, Paduma. It is doubtful whether Gautama ever troubled himself about these categories of hells and heavens; they probably grew from popular beliefs.

Gautama respected a Brâhman as he respected a

* Abbuda, Nirabbuda, Ababa, Ahaha, Atata, Kumuda, Sugandhika, Uppalika, Pundarika, and Paduma.

Buddhist Srâman or Arhat; but he respected him for his virtue and learning, not for his caste, which he in his soul ignored. When two Brâhman youths, Vasishtha and Bhâradvâja, began to quarrel on the question, "How does one become a Brâhman?" and came to Gautama for his opinion, Gautama delivered to them a discourse in which he emphatically ignored caste, and held that a man's distinguishing mark was his work, not his birth. The grass and the trees, he said, the worms, moths and ants, the quadrupeds, snakes, fishes and birds are all divided into species which are known by their distinguishing marks. Man, too, has his distinguishing mark, and that is his profession.

"For whoever amongst men lives by cow-keeping, know this, O Vasishtha, he is a husbandman, not a Brâhman.

"And whoever amongst men lives by different mechanical arts * * is an artisan, not a Brâhman.

"And whoever amongst men lives by trade * * is a merchant, not a Brâhman.

"And whoever amongst men lives by serving others * * is a servant, not a Brâhman.

"And whoever amongst men lives by theft * * is a thief, not a Brâhman.

"And whoever amongst men lives by archery * * is a soldier, not a Brâhman.

And whoever amongst men lives by performing household ceremonials * * is a sacrificer, not a Brâhman.

"And whoever amongst men possesses villages * * is a king, not a Brâhman.

"And I do not call one a Brâhman on account of his birth, or of his origin from a particular mother,—he may be called Bhupati, and he may be wealthy,—but the one who is possessed of nothing and seizes upon nothing, him I call a Brâhman. * *

"The man who is free from anger, endowed with holy works, virtuous, without desires, subdued, and wearing his last body, him I call a Brâhman.

"The man who, like water on a lotus leaf, or a

mustard seed on the point of a needle, does not cling to sensual pleasures, him I call a Brâhman." *Vâsettha Sutta.*

Similarly in the Assalâyana Sutta of the Majjhima Nikâya, we are told that a distinguished Brâhman scholar, Assalâyana, came to controvert Gautama's opinion that all castes were equally pure. Gautama, who could meet a logician with his own weapons, asked if the wives of Brâhmans were not subject to all the disabilities of childbirth like other women. "Yes," replied Assalâyana. Were there not differences in colour among the people of adjacent countries like Bactria and Afganistan, asked Gautama, and yet could not slaves become masters, and masters slaves in those countries? "Yes," replied Assalâyana. Then, asked Gautama, if a Brâhman "is a murderer, a thief, a libertine, a liar, a slanderer, violent or frivolous in speech, covetous, malevolent, given to false doctrine," will he not after death be born to misery and woe, like any other caste? "Yes," said Assalâyana, and it was also admitted that good works would lead to heaven irrespective of caste. Gautama proceeded further to argue that when a mare was united with an ass, the offspring was a mule, but the offspring of a Kshatriya united to a Brâhman resembled its parents, and the obvious conclusion, therefore, was that there was really no difference between a Brâhman and a Kshatriya! By such arguments Gautama drove the truth home to the young logician's mind, and he, "sat there silent, awkward, distressed, looking downwards, reflecting, not able to answer,"—and then became a disciple of Gautama.

Elsewhere Gautama said of himself, to Bhâradvâja, living by the Sundarikâ river, "No Brâhman am I, nor a king's son, nor any Vaisya; having thoroughly observed the class of common people, I wander about the world. * * Do not ask about descent, but ask about conduct." *Sundarikâ Bhâradvâja Sutta.*

At another time Gautama explained to his followers, "As the great streams, O disciples, however many they may be, the Gangâ, Yamunâ, Asirâvatî, Sarabhû and Mahî, when they reach the great ocean lose their

old name and their old descent, and bear only one name,—the great ocean,"—so also do Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sûdras lose their distinctions when they join the Order. And we know that this theory was consistently carried out in practice, and Upâli, a barber, as we have seen before, joined the Order and became one of the most revered and learned of Buddhist monks. A touching story is also told in the *Theragâthâ* which enables us to comprehend how Buddhism came like a salvation to the humble and the lowly in India, and how they eagerly embraced it as a refuge from caste-injustice. Sunîta, the Thera or Elder says, "I have come of a humble family, I was poor and needy. The work which I performed was lowly,—sweeping the withered flowers. I was despised of men, looked down upon and lightly esteemed. With submissive mien I shewed respect to many. Then I beheld Buddha with his band of monks as he passed, the great hero, into the most important town of Magadha. Then I cast away my burden and ran to bow myself in reverence before him. From pity for me he halted, that highest among men. Then I bowed myself at the Master's feet, stepped up to him and begged him, the highest among all beings, to accept me as a monk. Then said into me the gracious Master—'Come hither, O monk'—that was the initiation I received." And the passage concludes with the lesson which Gautama had so often preached, "By holy zeal and chaste living, by restraint and self-repression, thereby a man becomes a Brâhman; that is the highest Brâhmanhood."

Who can read this touching story of humble Sunîta's conversion without realizing the loving spirit of equality which was the soul of early Buddhism, and which ensured its success? The great Master who regarded nor wealth, nor rank, nor caste, came to the poor and the despised as well as to the rich and the noble, and welcomed them to effect their own salvation by a pure life and unstained conduct. A virtuous life opened the path to the highest honour, to the low-born and the high-born alike,—no other distinction was known or

recognized in the Order. Thousands of men and women responded to this loving and rational appeal, and merged their caste inequalities in a common love for their Master and a common emulation of his virtues. And within three centuries from the date when Gautama proclaimed his message of equality and of love in Benares, the religion of equality and of love was the prevailing religion of India. Caste was unknown within the Order, and lost its sting among laymen outside the Order; for it was open to the lowest born among them to embrace the Order and thus win the highest honour.

393. "A man does not become a Brâhman by his platted hair, by his family, or by birth; in whom there is truth and righteousness, he is blessed, he is a Brâhman.

394. "What is the use of platted hair, O fool! What of the raiment of goat skins? Within thee there is ravening, but the outside thou makest clean.

422. "Him I call, indeed, a Brâhman, the manly, the noble, the hero, the great sage, the conqueror, the impassible, the accomplished, the awakened

141. "Not nakedness, not platted hair, not dirt, not fasting or lying on earth, nor rubbing with dust, nor sitting motionless, can purify a mortal who has not overcome desires." † *Dhammapada.*

Accordingly, from the very commencement of his reli-

* Compare Mathew XXIII, 27, Luke XI, 39

† Professor Max Müller has the following interesting note to the above verse :—

"Walking naked and the other things mentioned in our verse, are outward signs of saintly life, and these Buddha rejects because they do not calm the passions. Nakedness he seems to have rejected on other grounds if we may judge from Sumâgadhâ Avadâna. A number of naked friars were assembled in the house of the daughter of Anâtha Pindika. She called her daughter-in-law Sumâgadhâ, and said, 'Go and see those highly respectable persons.' Sumâgadhâ expecting to see some of the saints like Sâriputra, Maudgalâyana, and others, ran out full of joy. But when she saw these friars, with their hair like pigeon-wings, covered by nothing but dirt, offensive, and looking like demons, she became sad. 'Why are you sad?' said her mother-in-law. Sumâgadhâ replied, 'O mother, if these are saints, what must sinners be like?'"

gious career, he expressed his pronounced disapprobation of the two *extremes:*

"A life given to pleasures, devoted to pleasures and lusts; this is degarding, sensual, vulgar, ignoble and profitless; and a life given to mortifications; this is painful, ignoble and profitless." *Mahâvagga*, I, 6, 17. The *middle path* is one of holy purity and calm sinless contemplation, and this is Gautama's Eightfold Path to salvation.

But Gautama not only expressed his pronounced disapprobation against the Hindu caste-system, and the ascetic practices sanctioned by Hinduism, he also exclaimed against the Vedic rites which were practised according to the injunctions of the Brâhmanas and the Sûtras. And the reasons are not far to seek. Gautama was not a thoughtless destroyer, nor a heedless and enthusiastic opponent of all that was orthodox and ancient. He did not raise his hand against a single ancient institution or belief which he did not consider positively mischievous, and a later corruption of the old religion. He denounced caste because he found it mischievous, and believed it to be a late and corrupted form of ancient Brâhmanism. He denounced asceticism because he fouud it harmful and misleading. And he proclaimed the fruitlessness of Vedic rites, because he found them, as then practised, to be silly, meaningless, dead forms, attended with needless cruelty to animals and loss of life.

It is possible to conceive that the utter lifelessness of these forms had something to do in first awakening the earnest mind of Gautama to a higher need. Did these forms and rites lead to any good? Did they improve the human heart, regulate the human conduct, alleviate human suffering? If not, are there no means to secure these objects, the only legitimate objects of Religion? And when after long and fruitless penances, and long and fruitful contemplation, he did discover a system which would improve the human heart, alleviate human suffering, and regulate human conduct, he naturally proclaimed the uselessness of the

rites and ceremonies which the people then called Religion.

A sinless, passionless state of the mind, a freedom from all desires of the senses, this is what Gautama aimed at; religious rites did not secure this end, retirement from the world and contemplation helped it.

"Having left son and wife, father and mother, wealth and corn and relatives, the different objects of desire, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros.

"This is a tie, in this there is little happiness, little enjoyment, but more of pain; this is a fish hook, so having understood, let a thoughtful man wander alone like a rhinoceros.

"Having torn the ties, having broken the net as a fish in the water, like a fire not returning to the burnt place, let one wander alone like a rhinoceros." *Khagga Visâna Sutta.*

And this brings us to the subject of retirement from the world, to that institution which, outwardly at least, most distinguishes Buddhism from Hinduism, *viz.*, the Buddhist Monastic life.

It is a mistake to suppose that Gautama positively enjoined on all men to retire from the world and live the life of a recluse, of a Bhikkhu or a Bhikkhuni, *i.e.* a Buddhist monk or nun. To conquer the yearning thirst for life and its pleasures was the cardinal aim of the reformer, and he assigned no peculiar virtue to an outward act of renouncement of the world. But, nevertheless, as it is difficult to conquer that thirst so long as one is actually living in the midst of his family and enjoying the pleasures of life, Gautama recommended the life of a Bhikkhu as the more efficacious means for securing the great end. And so thousands retired from the world and became Bhikkhus, and thus the Buddhist Monastic system was formed.

But even now, when the Bhikkhus, and Bhikkhunis have come to be regarded as the Priesthood of the Buddhists, there is no such line of demarcation as obtains in the Hindu world. Any lay disciple who desires to do so, may become a Bhikkhu by joining

the fraternity, and any Bhikkhu who wishes to return to the world may leave the fraternity. Bhikkhus are supposed to live a holier life and claim superior wisdom, learning and sanctity; but to the present day the original idea of Gautama so far rules his followers, that the Bhikkhus living in Vihâras or monasteries all over the Buddhist world, are not priests in the ordinary sense of the word; they are not intercessors between the laymen and their gods; they are no more than travellers on the same road towards Nirvâna, by which the householders and laymen are also supposed to be travelling.

The peculiar rules relating to the Holy Order will be detailed in another chapter, as they do not come in among the essential doctrines of Gautama's religion. We will only quote here a beautiful Sûtra, giving a supposed conversation between Gautama and a herdsman relating to the comparative virtues of worldly security and religious bliss.

"I have boiled my rice, I have milked my cows"—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—"I am living together with my fellows near the banks of the Mahî river. My house is covered, the fire is kindled: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

2. "I am free from anger, free from stubbornness,"—so said Bhagavat,—"I am abiding for one night near the banks of the Mahî river. My house is uncovered the fire (of passions) is extinguished: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

3. "Gad flies are not be found with me,"—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—"in meadows abounding with grass the cows are roaming, and they can endure the rain when it comes: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

4. "By me is made a well-constructed raft,"—so said Bhagavat,—"I have passed over (to Nirvâna). I have reached the further bank, having overcome the torrent (of passions); there is no further use for a raft: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

5. "My wife is obedient, not wanton,"—so said the

herdsman Dhaniya,—"for a long time she has been living together with me. She is winning, and I hear nothing wicked of her: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

6. "My mind is obedient and freed,"—so said Bhagavat,—"it has for a long time been highly cultivated and well subdued. There is no longer anything wicked in me: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

7. "I support myself by my own earnings,"—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—"and my children are about me healthy. I hear nothing wicked of them: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

8. "I am no one's servant,"—so said Bhagavat,—"with what I have gained, I wander about in all the world. There is no need for me to serve: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

9. "I have cows, I have calves,"—so said Dhaniya,—"I have cows in calf and heifers. And I have also a bull as lord over the cows: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

10. "I have no cows; I have no calves"—so said Bhagavat,—"I have no cows in calf and no heifers. And I have no bull as a lord over the cows: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

11. "The stakes are driven in, and cannot be shaken,'—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—"the ropes are made of munga grass, new and well made, the cows will not be able to break them, therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

12. "Having, like a bull, rent the bonds; having, like an elephant, broken through the galuchchhi creeper, I shall not again enter into a womb: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

Then at once a shower poured down, filling both sea and land. Hearing the sky raining, Dhaniya spoke thus:—

13. "No small gain indeed to us, since we have seen Bhagavat. We take refuge in thee, O thou endowed with the eye of wisdom! Be thou our master, O great Muni!" *Dhaniyasutta.* *

* Compare the parable in St. Luke XII, 16.

We have already said before that Gautama denied the existence of a soul. Man is supposed in the Buddhist philosophy to consist of an assemblage of *skandhas* or aggregates. These *skandhas* are :—

(1) The material properties like the elements, the organs of sense, &c.

(2) Sensations. divided into six classes, according as they are received through the six senses, including the mind.

(3) The abstract ideas belonging to six classes of sensations.

(4) Tendencies of the mind, divided into fifty-two divisions : Thought, Reflection, Memory, Effort, Pity, Envy, Pride, &c.

(5) Reason.

As the body is continuously changing, all its component parts are changing also, and man is never the same for two moments.

The denial of a soul is repeated throughout all Buddhist works, and this was a part of Gautama's own teachings. In the *Brahmajâla Sutta* of the *Dîgha Nikâya*, Gautama is supposed to discuss sixty-two different kinds of wrong belief, among which the belief that the soul and the world are eternal is a principal one. "Mendicants," concludes this sermon. "that which binds the Teacher (Buddha) to existence is cut off; but his body still remains. While his body shall remain, he will be seen by gods and men, but after the termination of life, upon the dissolution of the body, neither gods nor men will see him." "Would it be possible," asks Dr. Rhys Davids, "in a more complete and categorical way, to deny that there is any soul, any entity of any kind, which continues to exist, in any manner after death?"

The same writer quotes a passage from an ancient Ceylonese work giving a series of conversations between the Greek king Menander of Sagala in the Punjab, and Nâgârjuna or Nâgasena, the founder of the Madhyamika school of northern Buddhism.

Nâgasena—"Did your majesty come here on foot or in a chariot?"

King—"In a chariot."

Nâgasena—"What is a chariot? Is the ornamental cover the chariot? Are the wheels, the spokes of the wheel, or the reins, the chariot? Are all these parts together (in a heap) the chariot? If you leave these out, does there remain anything which is the chariot?"

King—"No."

Nâgasena—"Then I see no chariot, it is only a sound, a name. In saying that you came in a chariot, you have uttered an untruth. I appeal to the nobles, and ask them if it be proper that the great king of all Jambudvîpa (India) should utter an untruth."

King—"No untruth have I uttered, venerable monk. The cover, wheels, seat, and other parts all united form the chariot. They are the usual signs by which that which is called a chariot is known."

Nâgasena—"And just so in the case of a man." And he quoted the words of the Teacher where he had said, "As the various parts of the chariot form, when united, the chariot, so the five *skandhas*, when united in one body, form a being, a living existence." *

Such is the Buddhist philosophy about the *skandhas* and the non-existence of the soul, which arose out of Gautama's teachings. It should be remembered, however, that the philosophy is of a later date than Gautama, and that the Reformer, though well versed in Hindu philosophy, discouraged philosophical discussions as useless for the great object he had in view. "When Mâlunka asked the Buddha whether the existence of the world is eternal or not eternal, he made no reply; but the reason of this was that it was considered by the Teacher as an enquiry that tended to no profit."† And we are repeatedly told in the *Sutta Nipâta*, that one should not give himself up to philosophical disputations which lead to no good.

* Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*, p. 97.

† Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 375. See *ante*, p. 382.

"Those wishing for dispute, having plunged into the assembly, brand each other as fools mutually; they go to others and pick a quarrel, wishing for praise, and calling themselves expert. * *

"These disputes have arisen amongst the Sâmans; in these disputes there is dealt blow and stroke; having seen this, let him leave off disputing, for there is no other advantage in trying to get praise." *Pasûra Sutta. Sutta Nipâta.*

"The opinions that have arisen amongst people, all these the wise man does not embrace; he is independent. * *

"A dogmatist is no leader to purity, being guided by prejudiced views, saying that good consists in what he is given to." *Mahâniyûha Sutta. Sutta Nipâta.*

These are the leading doctrines of Gautama's religion, and a brief recapitulation of them will probably interest our readers. We have explained that Buddhism is in its essence a system of self-culture, an effort towards a holy life on this earth, and nothing more. We have seen that Gautama considered life to be suffering, the thirst after life to be the cause of suffering, the conquering of that thirst to be the cessation of suffering, and the Eightfold Path of self culture to be the means of conquering the thirst after life. Placing a holy life and sinless peace as the ideal of his religion and as the highest aim of human destiny, Gautama carefully elaborated the system of self-culture, the method of self-restraint in thought, word and speech, which he called the Noble Eightfold Path, or which is known as the Seven Jewels of his Law.

And that holy peace, that sinless, tranquil life which is the object of so much self-restraint and self-culture, is attainable in this earth; it is the Buddhist's heaven, it is Nirvâna. Gautama's religion offers no glowing rewards in a world to come; virtue is its own reward; a virtuous life is the Buddhist's final aim; a virtuous peace on earth is the Buddhist's Nirvâna.

We have seen that Gautama nevertheless adopted the Hindu idea of transmigration in a modified form into

his own religion. If Nirvâna is not attained in life, the Karma or actions of a living being lead to their legitimate results in re-births, until the discipline is complete and Nirvâna is attained. Gautama ignored the soul, but could not shake off the belief in transmigration, which was firmly implanted in the Hindu mind in his day.

In the same manner Gautama adopted, or permitted the adoption of, the popular beliefs of the day about the 33 gods of the Rig Veda, about Brahmâ, about Gandharvas and angels, heaven and hell. But all this belief was modified so as to suit the cardinal idea of Buddhism, that a holy life was the supreme good; and gods, like men, were striving through repeated births after that Nirvâna which was the Buddhist's salvation.

But there were doctrines and customs of Hinduism which he could not accept. The caste system he eschewed, asceticism and penances he disapproved, the Vedic religious rites he declared to be fruitless. In place of such rites, he enjoined a benevolent life and the conquest of all passions and desires; and he recommended a retirement from the world as the most efficacious means for securing this end. The recommendation was followed, and led to the Buddhist monastic system,—the earliest monastic fraternity known in the world.

And, lastly, we have seen that, although Gautama himself disapproved of philosophical discussion, a system of Buddhist philosophy soon arose on the lines laid down by him; that it ignored the existence of soul, and maintained living creatures to be only assemblages of *Skandhas*, or aggregates.

The great distinguishing feature of Buddhism then is, that it is a training towards a virtuous and holy life on this earth, and takes little thought of rewards and punishments in a future world. It appeals to the most disinterested feelings in man's nature, sets before him virtue as its own reward, and enjoins a life-long endeavour towards its attainment. It knows of no higher aim among gods or men than the attainment of a

tranquil, sinless life; it speaks of no other salvation than virtuous peace, it knows of no other heaven than holiness.

"It swept away from the field of its vision the whole of the great soul theory which had hitherto so completely filled and dominated the minds of the superstitious and of the thoughtful alike. For the first time in the history of the world, it proclaimed a salvation which each man could gain for himself, and by himself, in this world, during this life, without any, the least reference to God or to gods, either great or small." * It discards all the tempting pictures of joys and pleasures in heaven by which other religions lead men to virtuous deeds, it offers no glowing temptations, no imaginary rewards, it makes no appeal to man's selfish nature. Holding out no prospects of everlasting happiness, promising no happy heaven of gladness or bliss, Buddhism silently and sternly points to the path of virtue, and directs men to strive after a holy life, because holiness is its own reward and its own heaven. Herein Buddhism stands alone among the great religions of the world.

On the other hand, this very feature of Buddhism is the subject of charges frequently brought against the religion. It is urged, and rightly urged, that it is an agnostic religion, that it knows of no God, no soul, no future world for those who have attained salvation. Dr. Rhys Davids points out, however, that agnostic philosophy has come, not once or twice, but repeatedly to the forefront, when theology has failed to offer satisfactory replies to inquiries after the unknown, and men have sought for new solutions to old questions. "It is their place in the progress of thought that helps us to understand how it is that there is so much in common between the agnostic philosopher of India, the stoics of Greece and Rome, and some of the newest schools in France, in Germany, and among ourselves." †

But what was it that the agnostic Buddhists worshipped?

* Rhys Davids. Hibbert Lectures, 1881.
† *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 145.

What was the concrete form which Gautama's religion took in the early age of which we are speaking, before vast monasteries and an unwieldy priesthood replaced the primitive faith? What was the actual form of worship which drew and engaged the multitude who could not all have appreciated or worshipped the abstract idea of a holy life? The reply is simple. For centuries the people worshipped holiness and virtue *as typified in the life of Gautama.* They revered the memories of the Great Teacher, they worshipped his invisible presence. The sculptures at Sanchi, at Amarâvatî, at Bharhut and other places, represent homage paid to tree, to serpent, to the wheel, or to the umbrella; but in every case the object represents the presence or religion of Buddha. It was a worship "paid to the invisible presence of the Teacher, or to the power supposed to reside in his teaching (the wheel). It is a worship of association or of memory. The spots rendered famous by Buddha's presence during his life-time are consecrated in the mind of his disciple to sacred recollection, and worship is offered on those spots to the invisible object of faith." * Thus early Buddhism was the worship of holiness as typified in Buddha, and of his holy invisible presence.

* *Beal's Buddhism in China*, p. 100.

CHAPTER XVI.

MORAL PRECEPTS OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA.

A RELIGION, the great aim of which is the teaching of holy living in this world, must necessarily be rich in moral precepts, and such precepts are the peculiar beauty of Buddhism for which the religion is still held in honour all over the civilized world. It will be our pleasant task in this chapter to glean some of these graceful precepts which will give our readers some idea of the essence of Gautama's moral teachings.

Gautama prescribed for lay disciples five prohibitory rules or Commandments, which were, no doubt, suggested by Vasishtha's five *Mahâpâtakas* enumerated before, in chapter VII of this Book.

18. "A householder's work, I will also tell you, how a Sâvaka is to act to be a good one; for that complete Bhikkhu Dhamma cannot be carried out by one who is taken up by worldly occupations.

19. "Let him not kill or cause to be killed any living being, nor let him approve of others killing, after having refrained from hurting all creatures, both those that are strong and those that tremble in the world.

20. "Then let the Sâvaka abstain from taking anything in any place that has not been given to him, knowing it to belong to another, let him not cause any one to take, nor approve of those that take. Let him avoid all theft.

21. "Let the wise man avoid an unchaste life as a burning heap of coals; not being able to live a life of chastity, let him not transgress with another man's wife.

22. "Let no one speak falsely to another in the hall of justice, or in the hall of the assembly; let him not cause any one to speak falsely, nor approve of those that speak falsely. Let him avoid all untruth.

23. "Let the householder, who approves of this Dhamma, not give himself to intoxicating drinks; let him not cause others to drink, nor approve of those that drink, knowing it to end in madness"—*Dhâmmika Sutta, Sutta Nipâta.*

These five precepts which are known as the Five Commandments, or the five rules of conduct (Pancha Sîla), are binding on all Buddhists, laymen and Bhikkhus. They are recapitulated thus:—

25. "Let not one kill any living being.
"Let not one take what is not given to him.
"Let not one speak falsely.
"Let not one drink intoxicating drinks.
"Let not one have unchaste sexual intercourse."
Ibid.

Three other rules are laid down which are not considered obligatory, but which are recommended to pious lay disciples. They are—

25, 26. "Let him not at night eat untimely food.
"Let him not wear wreaths or use perfumes.
"Let him lie on a bed spread on the earth."
Ibid.

The pious householder is recommended to take a vow of all these eight precepts, which are known as the Eight Commandments, or the eight rules of conduct, (Ashtânga Sîla.)

To these eight rules two more are added, and they are: To abstain from dancing, music, singing and stage plays; and To obstain from the use of gold and silver. These ten Commandments (Dasa Sîla) are binding on Bhikkhus, as the Five Commandments are binding on all laymen and Bhikkhus.

To honor one's father and mother, though not included in the Commandments, is enjoined in the same Sutta on all householders.

"Let him dutifully maintain his parents, and practise an honorable trade. The householder who observes this strenuously, goes to the gods Sayampabhas (*Sanscrit* Svayambhû).

Buddhists had a weekly sabbath which was deter-

mined by the days of the moon. These Uposatha (*Sancrit* Upavâsa) days were four in the lunar month, *viz.*, when the moon was full or new, or half way between the two ; and abstinence and the special observance of the moral precepts were enjoined on those days. The reader will perceive that the idea was taken from the Vedic Darsapûrnamâsa ceremony which was held at the full moon and the new moon.

Again certain fortnights (Pâtihâraka Pakkha) were set apart for the special and rigid observance of the moral precepts. And on the expiry of the Uposathas and Pâtihâraka Pakkhas, the householder was recommended with a believing mind to " make distributions according to his ability."—*Dhâmmika Sutta*, 28.

A more exhaustive category of the duties of the householder is given in the well-known *Sigâlovâda Sutta*, common both to the Northern and the Southern Buddhists, and which has been more than once translated into European languages. The enumeration of the duties gives us so clear an insight into the state of Hindu society and into the ideal of Hindu social life, that we feel no hesitation in quoting it.

1. *Parents and Children.*

Parents should—

1. Restrain their children from vice.
2. Train them in virtue.
3. Have them taught in arts or sciences.
4. Provide them with suitable wives or husbands.
5. Give them their inheritance.

The child should say—

1. I will support them who supported me.
2. I will perform family duties incumbent on them.
3. I will guard their property.
4. I will make myself worthy to be their heir.
5. When they are gone, I will honour their memory.

2. *Pupils and Teachers.*

The pupil should honour his teachers—

1. By rising in their presence.
2. By ministering to them.
3. By obeying them.

4. By supplying their wants.
5. By attending to instruction.

The teacher should shew his affection to his pupils—

1. By training them in all that is good.
2. By teaching them to hold knowledge fast.
3. By instruction in science and lore.
4. By speaking well of them to their friends and companions.
5. By guarding them from danger.

3. *Husband and Wife.*

The husband should cherish his wife—

1. By treating her with respect.
2. By treating her with kindness.
3. By being faithful to her.
4. By causing her to be honored by others.
5. By giving her suitable ornaments and clothes.

The wife should shew her affection for her husband—

1. She orders her household aright.
2. She is hospitable to kinsmen and friends.
3. She is a chaste wife.
4. She is a thrifty housekeeper.
5. She shews skill and diligence in all she has to do.

4. *Friends and Companions.*

The honorable man should minister to his friends—

1. By giving presents.
2. By courteous speech.
3. By promoting their interest.
4. By treating them as his equals.
5. By sharing with them his prosperity.

They should shew their attention to him—

1. By watching over him when he is off his guard.
2. By guarding his property when he is careless.
3. By offering him a refuge in danger.
4. By adhering to him in misfortune.
5. By shewing kindness to his family.

5. *Masters and Servants.*

The master should provide for the welfare of his dependants—

1. By apportioning work to them according to their strength.

2. By supplying suitable food and wages.
3. By tending them in sickness.
4. By sharing with them unusual delicacies.
5. By now and then granting them holidays.

They should shew their attachment to him as follows :—

1. They rise before him.
2. They retire later to rest.
3. They are content with what is given them.
4. They work cheerfully and thoroughly.
5. They speak well of him.

6. *Laymen and those devoted to religion.*

The honorable man ministers to Bhikkhus and Brâhmans—

1. By affection in act.
2. By affection in words.
3. By affection on thoughts.
4. By giving them a ready welcome.
5. By supplying their temporal wants.

They should shew their affection to him—

1. By dissuading him from vice.
2. By exhorting him to virtue.
3. By feeling kindly towards him.
4. By instructing him in religion.
5. By clearing up his doubts.
6. By pointing the way to heaven.

The legend is that Gautama saw Sigâla, the householder, bowing to the four quarters of the heaven, and to the zenith and the nadir, to avert evils from these six directions. Gautama told him that the best way to avert evils from the six quarters was to perform good deeds towards his fellow-men, and so proclaimed the six categories of duties enumerated above. Sigâla was converted and became a lay-disciple.

What glimpses of pure Hindu life, of pleasant domestic and social feelings and duties, do we obtain from the above categories! The anxious care of parents to give children education and moral teaching and earthly comforts; the dutiful desire of children to support and respect their parents and honor their memory when dead; the respectful behaviour of the pupil

towards the teacher, and the teacher's anxious care and affection for the pupil; the respect, the kindness, the honorable and affectionate treatment which the Hindu religion has ever enjoined on husbands towards their wives, and the faithfulness and scrupulous attention towards domestic duties for which Hindu wives have always been known; the kindly relations between friends and friends, between masters and servants, between laymen and spiritual instructors: these are among the noblest lessons that the Hindu religion has taught, and these are among the noblest traditions which Hindu literature has handed down for thousands of years. Buddhism accepted this noble heritage from the ancient Hindus, and embalmed it in its sacred literature. In Gautama's categories of duties we find all that is noblest and best in the Dharma Sûtras, and we do not find the moral precepts disfigured by those caste distinctions which we so much deplore in Hindu literature and religion.

We turn now from Gautama's categories of duties to those precepts and benevolent maxims to which Buddhism mainly owes its deserved fame in the modern world. Gautama's religion was a religion of benevolence and love; and five centuries before Jesus Christ was born, the Hindu Teacher had declared,

5. "Hatred does not cease by hatred at any time, hatred ceases by love: this is its nature."

197. "Let us live happily, not hating those who hate us. Among men who hate us, let us live free from hatred."

223. "Let one overcome anger by love, let him overcome evil by good. Let him overcome the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth."—*Dhammapada.*

Parables were told to impress this great lesson on the followers of the meek and gentle Gautama, and we will tell one of these stories as briefly as we can. Trying to heal contentions and differences among his followers, Gautama said:

"In former times, O Bhikkhus, there lived at Benares a king of the Kâsis, Brahmadatta by name,

wealthy, rich in treasures, rich in revenues, and rich in troops and vehicles, the lord over a great realm, with full treasuries and storehouses. And there was also a king of the Kosalas, Dîghîti by name, not wealthy, poor in treasures, poor in revenues, poor in troops and vehicles, the lord over a small realm, with empty treasuries and storehouses."

As often happens the rich king robbed the weak one of his realm and treasures, and Dîghîti with his queen fled to Benares, and dwelt there in a potter's house in the guise of an ascetic. There the exiled queen gave birth to a child who was called Dîghâvu, and in course of time the boy reached his years of discretion.

In the meantime king Brahmadatta heard that his former rival was living in the town in disguise with his wife, and he ordered them to be brought before him and had them cruelly executed.

Their son Dîghâvu was then living outside Benares, but happened to come to the town at the time of his father's execution. The dying king looked at his son, and with more than human forgiveness left his last injunctions on his son. "*Not by hatred, my dear Dîghâvu, is hatred appeased. By love, my dear Dîghâvu, hatred is appeased.*"

"And young Dîghâvu, O Bhikkhus! went to the forest, there he cried and wept to his heart's content." He then returned to the town, after having formed his resolutions, and took employment under an elephant trainer in the royal stables.

Early in the dawn he arose and sang in a beautiful voice and played upon the lute. And the voice was so beautiful, that the king inquired who it was that had risen so early and had sung in the elephant stables in so beautiful a voice. And the young boy was taken to the king, pleased him, and was employed as his attendant.

And it so happened that on one occasion the king went out to hunt, taking young Dîghâvu with him. Dîghâvu's secret resentment was burning within him, and he so drove the royal chariot, that the hosts

went one way, and the king's chariot went another way.

At last the king felt tired and lay down, laying his head on the lap of young Dîghâvu, and as he was tired, he fell asleep in a moment.

"And young Dîghâvu thought, O Bhikkhus, 'this king Brahmadatta, of Kâsî, has done much harm to us. By him we have been robbed of our troops and vehicles, our realm, our treasuries, and storehouses. And he has killed my father and mother. Now the time has come to me to satisfy my hatred'—and he unsheathed his sword."

But with the recollection of his father, the last words of his dying parent came to the recollection of the vengeful prince, "*Not by hatred, my dear Dîghâvu is hatred appeased; by love, my dear Dîghâvu, hatred is appeased.*" "It would not become me to transgress my father's word," said the prince, and he put up his sword.

The king dreamt a frightful dream and arose terrified and alarmed. Dîghâvu told him the whole truth. The king was astonished, and exclaimed, "Grant me my life, my dear Dîghâvu! Grant me my life, my dear Dîghâvu!" The noble young prince forgave his father's murderer in carrying out his father's injunction, and granted Brahmadatta his life. And Brahmadatta gave him back his father's troops and vehicles, his realm, his treasuries and storehouses, and he gave him his daughter.

"Now, O Bhikkhus, if such is the forbearance and mildness of kings who wield the sceptre and bear the sword, so much more, O Bhikkhus, must you so let your light shine before the world, that you, having embraced the religious life according to so well-taught a doctrine and a discipline, are seen to be forbearing and mild." *Mahâvagga X*, 2.

But not only forbearance and mildness, but the virtue of good acts is repeatedly and impressively enjoined by Gautama on his followers.

51. "Like a beautiful flower, full of colour, but

without scent, are the fine and fruitless words of him who does not act accordingly.*

183. "Not to commit sin, to do good, and to purify one's mind, this is the teaching of the Buddhas.

200. "In like manner his good works receive him who has done good and has gone from this world to the other—as kinsmen receive a friend on his return.

260. "A man is not an elder, because his head is grey. His age may be ripe, but he is called old in vain.

261. "He in whom there is truth, virtue, love, restraint, moderation, he who is free from impurity and is wise, he is called an elder"—*Dhammapada.*

And Gautama told the parable of Mâtanga, the Chandâla, who reached the highest fame, mounted the vehicle of gods, and went to the Brahma world by good deeds. Therefore,

"Not by birth does one become an outcast, not by birth does one become a Brâhman. By deeds one becomes an outcast, by deeds one becomes a Brâhman." *Vasala Sutta, Sutta Nipâta*, 27.

And again in the *A'magandha Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipâta*, Gautama explains to a Brâhman, Kâsyapa by name, that destroying life, killing, cutting, binding, stealing, lying, fraud and adultery, backbiting, treachery and cruelty, intoxication, deceit and pride, and a bad mind and wicked deeds are what defile a man. Neither abstinence from fish or flesh, nor nakedness, nor tonsure, nor matted hair, nor dirt, nor rough garment, nor sacrifices to the fire, nor penances, nor hymns, nor oblations, nor sacrifices can purify him.†

The whole of the *Dhammapada* is a string of 423 moral precepts which for their beauty and moral worth will compare with any similar collection of precepts made in any age or country. And a good-sized volume might be compiled from the legends and parables and precepts and holy maxims which are interspersed

* Compare Matthew, XXIII, 3.
† Compare Matthew XV, 10.

throughout the Buddhist sacred scriptures. We will close this chapter with only a few more extracts.

129. "All men tremble at punishment, all men fear death. Remember that you are like unto them, and do not kill, nor cause slaughter.

130. "All men tremble at punishment, all men love life. Remember that you are like unto them, and do not kill nor cause slaughter."*

252. "The fault of others is easily perceived, but that of oneself is difficult to perceive; a man winnows his neighbour's faults like chaff, but his own fault he hides, as a cheat hides the bad die from the gambler."† *Dhammapada.*

"This is called progress in the discipline of the Noble One, if one sees his sin in its sinfulness, and duly makes amends for it, and refrains from it in future." *Mahâvagga*, IX, 1, 9.

"Thus he lives as a binder together of those who are divided, an encourager of those who are friends, a peace-maker, a lover of peace, impassioned for peace, a speaker of works that make for peace." *Tevijja Sutta*, II, 5.

Who is not struck by the remarkable coincidence of these noble precepts with those preached five hundred years after in Palestine by the gentle and pure-souled Jesus Christ? But the relations between Buddhist and Christian ethics and moral precepts will be discussed in a future chapter.

* Compare Luke VI, 31.
† Compare Matthew, VII, 3.

CHAPTER XVII.

BUDDHIST MONASTIC ORDER.

IT has already been stated that Buddhist Bhikkhus were not priests in the ordinary sense of the term. They were merely a portion of the Buddhist population who renounced the world and lived a life of chastity and strict discipline, because by so doing they hoped to conquer all passions and desires, and attain sooner to that holy and sinless state of tranquility which is the Buddhist's salvation. It was with this idea that Gautama encouraged his earnest followers to join the Holy Order, though he at the same time respected those who remained householders and lay disciples.

A layman, desiring to be a Bhikkhu, was to be at least eight years old before he was accepted as a novice, and he was to be twenty before receiving full initiation. He had to state that he was free from leprosy, boils, consumption, and fits; that he was a free man and free from debts, and that he was not in the royal service, and had received his parents' consent. He was introduced by his proposer to the *Sangha*, or assemblage of Bhikkhus; and he expressed his wishes three times in the following words: "I ask the Sangha, reverend Sirs, for the Upasampadâ ceremony. Might the Sangha, reverend Sirs, draw me out of the world out of compassion towards me." And the proposer proposed the resolution, (*natti* from Sanscrit *jnâpti ?*) that he might be accepted. The proposition was repeated three times and was carried, the proposer saying, "N. N. has received the Upasampadâ ordination from the Sangha with N. N. as Upâdhyâya. The Sangha is in favour of it, therefore it is silent. This I understand."—*Mahâvagga*, I, 76.

The person elected then appeared clad as a Bhikkhu, and repeated three times the two formulas. The first

speaks of the Three Refuges, which are the Buddhist's Trinity :—

"I go for refuge to the Buddha.
"I go for refuge to the Law.
"I go for refuge to the Holy Order."

The second speaks of the Ten Precepts or Commandments.

"I take the vow not to destroy life.
"I take the vow not to steal.
"I take the vow to abstain from impurity.
"I take the vow not to lie.
"I take the vow to abstain from intoxicating drinks which hinder progress and virtue.
"I take the vow not to eat at forbidden times.
"I take the vow to abstain from dancing, singing, music, and stage plays.
"I take the vow not to use garlands, scents, unguents or ornaments.
"I take the vow not to use a high or broad bed.
"I take the vow not to receive gold or silver." *Mahâvagga*. I, 12 & 56.

This was the ceremony for the novice ; and when a novice applied for full initiation, a similar proceeding had to be gone through again. He was proposed again, he had to declare himself free from disqualifications, and he asked the Sangha for admission. The resolution to accept him was then formally put, and no one objecting, was carried in silence.

We have in the previous chapter quoted some verses from the *Dhâmmika Sutta* in which Gautama laid down the duties of householders and laymen. We will now quote some verses from the same *Sutta* in which the duties of Bhikkhus have been described.

10. "Listen to me, O Bhikkhus, I will teach you the Dhamma that destroys sin ; do ye keep it, all of you. Let him who looks for what is salutary,—the thoughtful,—cultivate the mode of life suitable for Pabbajitas.

11. "Let not the Bhikkhu walk about at a wrong time, let him go to the village for alms at the right time; for ties ensnare the one that goes at a wrong time; therefore Buddhas do not go at a wrong time.

12. "Form, sound, taste, smell, and touch, which intoxicate creatures,—having subdued the desire for these things, let him in due time go in for his breakfast.

13. "And let the Bhikkhu, after having obtained his food at the right time and returned, sit down alone and privately; reflecting within himself, let him not turn his mind to outward things, but be self-collected.

14. "If he speak with a disciple, or with any one else, or with a Bhikkhu, let him talk about the excellent Dhamma. Let him not utter slander, nor blaming words against others.

15. "Some prepare themselves for controversy.* We do not praise these narrow-minded persons. Ties from here and there ensnare them, and they send their mind far into the dispute

16. "Let a disciple of Buddha, after having the Dhamma taught by Buddha, discriminately seek for food, a monastery, a bed, and a seat, and water for washing his clothes.

17. "But without clinging to these things,—to food, to bed, seat, clean robes and water,—let a Bhikkhu be like a water-drop on a lotus."

We have seen before that Gautama himself considered retirement to be most conducive to a life of contemplation. As the number of his followers increased, they dwelt together in gardens and groves, whence they issued to towns for begging their daily food. We have seen that Gautama first proclaimed his religion at Mrigadâva, or the Deer Park in Benares, and obtained his first following there; and that when he came to Râjagriha, he lived with his followers at Yashtivana, which was at some distance from the town.

* *Vâdam hi ke patisemiyanti.* This verse shews that Gautama did not encourage philosophical discussions, and called men engaged in such controversies "narrow-minded."

But the King Bimbisâra was so pleased with Gautama that he made a gift of a bamboo grove, the Veluvana, which was nearer the town, and therefore better suited for Gautama's work. Very soon the piety of laymen provided them with suitable and commodious houses, —*Vihâras* or Monasteries,—for the residence of the Bhikkhus. Thus we find (*Chullavagga*, VI, 1, 4) that the Setthi or banker of Râjagriha built no less than sixty dwelling places, and made a gift of them "to the use of the Sangha of the four directions, whether present or to come." And thenceforward the Buddhist monks lived in such Vihâras. The number of such Vihâras multiplied in every town and province in India with the spread of Buddhism, and we shall see further on that when the Chinese travellers Fa Hian and Houen Tsang came to India, they saw hundreds of Vihâras in the great capitals of Hindu kingdoms.

It must not be supposed, however, that solitary life in forests was abandoned altogether. On the contrary, while the mass of the Bhikkhus crowded to Vihâras, solitary hermits retired to forests and to caves. In *Chullavagga*, VI, 1, 2, we find a description of the different kinds of residences which were in use at the time of the composition of the work, *i. e.*, in the fourth century, B. C. "I allow you, O Bhikkhus, abodes of five kinds, —Vihâras, Addhayogas, Storied Dwellings, Attics, Caves."* Elsewhere we are told "The religious life has dwelling at the foot of a tree for its resource. Thus you must endeavour to live all your life. Vihâras, Addhayogas, Storied Dwellings, Attics, Caves are extra allowances." *Mahâvagga*, I. 30, 4. The earliest rock-cut caves that we find in India belong to this period, and were excavated by Buddhists for the purposes of retirement and contemplation. Such caves of the time of Asoka, and of the centuries preceding Asoka, are found all over India; and thus Buddhism gave the first start

* Vihâra, Addhayoga, Pâsâda, Hammiyam, Guhâ Buddhaghosha explains Addhayoga to be a gold colored Bengal house; a Pâsâda to be a long storied mansion; and Hammiyam to be a Pâsâda, with an upper chamber on the topmost storey.

to sculpture on an extensive scale in India. Vihâras or Monasteries, and Chaityas or Churches, were excavated from solid rocks and multiplied all over the country. Thus India owes her most gigantic and wonderful works of architecture in stone to the Buddhist religion. But of this we will speak in a separate chapter.

The minute and elaborate regulations contained in the *Mahâvagga* and the *Chullavagga* relating to the construction of Vihâras and to the life of monks down to the smallest detail, need not occupy us here. The monks dressed themselves in robes of a dull orange colour, begged their food from neighbouring towns and villages, shaved themselves and eschewed all ornaments, trinkets, and flowers, slept on the ground, and led a life of chastity and comparative hardship. Poverty was enjoined on all Bhikkhus, but there was no objection,—as we have seen in Gautama's life,—to accepting gifts of land or houses for the Sangha or fraternity. Such gifts multiplied as the religion spread over the country. Costly Vihâras and Chaityas were built, and broad acres were possessed in every province, and the Buddhist church in India, in the fifth and sixth centuries, A. D, must have rivalled the Roman Catholic Church of Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries, in property and wealth.

The most interesting event in the monotonous lives of the Bhikkhus was, the fortnightly ceremony known as the Pâtimokkha (*Sanscrit* Pratimoksha) or Disburdenment of sins. We know that the Vedic worshippers performed the ancient Darsapûrnamâsa ceremony at the full moon and the new moon. Gautama modified this ceremony to a most useful and noble purpose, and Bhikkhus made use of these sacred days to confess the sins they had committed, and take upon themselves the penances prescribed. It was when Gautama, after first proclaiming his religion at Benares, returned to Râjagriha that he laid down the first rules of Confession and Disburdenment, and these rules,—no doubt afterwards elaborated,—have come

down to us as the Pâtimokkha. And thus these rules have been repeated at formal meetings, and pious Buddhists have been called upon to confess their sins, twice in each month, during the last twenty-four centuries!

The introduction to the Pâtimokkha runs thus:—"May the Sangha, reverend Sirs, hear me! To-day is the sacred day (of the full or new moon), the fifteenth day of the half-month. If it be convenient to the Sangha, let the Sangha hold Uposatha, let it repeat the Pâtimokkha. Let the reverend brethren announce their purity, and I will rehearse the Pâtimokkha. Whosoever have incurred a fault, let him declare it! If no fault have been incurred it is meet to keep silence!"

And then the rules were recited, classifying the different kinds of sins, and naming the penance for each. Sexual intercourse, Theft, Murder, and False Pretentions required expulsion. Thirteen kinds of sin, like attempting to entice women, bringing a false charge, creating dissensions in the Order, &c., required formal meetings of the Order and the prescribed penance. These rules are followed by two on undetermined cases. Thirty minor offences,—against the communistic customs of the ancient fraternity,—required forfeiture. Other offences, ninety-two in number, called for repentance, and this list includes telling a lie, slandering a Bhikkhu, destroying vegetable life, drinking fermented liquors, drinking water with living things in it, journeying with a woman, giving a blow or using threatening gesture, and making luxurious beds or using clothes beyond the proper size. Great eagerness to obtain food is classed under four petty offences which required a confession; and this is followed by seventy-five rules, enjoining decorous behaviour at all times.

In conclusion, the reciter summed up the different classes of rules, adding—

"So much (of the words) of the Blessed One, handed down in the Suttas, comes into recitation every half-

month. It behoveth all to train themselves according thereto, in concord, in pleasantness, without dispute."

In spite of this pious wish, however,—repeated every fortnight,—disputes and differences of opinion did often arise in the Order, and elaborate rules are laid down in the fourth Khandhaka of the *Chullavagga* for the settlement of such disputes. The most curious portions of these rules are the provisions about the reference of disputed points to a *Jury*, and about deciding cases by the *Vote of the Majority*.

"I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to settle such a dispute by the vote of the majority. A Bhikkhu who shall be possessed of five qualifications shall be appointed as taker of the voting tickets;—one who does not walk in partiality, one who does not walk in malice, one who does not walk in folly, one who does not walk in fear, one who knows what votes have been taken and what have not been taken." IV, 9.

"I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, three ways of taking votes. The secret method, the whispering method, and the open method.

"And how, O Bhikkhus, is the secret method of taking votes? The Bhikkhu, who is the teller of votes, is to make the voting tickets of different colours, and as each Bhikkhu comes up to him, he is to say to him thus: 'This is the ticket for the man of such an opinion. This the ticket for the man of such an opinion. Take whichever you like.'

"And how, O Bhikkhus, is the whispering method of taking votes? The Bhikkhu, who is the teller of the votes, is to whisper in each Bhikkhu's ear: 'This is the ticket of those of such an opinion. This is the ticket of those of such an opinion. Take whichever you like.'

"And how, O Bhikkhus, is the open method of taking votes? If he ascertains that those whose opinion is in accordance with the Dhamma are in the majority, the vote is to be taken undisguisedly, openly." IV, 14, 26.

"If, O Bhikkhus, whilst the case is being enquired

into by those Bhikkhus, pointless speeches are brought forth, and the sense of any single utterance is not clear, I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus , to settle the case by referring it to a jury. And a Bhikkhu to be chosen on a jury must be possessed of ten qualities, *i. e.*, he must be virtuous, upright, living according to rules, versed in the traditions," &c., &c. IV, 14, 19.

"A legal question arising out of offence (*i.e.*, criminal case) is settled by three modes of settlement,—to wit, by the Proceeding in presence, and by the Proceeding on confession of guilt, and by the Proceeding by covering over, as with grass." IV, 14, 30.

"A legal question arising out of business (*i.e.*, civil case) is settled by one mode of settlement only—to wit, by the Proceeding in presence." IV, 14, 34.

Such was the earliest form of judicial procedure adopted by the Buddhist Monastic Order.

We have spoken before of the bi-monthly ceremony of Pâtimokkha which was observed by all assemblies of Bhikkhus. The great annual event was the Vassa (*Sanscrit* Varshâ), or the rainy season practices. The origin of these practices was that in India travelling about the country on foot was next to impossible in the rainy season, and Bhikkhus, therefore, had to suspend their wanderings and remain shût up in their Vihâras for the three months of the rains.

"I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you enter upon Vassa in the rainy season." *Mahâvagga*, III, 2, 2.

"They are to look after their Vihâra, to provide food and water for themselves, to fulfil all due ceremonies, such as, paying reverence to sacred shrines, &c, and to say loudly, once or twice or thrice, 'I enter upon Vassa in this Vihâra for these three months? Thus they are to enter upon Vassa." *

And when the three months of Vassa expired, every Bhikkhu invited his companions to tell him if they believed him guilty of an offence, having seen the offence, or having heard of it, or having suspected

* *Buddhaghosha*, quoted by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts*, *Part* I, p. 299.

it. *Mahâvagga*, IV, *I* 13. This ceremony was called the Pavâranâ, and it was an annual self-questioning and examination in respect of offences and sins committed, as the Pâtimokkha was a fortnightly examination. Such were the regulations laid down by the Apostle of Holy Life to cleanse out every failing and vice that human flesh is heir to.*

One can easily understand that a reformer, who was

* It does not directly concern us to learn how the *Vassa* (or *Was* as it is called) is kept by Buddhists at the present day. But nevertheless, the present forms of institutions, established twenty-four centuries ago, must always be interesting, and Dr. Rhys Davids has given so excellent an account of the *Was*, as now kept in Ceylon, that we feel no hesitation in quoting the passage:—

"The custom has survived down to the present day in southern countries, but in a form, which is a curious instance of the way in which the letter of such religious ordinances can be observed, and turned to real use, long after the reason of their original institution has ceased to operate. The wandering mendicants have become settled, celibate, parochial clergy; but every year during those months, which were the rainy season in Magadha in the time of Gautama, they leave their permanent homes; and living in temporary huts, put up by the peasantry of some districts, who specially invite them, hold a series of public services, in which they read and explain the Pâli Pitakas to all of any age or sex or caste who choose to listen. This period called *Was* (from the Sanscrit *Varsha*, rain) is in Ceylon the finest part of the year; and as there are no regular religious services at any other time, the peasantry celebrate the reading of *bana* (or the word) at *Was* time as their great religious festival. They put up under the palm trees a platform, roofed, but quite open at the sides, and ornamented with bright cloths and flowers; and round it they sit in the moonlight on the ground, and listen through the night with great satisfaction, if not with great intelligence, to the sacred words, repeated by relays of shaven monks. The greatest favorite at these readings of *bana* is the Jâtaka book, which contains so much of the old fables, stories common to the Aryan peoples. To these wonderful stories the simple peasantry, dressed in their best and brightest, listen all the night long with unaffected delight; chatting pleasantly now and again with their neighbours, and indulging all the while in the mild narcotic of the betel leaf, their stores of which (and of its never-failing adjuncts chunam, *i. e.*, white lime and the Areka nut), afford a constant occasion for acts of polite good fellowship. The first spirit of Buddhism may have passed away as completely as the old reason for *Was*; neither hearers nor preachers may have that deep sense of evil in the world and in themselves, nor that high resolve to battle with and overcome it which animated some of the early Buddhists; and they all think themselves to be earning merit by their easy service. But there is, at least at these festivals, a genuine feeling of human kindness, in harmony alike with the teachings of Gautama, and with the gentle beauty of those moonlight scenes."—*Buddhism*, pp. 57, 58.

so deeply conscious of the weaknesses of human nature, and who tried so persistently to conquer those weaknesses in his followers by constant self discipline, was naturally reluctant to admit women into the Holy Order, or to allow them to live in the same Vihâras. In the end, however, he had to yield to importunities, and allowed woman to embrace the Order as Bhikkhunîs, on certain conditions. They were :—

(1) That Bhikkhunîs should make salutations to and bow down before all Bhikkhus.

(2) That Bhikkhunîs should not spend the Vassa in places where there were no Bhikkhus.

(3) That every half month Bhikkhunîs should ascertain from Bhikkhus the dates of the Uposatha ceremony, and the time of the Exhortation.

(4) That Bhikkhunîs should hold the Pavâranâ before both the Sanghas, *i. e.*, of Bhikkhus and of Bhikkhunîs.

(5) That Bhikkhunîs, guilty of offences, should undergo discipline towards both the Sanghas.

(6) That Bhikkhunîs, as novices, should ask leave for the Upasampadâ ceremony from both the Sanghas.

(7) That Bhikkhunîs should on no pretext revile Bhikkhus.

(8) That Bhikkhus might admonish Bhikkhunîs, but the latter should not admonish the former.

Chullavagga, X, 1, 4.

It was settled that Bhikkhunîs were to recite the Pâtimokkha to Bhikkhunîs, to receive confession of sins from them, and to carry out the disciplinary proceedings against them. Rules were laid down for the conduct and behaviour of Bhikkhunîs down to the minutest details, and Bhikkhunîs received the ordination much in the same way as Bhikkhus, if free from the same disqualifications.

Thus was established the earliest Order of monks and nuns in the world. Imposing monasteries of stone were made, rules and judicial proceedings were framed and elaborated, holy manuscripts were preserved, copied, and commented upon, and systems of confession, discipline, and penance were developed in India a thousand years before the same things were

developed with a remarkable similarity in Europe. "If all this be chance, it is a most stupendous miracle of coincidence; it is in fact ten thousand miracles." * Communication among ancient and mediæval nations was not so slow as we are liable to imagine, and it is impossible not to conclude that the first originators of the monastic system in Europe had some hints from the far East where the traditions and scriptures of a religion, akin to Christianity, were preserved and perpetuated amidst wars, invasions, and troubles by holy celebate monks, retired from the world, and working in their cloisters and cells, unknown beyond the walls of their Vihâras. † But the relations between the Christian and Buddhist Monastic systems will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

* Rhys Davids. Hibbert Lectures, 1881, p. 193.

† "Seeing the destruction of men, the monks of this time assembled,
"And that the faith might last long, they wrote them in books."
Mahâvansa.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HISTORY OF BUDDHISM.

WE have in the preceding chapters briefly examined the nature of the religious revolution which commenced in India in the sixth century before Christ. It remains now to narrate a few facts relating to the spread of that religion in India, and its subsequent decline and extinction.

We are told in the *Chullavagga XI* that, on the death of Gautama, the venerable Mahâkâsyapa proposed, "Let us chant together the Dhamma and the Vinaya." The proposal was accepted, and 499 Arhats were selected for the purpose; and A'nanda, the faithful friend and follower of Gautama, completed the number 500.

"And so the Thera Bhikkhus went up to Râjagriha to chant together the Dhamma and the Vinaya." Upâli, who was a barber before, was questioned as the great authority on Vinaya, and A'nanda, the friend of Gautama, was questioned as the authority on Dhamma (Sutta).

This was the council of Râjagriha held in the year of Gautama's death, 477 B. C., to settle the sacred text and fix it on the memory by chanting it together. We will now speak of the council of Vaisâli.

"A century after the death of the Blessed One, the Bhikkhus of Vaiśâli, Vajjians, promulgated at Vaisâli the ten theses:—

"(1) That storing salt in a horn vessel was permissible.

"(2) That the mid-day meal might be eaten when the sun's shadow shewed two fingerbreadths after noon.

"(3) That he who intended to go into the village could begin to eat again after he had once left off.

"(4) That a number of Bhikkhus, residing within the same boundary, might hold Uposatha separately.

"(5) That a Sangha not at unity within itself might carry out an official act.

"(6) That it was permissible for a Bhikkhu to do anything adopted as a practice by his Upâdhyâya.

"(7) That curds might be eaten by one who had already finished his mid-day meal.

"(8) That it was permissible to drink unfermented toddy.

"(9) That a rug or mat need not be of the limited size prescribed if it had no fringe.

"(10) That it was permissible to receive gold and silver."

Yasa, the son of Kankandaka, a venerable Bhikkhu, protested against these licenses, and said to the lay disciples—

"Do, Sirs, nothing of the kind. The use of gold and silver is not allowed to the Sâkyaputtîya Sâmans.* The Sâkyaputtîya Sâmans neither allow it to be given to them, nor take charge of it. The Sâkyaputtîya Sâmans are men whose gems and jewellery have been laid aside, and who are without silver and without gold."

The other Bhikkhus of Vaisâli, however, were of a different mind, and received money, and offered Yasa's portion to him,—but he refused to accept it. On this they carried out an *Act of Reconciliation* against him on the charge of upbraiding and reviling his brother Bhikkhus.

But Yasa, nothing daunted, went out among the people, and in an eloquent harangue brought serious charges against the Bhikkhus and defended his own conduct. And the people applauded him and said, "There is but one, sirs, who is a Sâkyaputtîya Sâman,—our master Yasa the son of Kankandaka. All the rest are no Sâmans, neither Sâkyaputtîyas." When the Bhikkhus heard of this they became still more annoyed, and passed an *Act of Suspension* against Yasa for proclaiming a false doctrine among the people.

* This was the earliest name by which Buddhists were known. It means Śrâmanas, or Religious Workers, who are the followers of the Son of the Sâkya race.

. But the intrepid Yasa was not to be thus beaten. He travelled westwards to Kosambî (west of Allahabad,) and "sent messengers to the Bhikkhus of the western country, and of Avanti, and of the southern country, saying, 'Let your reverences come! We must take in charge this legal question before what is not Dhamma is spread abroad and what is Dhamma is put aside; before what is not Vinaya is spread abroad and what is Vinaya is put aside.'"

And in response to this invitation the venerable Sambhûta Sânavâsî * came from Ahoganga Hill. And sixty Bhikkhus came from the western country and eighty-eight from Avanti and the southern country, shewing that Buddhism had spread westwards towards Kanouj and southwards towards Malwa and the Deccan. And these western and southern Bhikkhus consulted together and resolved to take the opinion of Revata, a renowned teacher, who had learnt the A'gamas (the first four Nikâyas) and knew by heart the Dhamma (Sutta) the Vinaya and the Mâtikâs (Abhidhamma, or portions of them). They travelled from Soreyya to Sankassa, from Sankassa to Kannakujja (Kânyakubja or Kanouj), thence to Udumbara, to Aggalapura and to Sahajâti, where, at last, they met him. By the advice of Sambhûta Sânavâsî, Yasa consulted Revata here, and Revata assured him that the Bhikkhus of Vaisâli were wrong. And Yasa invited him to the great council which was to be held.

In the meantime the Bhikkhus of Vaisâli heard that Yasa was obtaining support from the Bhikkhus of the western provinces, and they too sought for support. They went to the renowned Revata, but Revata declined to receive them. They then bribed an attendant of Revata's and suggested to him, "Let the venerable Thera say thus much at the meeting of the Sangha, 'It is in the regions of the East that the Buddhas are born. It is the Bhikkhus of the East who hold opinions in accord with the Dhamma, whereas the

* A well-known name in Buddhist literature, and the hero of the Sânavâsi Avadâna part of the Bodhisatva Avadâna Kalpalatâ.

Bhikkhus of the West do not.'" But Revata declined to give his support to the Vaisâli Bhikkhus.

We are also told that a deity from heaven appeared before Sâlha, a venerable teacher, and said to him, "You are quite right Sâlha; it is the Eastern Bhikkhus whose opinions are against the Dhamma and the Western Bhikkhus whose opinions accord therewith."

These details, some of which are legendary, are, however, important, because they shew the true character of the difference in opinion which shook the whole Buddhist world to its centre a century after Gautama's death. The difference was between the Eastern Buddhists of Vaisali and the Western Buddhists of the provinces along the higher course of the Ganges, and also of Malwa and the Deccan. The Eastern opinions were started by the Vajjians of Vaisâli, and if the Vajjians be the same as the Turanian Yu-chi tribe, as has been supposed by Beal, the dispute was mainly between Turanian Buddhists and Hindu Buddhists. We shall see further on that the Eastern opinions were subsequently upheld by the Buddhists of the Northern school, and that the Turanian nations of the world, the Chinese, the Thibetans, &c., belong to this Northern school.

The proceedings in the council are interesting. The Sanga met at Vaisâli, and after much talk,—

"The venerable Revata laid a resolution before the Sangha:—'Let the venerable Sangha hear me. Whilst we are discussing this legal question, there is both much pointless talking, and no sense is clear in any single speech. If it seem meet to the Sangha, let the Sangha settle this question by referring it to a jury.'"

And he proposed four Bhikkhus from the East and four Bhikkhus from the West to form the jury. The Eastern Bhikkhus were Sabbakâmî (a pupil of A'nanda the faithful companion of Gautama), Sâlha, Kujjasobhita, and Vâsabha-gamika; and the Western Bhikkhus were Revata, Sânavâsî, Yasa, and Sâmana. The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously that these eight should form the jury.

The ten questions were then put one by one to the jury, and the jury disallowed all the ten licenses for which the Vaisâli Bhikkhus had contended,—except only the sixth license which, it was declared, was allowable in certain cases, and not in other cases.

At this rehearsal, seven hundred Bhikkhus took part, and the rehearsal is called "That of the seven hundred." *Chullavagga XII.* The date of this council of Vaisâli is stated to be a century after Gautama's death, *i. e.*, 377 B. C.

It must not be supposed, however, this settlement of the ten questions was finally accepted by all parties. The older and more influential members of the order decided the questions, but the majority was against them, and they seceded in large numbers from the bosom of the orthodox church, and held what is known as the great council.

"The monks of the great council turned the religion upside down;
"They broke up the original scriptures and made a new recension."

And the Northern Buddhists are the successors of these seceders. Hence the stream of Buddhism flows in two different channels, known as the Northern Buddhism of Nepal, Thibet, and China, and the Southern Buddhism of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam.

It has been well observed that new religious systems, however noble in their intrinsic worth, depend much on external circumstances for their acceptance by mankind. The Christian religion, which made little progress during the first few centuries, was then embraced by Constantine when Roman sway and Roman culture were predominant in Europe, and thus made an easy and rapid progress in the western world. The religion of Mahomet was proclaimed just when the Arabians had no rivals to oppose them in the world,—when the Roman power had declined, and the Feudal power had not been developed in Europe. In India the ancient Hindu religion had spread with the conquests of the Aryans issuing from the Punjab and subjugating the whole of India. In the same way the religion of Buddha, which made no distinction between

the Brâhman and the low born, obtained a sudden access in power, when low born kings ruled in Magadha, and were supreme over all Northern India.

The Sisunâga dynasty, to which Bimbisâra and Ajâtasatru belonged, came to a end about 370 B. C., and Nanda, born of a Sûdra woman, ascended the throne, and he and his eight sons ruled for about fifty years. A defeated rebel under the last of the Nandas escaped from Magadha about 325 B. C., and met Alexander the Great on the banks of the Sutlej. It is said that Alexander was so disgusted with the pride of this adventurer, Chandragupta, that he wished to execute him. After Alexander's departure, Chandragupta gathered round him the hardy warriors of the west, and about 320 B. C., succeeded in having the last Nanda murdered, and ascended the throne of Magadha by the help of Chânakya, the Richelieu of ancient India.

Neither Chandragupta nor his son Bindusâra was a Buddhist, but Bindusâra's successor, who ascended the throne 118 years after the Council of Vaisâli, *i. e.*, about 260 B. C., embraced the popular religion, as Constantine embraced Christianity, and became its most powerful promulgator all over India, and beyond India. Asoka's name is honored from the Volga to Japan, and from Siberia to Ceylon, and "if a man's fame can be measured by the number of hearts who revere his memory, by the number of lips who have mentioned and still mention him with honour, Asoka is more famous than Charlemagne or Cæsar."* Asoka extended his empire all over Northern India; his pillars are found at Delhi and Allahabad; and rocks bearing his inscriptions are found near Peshawar and Gujerat, between Delhi and Jaipur, and in Orissa.

He held the third Council about the 18th year of his reign, *i. e.*, about 242 B. C. One thousand elders attended the Council, which lasted for nine months under the presidency of Tissa, son of Moggali;

* Kopen, quoted in Rhys Davids's *Buddhism*, *p.* 222.

and the sacred texts were once more chanted and settled. It should be noticed that the Northern Buddhists are ignorant of this Council at Patna, as they had seceded before this date.

After the close of the Council, Asoka sent missionaries, as we are told in the *Dîpavansa* and the *Mahâvansa*, to Kashmir and Gândhâra, to Mahîsa (near modern Mysore), to Vanavâso (probably Rajputana), to Aparantaka (West Punjab), to Mahârattha, to Yonaloka (Bactria and Greek kingdoms), to Himavanta (central Himalayas), to Subannabhûmi (probably the Malay Peninsula), and to Lankâ (Ceylon). The edicts of Asoka also inform us that his orders were carried out in Chola (Tanjore), Pândya (Madura and Tinnivelli), Satyapura (Satpura range, south of the Narmadâ), Kerala (near Travancore), Ceylon, and the land of the Greek king Antiochus. And in another edict he claims to have sent embassies to five Greek kings.

We have seen before that Asoka sent his own son to Ceylon, and Mâhinda soon converted the king and spread Buddhism in Ceylon. The scenes of Mâhinda's labours are still visible in Ceylon. Eight miles from the ruined city of Anurâdhapura is the hill of Mihintale, were the Ceylonese king built a monastery for the Indian monks. "Here on the precipitous western side of the hill, under a large mass of granite rock, at a spot which, completely shut out from the world, affords a magnificent view of the plains below, he (Mâhinda) had his study hollowed out and steps cut in the rock, over which alone it could be reached. There, also, the stone couch which was carved out of the solid rock still exists, with holes, either for curtain rods, or for a protecting balustrade beside it. The great rock effectually protects the cave from the heat of the sun, in whose warm light the broad valley below is basking. Not a sound reaches it from the plain, now one far reaching forest, then full of busy homesteads. I shall not easily forget the day when I first entered that lonely cool and quiet chamber, so simple

and yet so beautiful, where more than 2000 years ago, the Great Teacher of Ceylon had sat and thought and worked through the long years of his peaceful and useful life." *

After the death of King Tissa, and of Mâhinda, Ceylon was twice overrun and conquered by Dravidian conquerors, who were finally expelled by Watta Gâmini about 88 B. C. And it was then that the Three Pitakas which had been so long preserved by word of mouth, are said to have been reduced to writing, "seeing the destruction of men," as the Dîpavansa has it.

Buddhagosha was the great commentator of Buddhist sacred works, the Sâynâchârya of Buddhism. He was a Brâhman of Magadha, and went to Ceylon and wrote the great commentaries for which he is known. He then went to Burma, about 450 A. D., and introduced Buddhism into that country.

Buddhism was introduced in Siam in 638 A. D. Java seems to have received Buddhist missionaries about the same time, and Buddhism seems to have spread thence to Sumatra. All these countries belonged to the Southern Buddhist school.

With regard to Northern Buddhism, we know that it was the prevailing faith in the north-west of India before the commencement of the Christian era. Pushpa Mitra, king of Kashmir, persecuted the Buddhists early in the second century B. C., and Pushpa Mitra's son, Agni Mitra, met the Greeks on the banks of the Ganges. The Greeks under Menander were victorious, and about 150 B. C., extended their conquests as far as the Ganges. But the victory of the Greeks was no loss to Buddhism, and Nâgârjuna, or Nâgasena, the founder of a school of Northern Buddhism, is said to have convinced the Greek king of the truth of Buddhism. We have already, in Chapter XV, quoted from the Pâli work Milindapanho, a supposed dialogue between the king and the preacher on the philosophy of the five Skandhas.

* Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*, *pp.* 230, 238.

In the first century of the Christian era, the Greeks were in their turn conquered in Western India by a Turanian tribe, the Yu-Chi. Kaniska, who belonged to this tribe, began his rule in Kashmir about 78 A. D. His vast empire extended from Cabul, over Yarkand and Khokan, over Kashmir and Rajputana, and the whole of the Punjab, to Gujerat and Sind in the south, and to Agra in the east. He was a zealous Buddhist of the Northern School, and held a Council of 500 monks. If this Council had settled the text as the Council of Asoka at Patna had done. we should now have had in our possession the settled scriptures of Northern Buddhism as we have the Three Pitakas of the South. But Kanishka's Council satisfied itself with writing three commentaries only, and Northern Buddhism therefore drifted more and more from the original religion, and assumed different forms in different countries. It is necessary only to add, that Kanishka's Council is unknown to the Southern Buddhists, as Asoka's Council is unknown to the Northern Buddhists. Asvoghosa, who has written a life of Buddha for the Northern Buddhists, lived in Kaniska's court. It is supposed that the Christian apostle St. Thomas visited Western India about this time and died a martyr. The king Gondophares of the Christian legend is supposed to be Kanishka of Kandahar.

As early as the second century B. C., Buddhist books were taken to the Emperor of China, probably from Kashmir. Another Emperor in 62 A. D. procured more Buddhist works, and Buddhism spread rapidly from that date until it became the State religion in the fourth century.

From China Buddhism spread to Korea in 372 A. D, and thence to Japan in 552 A. D., Kochin-China, Formosa, Mongolia, and other places received Buddhism from China in the fourth and fifth centuries; while from Cabul the religion travelled to Yashkand, Balk, Bokhara, and other places.

Buddhism must have penetrated into Nepal early, but the kingdom was becoming Buddhist in the sixth

century, and the first Buddhist king of Thibet sent for scriptures from India in 632 A. D.

In India, Buddhism never entirely supplanted orthodox Hinduism, and the two religions remained side by side, generally in peace for several centuries; and we shall see hereafter, that when the Chinese travellers Fa Hian and Houen Tsang came to India in 400 A. D. and 629 A. D., they found both the religions prevailing in the country. At the time of Houen Tsang, however, Buddhism was rather on the decline, and was not the prevailing religion anywhere except in Kashmir, in the Upper Punjab, in Magadha, and in Gujerat.

It was in the sixth century that Hinduism revived in a new form under the auspices of Vikramâditya the Great; and in the seventh century the Great Kumârila Bhatta, commenced his attacks on Buddhism, and he was followed by a greater writer, Sankarâchârya, who lived in the ninth century A. D. Besides these literary attacks, there was probably some real persecution also, and the discoveries at Sarnâth, near Benares, shew that "all has been sacked and burnt, priest, temples, idols, altogether; and this more than once." * The Rajputs became masters of Northern India by the 10th century A. D., and were new and zealous converts to Hinduism; and Hindu temples rapidly replaced Buddhist churches and monasteries under their regime.

At the time of the Mohammedan invasions, there was still some Buddhism lingering near Benares, in Magadha and in Orissa, besides that of the Jainas of Western India.

Such is the history of Buddhism in India, and the history suggests many serious reflexions to a Hindu. The phenomenon of a new religion taking its rise among an ancient people, and holding its own for a thousand years by the side of the old religion,—until it was suppressed by force and violence,—is unique in the history

* Major Kitto, in Cunningham's Reports.

of the world. What was there in Buddhism which ensured its success among a people so conservative and so keenly fond of forms and ceremonials as the Hindus? And what was there in the Buddhist Monastic Order which gave it its vitality, and made it assume such vast proportions through the length and breadth of India?

Stories like those of Upâli and Sunîta, which we have narrated before, suggest an explanation. Upâli was a barber and Sunîta was a sweeper, and both were probably Sûdras. Hinduism had no room for such as they, however meritorious, however virtuous, however learned they might be. Upâli and Sunîta adopted Buddhism, and they rose to honor, to fame, to priesthood. This is the weakness of Hinduism; it is a weakness which it has inherited from historic causes, and for which it has paid dearly from time to time.

Hindu Aryans, when they first came to India, waged a long and destructive war of centuries against the aborigines before they could conquer Northern India and establish their religion throughout the land. That the early Hindus would cherish feelings of hostility and contempt against these fierce aborigines was only natural. But times changed, and the millions of aborigines at last submitted themselves to the Aryans.

They adopted the civilization of their conquerors, adopted their religion as far as they were allowed to do, engaged themselves in peaceful industry and trades, acquired riches and wealth, owned villages, and even, in some instances, acquired the religious knowledge of their masters (*Chhândogya Upanishad*, IV, 2). The time had come when the Sûdras might be formally admitted within the pale of Hinduism, and allowed to learn the Hindu Vedas, practise Hindu rites, and employ Hindu priests. Such a wise concession would have strengthened Hinduism for ever after, and saved it from manifold calamities and disasters. But this was not to be. The Aryan castes were exclusive, and they rigorously kept the Sûdra out. They prohibited him from all religious knowledge and all religious rites, they

made unjust and cruel civil and criminal laws against him, and they continued to treat him as an outcast and a slave, long after he had acquired wealth and civilization and power. Such cruelty brought on its own retribution.

Millions of intelligent, virtuous and influential Sûdras sighed for a recognized status in the religious system of India.

The time came, and the man. A scion of a respected Kshatriya house descended from his status, and proclaimed that virtue not caste led to honor.

Thousands at once came over and joined Gautama Buddha, and Buddhism rapidly became a power in the land. Two centuries after Buddha, the Maurya dynasty became the masters of Northern India. They were not Kshatriyas, and were therefore looked down upon by the adherents of caste. What wonder that the great Asoka made a clean sweep of caste, and adopted the religion which honored virtue and meritorious acts rather than caste?

The same causes must have continued to operate during a thousand years after the time of Asoka. Those to whom Hinduism gave no status must have been glad to obtain a status in the more catholic religious system. Many a virtuous and intellectual and worthy member of society, whom Manu rigorously excluded from religious rites and observances, found religious consolation, and even learning, fame and distinction within the cloisters of vast monasteries. Indeed, the path to honor was made too easy and too wide; hundreds of thousands became Buddhist priests in order to live an easy and honored and slothful life; and at last Buddhism tottered to its fall on account of its unwieldy body of idle monks and nuns.

Then followed a great political revolution. Ancient nations became enfeebled, ancient dynasties were swept away, and by the tenth century, the Rajputs had become masters of Northern India. Partly through innate lifelessness, and partly through persecution and violence, Buddhism was swept out of India, and the

Hindus once more followed one common religion, the modern or Paurânik Hinduism.

An opportunity now presented itself in the 8th to 10th century after Christ, (as it had come once before in the 8th to 10th century before Christ), to deal with the Sûdras in a catholic and kindly spirit, and to admit them to the benefits of the same common religion and the same common observances. Other nations in the world,—among whom caste is unknown,—have done so. The Greeks and their helot slaves have mingled and formed the modern Greek nation. The patricians of Rome have mixed with the plebians and with foreign tribes, and formed the modern Italian nation. The Normans have mixed with the Saxons in England, and the Franks have mixed with the Celts in France. Even the haughty barons of mediæval Europe have mixed with their colonii and slaves, and formed the modern nations of Europe. Racial distinctions and political distinctions disappear one after another,—but caste distinctions, never!

The opportunity was lost. The Sûdra castes were not admitted within the pale of respectable Hinduism. Once more they were cruelly debarred from the blessings of religious instruction and rites. Aryan priests would not officiate for them, and they had to appoint Brâhmans of their own castes, (the Varna Brâhmans of modern India) to perform for them religious rites and observances in imitation of the Hindu rites.

More than this,—the Aryan Kshatriya and Vaisya castes were now permanently disunited into profession-castes:—the Kâyasthas, the Vaidyas, the goldsmiths, the potters, the weavers and others. They were disinherited of their ancient privilege of religious knowledge and the study of the Veda which now became the monopoly of Brâhmans. And the Brâhmans performed religious rites for these Aryan castes who had formerly the privilege of performing those rites themselves.

Thus there was a double injustice done,—an injustice to the sections of the ancient Kshatriya and Vaisya castes who were disinherited of religious learning, and an in-

justice to the Sûdra castes who were still left outside the pale of the Hindu religion. The injustice once again brought its own retribution.

Fifty millions of the population of India, formerly belonging to the untutored and uncared for Sûdra castes, have fallen off from the precincts of Hinduism and have embraced the faith of Islam. India of to-day is a house divided against itself.

The immediate successors of Mahomet were fired with a fervid enthusiasm to spread the faith of Islam, and to convert all Kafar nations to the religion of Mahomet. The zeal lasted for a century, and within a century from the death of Mahomet, his religion had spread from Persia and Khorasan to Spain.

Five Centuries after, this zeal scarcely survived; and when India was conquered in 1194, A.D., the conquerors were more eager to extend their dominions, to increase their revenue, and to build their mosques and palaces, than to convert the Hindus. Some acts of intolerance are recorded, but no organized attempt was made by the Musalman rulers of India to convert the population into the faith of Islam. Wars were waged for the conquest of kingdoms and for the acquisition of wealth, but History records no wars and no systematic efforts to stamp out Hinduism.

The great centres of Musalman power.—the districts of Delhi and Agra, the districts of Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Golkonda still teem with Hindu population. Royal power was not exerted in an organized way to convert the Kafar millions, and Hindus remained Hindus.

Nevertheless, by a slow process, which History does not record,—but which is well known and universally recognized now,—there was a falling off from Hinduism; there was an accession to the ranks of Islam. Non-Aryan Sûdra castes, to whom Hinduism gave no status or position, fell off by the million, and secured a status and position for themselves by embracing the Mahommedan religion. A little pressure was required to effect this end, and this little pressure was probably exerted by local Moulvies and Jaigirdars. Of all the

provinces of Northern India, Bengal Proper contained the smallest proportion of Aryan population and the largest proportion of Non-Aryan population. And of the fifty millions of the Indian Musalmans the Bengal Musalmans number nearly twenty millions.

To one who has spent the best part of his life in observing the habits and ways of these low caste Sûdra Hindus, their rapid conversion is not a matter of surprise. Thirty-five centuries ago, the Punjab Aryans debarred the conquered Dâses from all religious observances; and twenty-five centuries ago, Vasishtha indignantly declared in his *Dharma Sûtra* that the Brâhman who would officiate as priest for a Sûdra would be born again as a village pig! This feeling of contempt for the poor Sûdra survives unfortunately to the present day. Aryan Brâhmans in Bengal will not officiate as priests for the Sûdra castes, will not accept their offerings or teach them religion; and Aryan castes, like the Kâyasthas and Vaidyas, carefully avoid the Sûdra castes, the pariahs of Hinduism. The Sûdra castes hanker after an admission into the inner circle of Hinduism; they perform Hindu rites and ceremonials through Brâhmans of their own; they are often more orthodox in their beliefs and practices than the higher castes; and practically they are Hindus in every sense of the word. But nevertheless, the crystal bar of Hinduism moves not; and the Sûdra castes, eagerly pressing forward from all sides, are still debarred from the charmed circle by the adamant wall of caste! *

* A Brâhman friend of mine informs me that the Jugis of his district, an industrious, well-behaved and respectable body of people, have commenced a movement to prove their status as Hindus, and secure admission within the inner pale of Hinduism. Less respectable Sûdra castes have, within my knowledge, resolved from time to time to abjure non-Hindu practices in order to come closer to the inner circle of Hinduism. Non-Aryan aboriginal tribes, as they rise in knowledge and civilisation, adopt Hindu forms and practices, appoint Brâhmans of their own, and settle down as separate Hindu castes, outside the pale of the recognised Sûdra castes. Hinduism thus assumes the form of a number of concentric circles! The light of purity and sanctity is supposed to shine brightest within the inner circle, composed of the Brâhmans and Aryan castes, and to radiate less and less brightly to the second circle of Sûdra castes, and the third circle of recently Hinduised aboriginal castes.

Later religions are free from this weakness which has crept into Hinduism. To the poorest and humblest of Buddhists, like Upâli and Sunîta, the path was open by virtuous conduct and the acquisition of learning to honor, to distinction, and to priesthood. The poorest Christian peasant or labourer is the inheritor of all the beautiful moral precepts, all the rich consolations which that noble religion can afford to the highest princes and potentates of Europe. He is entitled to the ministration of the highest priest in the land, and in the eye of religion, he is the equal of all other Christians. The humblest Mahomedan cultivator, in the remotest corner of Bengal, considers himself a member of a great confederation; he is proud of the traditions of Mahomet and of the Arab conquests and civilization; he listens to the teachings of distinguished Moulvies and Maulanas who visit Eastern Bengal from distant parts of India; he looks towards Mecca five times in the day, and utters the same prayer which is prescribed for all Musalmans; and if he can put by some money, he undertakes a visit to that holy place. His place is assured in the great Mahomedan community, and in the eye of religion, he is not inferior to the Sultan of Turkey or the Khedive of Egypt.

The Hindu religious system gives no such assurance and no position of equality to the Sûdra castes. High caste Brâhmans will not preach to the Sûdras nor perform rites for him. He may conform to Hindu rites and come closer to Hindu practices; but he and his sons, for endless generations to come, must be content to live in the precincts of Hinduism, looking reverently on the superior sanctity of the charmed circle, and never hoping for admission therein for himself or his remotest descendant. The relations between him and the superior Hindu castes are slight, the cohesion of

These remarks do not apply to Southern India, where the Hindus (Brâhmans and all) being of Dravidian stock, the distinction between Aryan castes and Non-Aryan castes does not exist. But even there the sons of the ancient converts to Hinduism look down, I suppose, on those who are now gradually drawing closer to Hinduism.

Hinduism is feeble here. He does what the Brâhmans of *his* caste decide for him, and what the Panchayet of *his* community think to be right and proper. He remains close to Aryan Hinduism from a feeling of respect and veneration, but he receives no encouragement and no assurance, and the Aryan castes will never receive him as one of their own, as an equal member of a great and common brotherhood. What wonder, when an appeal was made to him in a popular way to turn elsewhere for consolation and an assured status, that he should respond to that appeal. What wonder that twenty millions of the Sûdra Hindus of Bengal, who were feebly attached to Aryan Hinduism by a feeling of admiration and imitation, and whom the Aryan Hindus did not recognize and did not minister to,—should have fallen off from the Hindu ranks and, under some persuasion and probably under some pressure, secured for themselves a more assured status by embracing the Mahomedan faith. And if a similar appeal, in a popular and intelligible manner, be made again to the lower classes of Hindus in Bengal, there can be little doubt that those whom the caste-system so unjustly and cruelly leaves in the shade, will probably respond to the appeal again, and some more millions may yet fall off from Hinduism to which they are so feebly attached.

It is natural for men to seek to improve their position, and the Sûdras of India, to whom Hinduism in the past and in the present has been so cruel, have struggled hard to improve their status by accepting Buddhism or Vaishnavism or Islamism or anything else which has offered them a chance. Hinduism with all its noble traditions, its rich moral lessons, and its ancient wealth of philosophy and deep thought, has continuously suffered in the past by its exclusive caste-system. In the future, a catholic and all-embracing love, and a brotherly recognition of equality may re-unite and save; an uncharitable exclusiveness will disunite and destroy.

CHAPTER XIX.

BUDDHISM AND JAINAISM.

THE Jaina religion has long been considered as an offshoot from the religion proclaimed by Gautama Buddha. Houen Tsang who travelled in India in the 7th century after Christ, viewed it in this light ; and all that we have hitherto known of the tenets of Jainaism justified this supposition.

Both Lassen and Weber denied, and with very good reasons, the independent origin of the Jaina religion, and both the scholars maintained that the Jainas were seceders from Buddhism, and had branched off from the Buddhists, and formed a sect of their own. The scriptures of the Jainas were not reduced to writing till the 5th century A.D., and M. Barth held, very plausibly, that the traditions of the Jainas as to the origin of their religion were formed of vague recollections of the Buddhist tradition. Jaina architecture in India, too, is of comparatively recent date, and, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, may be said to have commenced centuries after Buddhist architecture had declined and disappeared in India.

Doctors Bühler and Jacobi, however, have recently discovered facts, on the basis of which they contend that Jainaism had its commencement at about the same time as the religion of Gautama, and that the two religions flowed in parallel streams for long centuries, until Buddhism declined. while Jainaism still continues to be a living religion in some parts of India. We will place before our readers the facts and traditions on which this opinion is based.

The Jainas, both Svetâmvaras (with white clothing), and Digamvaras (without clothing), allege that Mahâvîra, the founder of the religion, was the son of Siddhârtha of Kundagrâma, and belonged to the clan of Jnâtrika Kshatriyas. We know that Gautama Buddha,

when travelling in Kotigrâma, was visited by the courtezan Ambapâli and the Lichchavis. This Kotigrâma is identified with Kundagrâma of the Jainas, and the Nâtikas spoken of in the Buddhist scriptures are identified with the Jnâtrika Kshatriyas. Further, Mahâvîra's mother Trisalâ, is said to have been the sister of Kataka, king of Vaisâli, whose daughter was married to the renowned Bimbisâra, king of Magadha.

Mahâvîra, at first called Vardhamâna or Jnâtriputra, was like his father a Kâsyapa. At the age of 28 he assumed the religious Order, and after twelve years of self-mortification, became a Kevalin or Jina, Tîrthakara or Mahâvîra, *i.e.*, a saint and prophet. During the last thirty years of his life, he organized his Order of ascetics. He was thus a rival of Gautama Buddha, and is mentioned in Buddhist writings under the name of Nâtaputra, as the head of the Niganthas (Nirgranthas, without clothing), already a numerous sect in Vâisali. Mahâvîra died at Pâpâ.

The Jaina tradition goes on to say that in the second century after Mahâvîra's death, there was a famine in Magadha. The renowned Chandragupta was then the sovereign of Magadha. Bhadrabâhu, with a portion of his Jaina followers, left Magadha under pressure of the famine and went to Karnâta. During his absence, the Jainas of Magadha settled their scriptures, consisting of the eleven Angas and the fourteen Puvvas, which latter are sometimes called the twelvth Anga. On the return of peace and plenty, the exiled Jainas returned to Magadha; but within these years a difference in custom had arisen between those who had stayed in Magadha, and those who had gone to Karnâta. The former had assumed a white dress, and the latter adhered to the old rule of absolute nakedness. The former were thus called Svetâmvaras, the latter were called Digamvaras. The scriptures which had been settled by the former were not accepted by the latter, and for the Digamvaras therefore there are no Angas. The final division between the two sects is said to have taken place in 79 or 82 A.D.

In course of time the scriptures of the Svetâmbaras fell into disorder, and were in danger of becoming extinct. It was necessary to record them into writing, and this was done at the Council of Valabhi (in Gujrat) in 454 or 467 A.D. The operations of the Council resulted in the redaction of the Jaina canon, in the form in which we find it at the present day.*

Besides these facts and traditions, inscriptions have been discovered on the pedestals of Jaina statues at Mathura which, according to Dr. Bühler (who first discovered this evidence), proves that the Svetâmvara sect existed in the first century A.D. The inscriptions are dated according to the era of Kanishka, king of Kashmir, *i.e.*, the Saka Era, 78 A.D. One of the inscriptions, dated 9 of the Era, (and therefore corresponding to 87 A.D.), states that the statue was erected by a Jaina lay-woman Vikatâ.

Such is the substance of the evidence on which it is contended that the Jaina religion is co-eval with Buddhism, and not an offshoot from that religion. From the mention of "Nâtaputra" and of the "Niganthas" in the Buddhist scriptures, it is reasonable to suppose that the Jaina sect of unclad ascetics had its origin, too, about the same time. Indeed, we have repeatedly stated before that various sects of ascetics lived in India, at the time when Gautama Budha lived and taught and led *his* sect of ascetics. What we find it difficult to accept is that the Jaina religion, as we have it now, was professed by the Niganthas of the sixth century B. C. The story that the Jaina canon was settled in a Council in Magadha at the time of Chandragupta is probably a pure myth; and even if that story was true, the canon settled in the third century B. C., would be very different from the canon recorded in the fifth century A. D. For there can be little doubt that the early tenets of the first Niganthas have long since been modified, and completely transformed; and that the more cultured section of that body who adopted a white garment, continuously borrowed their maxims and precepts,

* Dr. Hoernle's Introduction to his translation of the Uvâsagadasâo.

their rules and customs, their legends and traditions from Buddhism, which was the prevailing religion of India after the third century B.C. Thus the Jainas drifted more and more towards Buddhism for long centuries, until they had adopted the substance of the Buddhist religion as their own, and very little of the early tenets of the unclad Niganthas was left. It was then,—in the fifth century A.D.,—that their scriptures were recorded, and it is no wonder that those scriptures appear like a copy of the Buddhist scriptures recorded *six centuries before*. Admitting, then, the independent origin of the Niganthas in the sixth century B C., we hardly think Houen Tsang was very far wrong, when he described the Jaina religion, as he saw it in the seventh century (and as we see it in the present day), to be an offshoot from Buddhism.

Among the other sects of ascetics which flourished side by side with the Buddhists and the Niganthas in the sixth century B.C., the A'jîvakas, founded by Gosâla, were the best known in their day. Asoka names them in his inscriptions along with the Brâhmans and Niganthas. Gosala was therefore a rival of Buddha and Mahâvîra; but his sect has now ceased to exist.

It follows from what has been stated before, that the religious tenets of the Jainas differ but slightly from that of the Buddhists. Like the Buddhists, the Jainas have their Monastic Order, and they refrain from killing animals, and praise retirement from the world. In some respects they even go further than the Buddhists, and maintain that not only animals and plants, but the smallest particles of the elements, fire, air, earth, and water, are endowed with life or jîva. For the rest, the Jainas, like the Buddhists, reject the Veda and are agnostics; they accept the tenets of *Karma* and of *Nirvâna*, and believe in the transmigration of souls. They also believe in 25 Tîrthakaras, as the early Buddhists believed in 24 Buddhas who had risen before Gautama Buddha.

The sacred books or A'gamas of the Jainas consist of

seven divisions among which the Angas form the first and most important division. The Angas are eleven in number, of which the A'châranga Sûtra, setting forth the rules of conduct of Jaina monks, has been translated by Dr. Jacobi, and the Upâsakadasâh, setting forth the rules of conduct of Jaina laymen, has been translated by Dr. Hœrnle.

We will now present our readers with some extracts relating to the life of Mahâvîra from the A'châranga Sûtra. Hermann Jacobi, the learned translator of the work, assigns to it the third or fourth century B. C., but from the verbose and artificial language of the work, many readers will be inclined to assign to it a date as many centuries after Christ. The entire work reads like a very distant and very perverted imitation of the simple Buddhist accounts of the life of Gautama.

"When the Kshatriyânî Trisalâ, having seen these fourteen illustrious great dreams, awoke, she was glad, pleased and joyful, ... rose from her couch and descended from the footstool. Neither hasty nor trembling, with a quick and even gait like that of a royal swan, she went to the couch of the Kshatriya Siddhârtha. There she awakened the Kshatriya Siddhârtha, addressing him with kind, pleasing, amiable, tender, illustrious, beautiful, lucky, blest, auspicious, fortunate, heart-going, heart-easing, well-measured, sweet and soft words 'O beloved of the gods, I was just now on my couch and awoke after having seen the fourteen dreams, to wit, an elephant, &c. What, to be sure, O my Lord, will be the happy result portended by these fourteen illustrious great dreams?' He grasped the meaning of those dreams with his own innate intelligence and intuition, which were preceded by reflection, and addressing the Kashatriyâni Trisalâ with kind, pleasing, &c, words, spoke, thus: 'O beloved of the gods, you have seen illustrious dreams, &c. you will give birth to a lovely, handsome boy, who will be the ensign of our family, the lamp of our family, the crown of our family, the

frontal ornament of our family, the maker of our family's glory, the sun of our family, the stay of our family, the maker of our family's joy and fame, the tree of our family, the exalter of our family.

"Surrounded by many chieftains, satraps, kings, princes, knights, sheriffs, heads of families, ministers, chief ministers, astrologers, counsellors, servants, dancing masters, citizens, traders, merchants, foremen of guilds, generals, leaders of caravans, messengers and frontier-guards, he—the lord and chief of men, a bull and a lion among men, shining with excellent lustre and glory, lovely to behold like the moon emerging from a great white cloud in the midst of the flock of the planets and of brilliant stars and asterisms—left the bathing-house, entered the exterior hall of audience and sat down on his throne with the face towards the east. 'Quickly, O beloved of the gods, call the interpreters of dreams who well know the science of prognostics with its eight branches, and are well versed in many sciences besides'! When the interpreters of dreams had heard and perceived this news from the Kshatriya Siddhârtha, they—glad, pleased, and joyful, &c.—fixed the dreams in their minds, entered upon considering them, and conversed together.

"In that night in which the venerable ascetic Mahâvîra was born, there was a divine lustre originated by many descending and ascending gods and goddesses, and in the universe, resplendent with one light, the conflux of gods occasioned great confusion and noise. Before the venerable ascetic Mahâvîra had adopted the life of a householder (*i.e.*, before his marriage), he possessed supreme, unlimited, unimpeded knowledge and intuition. The venerable ascetic Mahâvîra perceived with this his supreme unlimited knowledge and intuition that the time for his Renunciation had come. He left his silver, he left his gold, he left his riches, corn, majesty and kingdom, his army, grain, treasure, storehouse, town, seraglio, and subjects; he quitted and rejected his real, valuable property, such as

riches, gold, precious stones, jewels, pearls, conches, stones, corals, rubies, &c; he distributed presents through proper persons. He distributed presents among indigent persons. The venerable ascetic Mahâvîra for a year and a month wore clothes; after that time he walked about naked, and accepted the alms in the hollow of his hand. For more than twelve years the venerable ascetic Mahâvîra neglected his body and abandoned the care of it; he with equanimity bore, underwent, and suffered all pleasant or unpleasant occurrences arising from divine powers, men or animals. During the thirteenth year, in the second month of summer, in the fourth fortnight, the light (fortnight) of Vaisâkha, on its tenth day, when the shadow had turned towards the east and the first wake was over, on the day called Suvrata, in the Muhûrta called Vijaya, outside of the town Jrimbhikagrâma on the bank of the river Rijupâlikâ, not far from an old temple, in the field of the householder Sâmâga, under a sâl tree, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalgunî, (the Venerable One) in a squatting position with joined heels exposing himself to the heat of the sun, after fasting two and a half days without drinking water, being engaged in deep meditation, reached the highest knowledge and intuition, called Kevala, which is infinite, supreme, unobstructed, unimpeded, complete, and full.

"In that period, in that age, the venerable ascetic Mahâvîra stayed the first rainy season in Asthikagrâma, three rainy season in Champâ and Prishtichampâ, twelve in Vaisâli and Vanijagrâma, fourteen in Râjagriha and the suburb of Nâlanda, six in Mithilâ, two in Bhadrikâ, one in Alabhikâ, one in Panitabhûmi, one in Srâvasti, one in the town of Pâpâ, in king Hastipâla's office of the writers: that was his very last rainy season. In the fourth month of that rainy season, in the seventh fortnight, in the dark (fortnight) of Kârtika, on its fifteenth day, in the last night, in the town of Pâpâ, in king Hastipâla's office of the writers, the venerable ascetic Mahâvîra died, went off, quitted

the world, cut asunder the ties of birth, old age, and death ; became a Siddha, a Buddha, a Mukta, a maker of the end (to all misery), finally liberated, freed from all pains."

The Upâsakadasâh, as its name indicates, details the duties of Jain laymen in 10 lectures. The first lecture details the vows and observances that must regulate a layman's conduct ; the next four lectures detail various kinds of temptations arising from external persecutions ; the sixth lecture treats of temptations from internal doubts, and specially from the antagonism of other religions like that of the A'jîvakas founded by Gosâla ; the seventh shews the superiority of the Jaina religion ; the eighth dwells on the temptations to sensual enjoyments ; and the ninth and tenth give examples of a quiet and peaceful career of a faithful Jaina layman.

We are unable to make room for extracts from Dr. Hœrnle's translation of this work, but we will glean some facts from the portion which treats of A'nanda's conversion, which will be interesting, as detailing many articles of luxury in which a Hindu householder indulged in the olden times. A'nanda does not become a monk, but only becomes a Jaina layman, and he therefore takes the five lesser vows, *anu-vratâni*, in contrast with the *mahâ vratâni* of monks, as also the disciplinary vows.

A'nanda renounces all gross ill-usage of living beings, all gross lying, and all gross theft. He contents himself with one wife, saying, " excepting with one woman, Sivanandâ my wife, I renounce every other kind of sexual intercourse." He limits himself to the possession of a *treasure* of four kror measures of gold deposited in a safe place, of a *capital* of four kror measures of gold put out on interest, and of a well stocked *estate* of the value of four kror measures of gold. Similarly he limits himself to the possession of four herds each consisting of ten thousand head of cattle, to the possession of 500 ploughs, and land at the rate of 100 *nivartanas* for each plough, to the possession of five hundred carts

for foreign traffic and five hundred carts for home traffic, and lastly, to the possession of four boats for foreign traffic and four boats for home use. The above enumeration gives us a very fair idea of a Hindu capitalist, land-owner, money-lender, and merchant of olden days,—a Seth, such as Jains have always been in India. We now turn to the articles of household use and luxury.

A'nanda limits himself to one kind of red-tinted bathing towel, to one kind of green stick for tooth cleaning, to one kind of fruit, the milky pulp of A'malaka, or two kinds of oil as unguents, to one kind of scented powder, to eight *gharas* of washing water, to one kind of clothes, *viz*, "a pair of cotton clothes," to perfumes made of aloes, saffron, sandal, and similar substances, to one kind of flower, the white lotus, to two kinds of ornaments, *viz.*, ear-pendants and a finger ring engraved with his name, and to certain kinds of incense.

With regard to food he limits himself in his use of beverages to a decoction of pulses or rice, and in the use of pastry to such as are fried in clarified butter or turned in sugar. He confines himself to boiled rice of the cultivated varieties, to *dâl* made of *kalai*, *mug* or *mâs*, to clarified butter produced from cow's milk in autumn, to certain kinds of curry, to one kind of liquor made from *pâlangâ*, to plain relishes or sauces, to rain water as drinking water, and lastly, to betel with its five spices. Many of our readers will be inclined to think that our friend A'nanda, with his broad acres and large trade, and with the articles of use and luxury left to him, was not so badly off after all.

CHAPTER XX.

BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

THE moral precepts and teachings of Buddhism have so much in common with those of Christianity, that some connexion between the two systems of religion has long been suspected. Candid inquirers, who have paid attention to the history of India and of the Greek world during the centuries immediately preceding the Christian Era, and noted the intimate relationship which existed between those countries, in scientific, religious, and literary ideas, found no difficulty in believing that Buddhist ideas and precepts penetrated into the Greek world before the birth of Christ. The discovery of Asoka's inscription of Girnar, which tells us that that enlightened Emperor of India made peace with five Greek kings, and sent Buddhist missionaries to preach his religion in Syria, explains to us the process by which the ideas were communicated. Researches into the doctrines of the Therapeuts in Egypt, and of the Essenes in Palestine, leave no doubt even in the minds of such devout Christian thinkers as Dean Mansel, that the movement which those sects embodied was due to Buddhist missionaries, who visited Egypt and Palestine within two generations of the time of Alexander the Great. Some moderate Christians admit that Buddhism in Syria was a preparation, a "forerunner" (to quote the word used by Professor Mahaffy) of the religion preached by Jesus over two centuries later. A few writers like Bunsen, Seydel, and Lillie go further, and maintain that the Christian religion has sprung directly from Buddhism. We do not maintain this opinion, but there can be little doubt, on the facts now before us, that Christian legends and traditions, forms, institutions, and moral precepts are to a great extent based on Buddhism.

The myths connected with the birth of Buddha are strangely similar to those relating to the birth of Jesus. In both the cases there was a divine annunciation, both to the father and to the mother of the child, and both the children were miraculously born, or virgin-born. "By the consent of the King," says the Lalita Vistâra, "the Queen was permitted to lead the life of a maiden, and not of a wife, for the space of thirty-two months." We are not aware, however, that this myth is to be found in the older Pâli records of the southern Buddhists.

As in the case of Jesus, a star presided at the birth of Gautama, and the star was Pushya, indentified by Colebrook with δ of cancer. Asita, the Simeon of Buddhist story, came to Gautama's father and wished to see the divine child. "The Raja," says the Pâli version,* "caused the infant, richly clad, to be brought, that he (the infant) might do homage to the Brâhman." The sage saw the child and burst into a flood of tears. On being asked the reason, he replied, "Because I am old and striken in years and shall not live to see the glory of his Buddhahood. Therefore do I weep."

We do not attach much importance to the good omens which are said to have hailed the auspicious event in the one case as in the other. At Buddha's birth "the blind received their sight as if from very longing to behold his glory; the deaf heard the noise; the dumb spake one with another; the crooked became straight; the lame walked; all prisoners were freed from bonds and chains."† Such happy events are narrated by the followers of all religions as attending on the birth of their Great Masters.

We have commented before on the close and remarkable resemblance between the temptation of Gautama and the temptation of Jesus. The story of the temptation is told in a poetic garb in the Lalita Vistâra, but even as told in the southern records, it has a curious resemblance with the biblical story. Like Jesus, Gautama had twelve disciples. "Only in my religion,"

* Turnour, *Journal Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII, quoted by Lillie.
† Rhys Davids, *Birth stories*, p. 64.

said he shortly before his death, "can be found the twelve great disciples who practise the highest virtues, and excite the world to free itself from its torments."* And the same missionary spirit impelled the preacher of Kapilavastu and the preacher of Bethlehem. "Depart each man in a different direction," said Gautama, "no two on the same road. Let each preach *Dharma* to all men without exception." †

We will see hereafter that the same catholic spirit to publish the truth among men of all persuasions, among believers and among unbelievers, marks the edicts of Asoka, and impelled that great emperor to send preachers to the ends of the earth in the third century B. C. And Jesus too worked in the same spirit and spake thus, "Go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. And as ye go, preach, saying the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

Of the moral precepts of Gautama we have said enough in a previous chapter. To do good unto those who smite you, to love those who hate and persecute you, to relinquish the world for righteousness;—these are the cardinal principles of Buddhism and of Christianity; these are sublime precepts which were proclaimed on earth by Gautama and by Jesus. The very phraseology of Gautama's teachings has a remarkable resemblance with those of Jesus. The utterances of Gautama, which we find in the Dhammapada, must have been carried by pious Buddhists to the ends of the earth, and were current as household words among the Essenes of Palestine, when the great founder of Christianity lived and taught.

Baptism is common to Buddhism and to Christianity, and indeed John the Baptist adopted the rite of baptism from the Essenes, who admittedly represented the Buddhist movement in Palestine before the birth of Christ. When Jesus was a young preacher in Galilee, the fame of John the Baptist reached him. Jesus went to John and lived with him, and no doubt learnt

* Bigandet, p. 301.
† Bigandet, p. 126.

from John much of the precepts and teachings of the Essenes, and adopted the rite of baptism which John had practised so long.

Baptism has since been accepted as a fundamental rite in Christendom. A Christian acknowledges the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost at baptism, while a Buddhist, after *abhisheka*, acknowledges Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha. Mr. Arthur Lillie contends that the Father and the Son of the Christian doctrine represent the Buddha and the Dharma of the Buddhist doctrine, and that the Holy Spirit and Sangha represent the same primal idea of "union." Many other Christian writers and travellers have detected a marked resemblance between the Buddhist Trinity and the Christian Trinity, but we are unable to give an opinion on this subject.

We pass by the subject of miracles, which are said to have been performed both by Gautama and by Jesus. And we also pass by Gautama's parables, of which we have said something in a previous chapter, and which have such a remarkable resemblance with Christian parables. Renan, who is so unwilling to admit Buddhist influence on the development of the Christian faith, nevertheless states that there was nothing in Judaism which could have furnished Jesus with a model for the parable-style. On the other hand, "we find in the Buddhist books parables of exactly the same tone and the same character as the Gospel parables." *

We will make a passing allusion to the theory of metempsychosis, which was first originated in India, and borrowed from the Hindus by Pythagoras in the 6th century, B. C. Buddhists accepted the belief, and the Jews of the time of Jesus Christ universaliy held the doctrine under the name of *Gilgal*. "Who did sin, this man or his parents that he was born blind?" (John, ix, 3.) If a man could be born blind for sin committed by himself, that sin must have been committed in a previous life. The doctrine of resurrection has something in common with the Hindu theory of transmigra-

* *Life of Jesus* (Translation), p. 136.

tion of souls, and the doctrine of original sin is said by some writers to be a modification of the same idea, and of the Buddhist doctrine of *Karma*. Similarity in such beliefs, however, shews that ancient nations thought much in the same way, or borrowed their ideas from one another ; it does not shew that the early Christians were indebted to the Buddhists in particular.

It is when we come from such doctrinal matters to monastic forms, rites, and ceremonies, that we are struck with the most remarkable resemblance, a resemblance which (even Dr. Rhys Davids admits) would be more than miraculous if it was fortuitous.

Dr. Fergusson, from whose book on Indian and Eastern Architecture, we will draw much valuable information later on, makes some remarks about Buddhist cave-temples which are suggestive. Speaking of the cave-temple of Karli, the date of which he fixes at 78 B. C., he says: "The building resembles, to a great extent, an early Christian Church in its arrangements, consisting of a nave and side aisles, terminating in an apse or semidome, round which the aisle is carried. As a scale for comparison, it may be mentioned that its arrangements and dimensions are very similar to those of the choir of Norwich Cathedral, and of the Abbaye aux Hommes at Caen, omitting the outer aisles in the latter building. Immediately under the semidome of the apse, and nearly where the altar stands in Christian Churches, is placed the Dagopa."

But the architectural similarity sinks into insignificance in comparison with the resemblance in rituals between the Buddhist and the Roman Catholic church. A Roman Catholic Missionary, Abbé Huc, was much struck by what he saw in Thibet. "The crozier, the mitre, the dalmatic, the cope or pluvial, which the grand llamas wear on a journey, or when they perform some ceremony outside the temple, the service with a double choir, psalmody, exorcisms, the censer swinging on five chains and contrived to be opened or shut at will, benediction by the llamas with the right hand extended over the heads of the faithful, the chaplet,

sacerdotal celebacy, lenten retirements from the world, the worship of saints, fasts, processions, litanies, holy water, these are the points of contact between the Buddhists and ourselves." Mr. Arthur Lillie, from whose book the above passage is quoted, remarks, "the good Abbé has by no means exhausted the list, and might have added confessions, tonsure, relic worship, the use of flowers, lights and images before shrines and altars, the sign of the cross, the Trinity in Unity, the worship of the Queen of Heaven, the use of religious books in a tongue unknown to the bulk of the worshippers, the aureole or nimbus, the crown of saints and Buddhas, wings to angels, penance, flagellations, the flabellum or fan, popes, cardinals, bishops, abbots, presbyters, deacons, the various architectural details of the Christian temple. To this list Balfour's Cyclopædia of India adds amulets, medicines, illuminated missals, and Mr. Thomson (Illustrations of China, vol. II, p. 18), baptism, the mass, requiems." *

It is not possible for us to go into the details of all these rites and ceremonies, or to point out how the whole fabric and structure of the Roman Catholic system seems like a copy of the Buddhist system. So strong is the resemblance, that the first Christian missionaries who travelled in Thibet and China believed and recorded their impression that the Buddhist church had borrowed their rites and forms from the Roman Catholic church. We will shew, however, in our next Book that the Buddhists excavated many of their great church edifices in India before Jesus Christ was born; that a vast monastery, a wealthy church, and a learned university flourished in Nâlanda, near Patna, before similar church edifices and monasteries were seen in Europe; and that as Buddhism declined in India, gorgeous Buddhist rites, ceremonials, and institutions were copied from Nâlanda and other places by Buddhists in Thibet, China, and other countries, before Europe had yet recovered from the invasions of barbarous races, or had developed her Feudal civilization or Feudal Church system. A few forms and rites

* *Buddhism in Christendom*, p 202.

may in later days have been borrowed by Buddhist nations from Europe, though even this is doubtful; but the entire structure of church government and church institutions—in so far as there is resemblance between the two systems,—was borrowed from the east by the west, not from the west by the east.

But we are not concerned here with the later forms and institutions of the Buddhist church. The glory of Buddhism consists not in the pompous ceremonials which were witnessed in Nâlanda and Thibet, and which were reproduced after several centuries in Rome, but in the moral precepts of surpassing beauty which were preached in Benares and Râjagriha by Gautama himself, and were repeated after five centuries in Jerusalem. "Never has any one," says M. Renan, "so much as he (Jesus) made the interests of humanity predominate in his life over the littlenesses of self-love. There never was a man, Sâkya Muni, perhaps excepted, who has to this degree trampled under foot family, the joys of this world, and all temporal care." We have indicated how these precepts were communicated to the west by the missionaries of Asoka the Great; we will now mention a few facts which will explain how they were received and how they spread.

Dean Mansel admits that the philosophy and rites of the Therapeuts of Alexandria were borrowed from the Buddhist missionaries who visited Egypt within two generations of the time of Alexander the Great. Philosophers like Schelling and Schopenhaner, and scholars like Lassen support this view. Dean Milman maintains that the Therapeuts sprang from the contemplative fraternities of India.

The Essenes of Palestine were the same sect as the Therapeuts of Egypt.*

They alike adopted the Buddhist practice of enforced vegetarianism. They refused to go to the temple sacrifices at Jerusalem. They practised

* "The Therapeutæ of Philo are a branch of the Essenes. Their name appears to be but a Greek translation of that of the Essenes."—Renan's *Life of Jesus*.

celebacy and believed in the eight stages of progress answering to the eight-fold path of the Buddhists. They believed in baptism answering to the Buddhist *Abhisheka*. We have said before that John the Baptist adopted the Essene custom of baptism. It is maintained by some writers that the Baptist was an Essene himself.*

Pliny, the Naturalist, who flourished between 23 and 79 A. D., thus describes the Essenes: "On the western shore (of the Dead Sea), but distant from the sea far enough to escape its noxious breezes, dwelt the Essenes. They are an Eremite clan, one marvellous beyond all others in the whole world, without any women, with sexual intercourse entirely given up, without money, and the associates of palm trees. Daily is the throng of those who crowd about them renewed, men resorting to them in numbers, driven through weariness of existence and the surges of ill fortune in their manner of life. Thus it is that through thousands of ages, incredible to relate, their society, in which no one is born, lives on perennial." (Hist. Nat., V, 17.)†

This is a most remarkable piece of evidence. It is the evidence of an impartial and cultured Roman, describing the progress which eastern ideas and institutions had made in Palestine at the time of Jesus Christ. We see in the passage given above, the result which Buddhist missionaries had achieved in Palestine in three centuries from the time of Asoka. They had founded a sect there answering to the Buddhists of India, and the sect followed the same practices, engaged themselves in the same speculations, and lived the same abstemious and celebate life as the Indian Buddhists. The heritage of Gautama's moral precepts was not lost on them; they revered it, and repeated it and spread it among the pious and thoughtful among the Jews.

We are content to leave the matter here. We have

* See Bunsen's *Angel Messiah of Buddhists, Essenes and Christians*, p. 149.

† Quoted from *Buddhism in Christendom*.

proved that Buddhism was preached in Syria in the 3rd century B. C. We have proved that Buddhism was received in Palestine and Egypt, and that sects answering to the Buddhists, lived in those countries when Christ was born, and have been described in the impartial pages of Pliny. We have proved that Christ came in contact with their rites and teachings through John, as well as through various other channels probably. And lastly, we have shewn the remarkable resemblance between Christian moral precepts and Buddhist precepts in sentiment and in language, between Christian resignation of the world and Buddhist resignation, between Christian and Buddhist rites and legends and forms. Is this coincidence fortuitous? Let each reader form his own opinion on the subject.

Some writers go so far as to maintain that early Christianity was Essenism, *i. e.*, Buddhism as it prevailed in Palestine. We do not agree in this opinion. Christianity in doctrinal matters is little indebted to Buddhism,—Christ having adopted the national Monotheistic faith of the Jews, as Gautama had adopted the national beliefs of the Hindus in Transmigration and final Beatitude. Christianity as an ethical and moral advance on the religions of antiquity is based undoubtedly on Buddhism, as preached in Palestine by the Essenes when Jesus was born.

Here we close our brief review of the Rationalistic Period, which is certainly the most brilliant period of Hindu culture and civilization. It is curious that this period coincides with the most brilliant period of Greek culture; and the coincidence in dates naturally suggests a comparison between the two gifted Aryan nations of the ancient world, the Greeks and the Hindus.

The comparison is certainly to the advantage of the Greeks in some respects. The Hindus, proud of their ancient civilization which was developed in India, seldom cared to learn from nations outside India. The Greeks who borrowed their early civilization from surrounding countries,—from Phœnicia, Asia Minor, Assy-

ria, Egypt, and even from Persia and India,—never forgot the advantages of cultivating the acquaintance of their neighbours, and learning whatever they had to teach. The Hindus evolved laws and sciences and systems of religion from their own ideas; the Greeks travelled and learnt, and soon carried their civilization and arts to a high state of perfection. India boasts of greater originality; Greece is proud of a more perfect culture, a more practical and rational and comprehensive knowledge of things in general.

In departments of knowledge which depend upon *reflection* more than on *observation*, the Hindus remained unrivalled and unapproached. The science of language and grammar was perfected in India, and the Greeks never equalled the Hindus. A rigid system of mental philosophy was developed in India such as the Greeks never equalled. And systems of religion and morality were developed in India to which the Greeks can shew no parallel. On the other hand the Greeks gathered stores of knowledge from all the civilized world and soon dealt with them with a practical ability and a comprehensive and many-sided intellect, which experience and observation helped to develop. They took note of passing events, and wrote excellent histories. They developed a maritime commerce, and fringed the shores of the Mediterranean with their colonies. They fought their battles, conquered territories and developed a system of government on a sound popular basis. They carried sculpture and architecture to a state of perfection which no nation in the world has ever equalled before or since. And lastly, they based their sciences on observation of facts, and thus laid the foundation of the modern inductive sciences. Greece had no rigid mental philosopher like Kapila, but India had no scientist with an intellect so great and comprehensive, so observant and many-sided as Aristotle.

Both the Greeks and the Hindus declined after an age of exceptionally brilliant culture, and the mediæval Greeks were no more capable of keeping up their

ancient culture, than the Hindus under the Musalman rule were able to preserve ancient Hindu learning. But other nations have vounteered to keep up the heritage left by the Greeks. The Romans, the Arabs, and the modern nations of Europe, have successively taken up Greek culture as the basis of their own learning and civilization. Ancient Hindu works have come down to us in an imperfect and mutilated state, while ancient Greek works have received the attention and the care of all the civilized races of the world since the downfall of Greece. India suffers therefore from a double disadvantage in this comparison. Her ancient epics and philosophy and other works have come down to us in a less perfect state than those of the Greeks ; and in the second place, they do not receive the same consideration as Greek works in the hands of modern nations who are so immediately indebted to the Greeks for their own civilization.

And yet if modern critics could lay aside their predilections, and judge impartially between the Hindus and the Greeks, they would certainly pause before giving a verdict. For the great discoveries which go to form modern civilization, the world is indebted to the Hindus more than to the Greeks. Astronomy and Geometry were cultivated in India and then cultivated in Greece. Arithmetic and Grammar were invented in India, and never thoroughly perfected in Greece. Gautama and Vasishtha had recorded their elaborate laws before the rude laws of Solon and Draco were known in Greece. Kapila's philosophy is modern philosophy and has no parallel in Greece, and logic too was probably invented in India, and then perfected by Aristotle. And lastly, Greek travellers, familiar with the civilized administration of Greek rulers, were nevertheless struck by the organized and thorough and far-reaching administration of Hindu kings, and the polished and humane manners of the Hindu people.

But far above all this,—the noble system of Christian ethics and morality, which is the pride of modern civilization, had its " forerunner " in India, not in Greece.

Churches for service and devotion, as distinguished from temples for idols, were known in ancient India, not in Greece. And the monastic system,—which for a thousand years has given a refuge in Europe to the weak and the oppressed, the thoughtful and the learned, from a rude and disturbed world, which has fostered universities and science and learning, and which to this day prevails over one half of Christendom,—was first known and first organized in India, not in Greece.

It is not given to the same nation to excel in all things, and among the Aryan nations of the earth, the Hindus and the Greeks shared between them the honor of developing and spreading early culture. The Greeks were an active people, and were by their very position fitted to spread early civilization all around them ; they founded Greek colonies and spread Greek culture over Southern Europe and Western Asia. It is not likely that this service in the cause of civilization will ever be forgotten. But it is necessary also to remember, that much of this culture was originated elsewhere. The Hindus were passive and home-loving, thoughtful and contemplative, and were peculiarly fitted to develop great ideas, to think out new discoveries, and to invent new sciences and departments of knowledge. And as the researches of scholars are disclosing the origin of modern institutions and sciences, we are gradually learning, with a joyful surprise, how much the world owes, for its present store of knowledge and civilization, to the Hindus of a past age.

It may almost be asserted without much exaggeration that Greece perfected and spread ancient Aryan culture,—India originated it. " If there is a country on earth," says the eminent French scholar Creuzer, " which can justly claim the honour of having been the cradle of the human race, or at least the scene of a primitive civilization, the successive developments of which carried into all parts of the ancient world,—and even beyond, the blessings of knowledge, which is the second life of man, that country assuredly is India."

BOOK IV.

BUDDHIST PERIOD—B.C., 242 TO A.D. 500.

CHAPTER I.

ASOKA THE GREAT AND HIS EDICTS.

THE Buddhist Period begins with the brilliant reign of Asoka the Great. No greater prince had ever reigned in India since the Aryans first colonized this country, and no succeeding monarch equalled his glory, if we only except Vikramâditya of the sixth century, and the great Akbar of the sixteenth century. But the claims of Asoka to greatness rest less on the extent of his empire and of his prowess than on the liberal and catholic spirit which inspired his internal administration and his foreign policy, and the fervent love of truth, and the desire to spread the truth, which have made his name a household word from Siberia to Ceylon. No monarch of India, not even Vikramâditya or Akbar, has such a world-wide reputation, and none has exerted such influence on the history of the world by his zeal for righteousness and virtue.

More than two centuries before the time of Asoka, Bimbisâra and Ajâtasatru had extended the limits of the Magadha empire, east and west, when Gautama Buddha was still living and preaching his religion. Asoka's grandfather, the powerful Chandra Gupta, had, after the retreat of Alexander the Great, extended the limits of the Magadha empire over the whole of Northern India. Asoka's father, Bindusâra, upheld the glory of Chandra Gupta, and young Asoka was sent during his father's lifetime to be Viceroy of Ujjayinî. If we may rely on the writer of the *Asoka Avadâna*,* Asoka was born of a Brâhmanî queen,

* Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra's *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 38.

named Subhadrângî. The same authority tells us that Asoka was turbulent in his younger days, and had to be sent to the western frontier to quell a mutiny which had broken out in Takshasîlâ, which he did with eminent success. After the death of Bindusâra, Asoka ascended the throne, and the date of his coronation is generally believed to be 259 or 260 B. C.

The works both of the Northern and the Southern Buddhists contain little that is authentic about Asoka's reign. The Ceylonese accounts have it that Asoka put to death 99 of his brothers (only 6 according to Târânâtha) before ascending the throne; while the *Asoka Avadâna* states that the emperor killed his officers and their wives, and subjected crowds of innocent people to the most refined cruelties before his conversion to Buddhism. These stories are absolutely unfounded, and were invented to heighten the merit of the Buddhist religion by blackening the character of Asoka before his conversion to that creed.

Fortunately for us, the great emperor has left us his edicts,—not in the garbled stories of later poets and chroniclers,—but in inscriptions cut on ROCKS, CAVES and PILLARS, by his own order, in his own time, and in the language and the alphabet of the time. The historical information conveyed in these inscriptions has been recently pieced together with great learning and ingenuity by the illustrious French scholar Senart, and we will glean some facts from his learned work *Les Inscription de Piyadasi* in two volumes.

The 14 Edicts on Rocks appear to have been inscribed in the 13th and 14th years from Asoka's coronation, while the 8 Edicts on Pillars were inscribed in the 27th and 28th years. The last of the Pillar Edicts is the last expression of the great emperor's ideas and wishes that is available to us. The Edicts in Caves were intermediate in point of time between those on Rocks and those on Pillars.

The Dîpavansa and the Mahâvansa maintain that Asoka was converted to Buddhism in the fourth year after his anointment. But M. Senart proves from

the inscriptions themselves that the conversion really took place in the ninth year after the anointment, and immediately after the emperor had conquered Kalinga. It was the spectacle of the war of Kalinga, and of the cruel and sanguinary acts which accompanied it, that created a lasting impression on the mind of the benevolent emperor, and made him disposed to embrace the gentle and merciful creed of Gautama. Two years after, *i. e.*, in the 11th year after his coronation, Asoka was converted a second time, *i. e.*, he was led to spread and proclaim the faith more zealously than he had done before; and from the 13th year he began to cause his Edicts to be inscribed in all parts of his great empire. We will see further on that in his 13th Rock Edict, Asoka names five Greek kings as his contemporaries. All these kings reigned between 268 and 258 B. C. Asoka was already a zealous Buddhist when he made treaties with these kings, and if the date of the treaties be supposed to be 258 B.C., Asoka's coronation, M. Senart argues, must have taken place about 270 B. C., not about 260 B. C. as is generally supposed. The difference of ten years is, however, of little importance in ancient Indian History.

We learn from the inscriptions that Asoka had brothers and sisters living at the time of the inscriptions; and the story that Asoka killed his brothers in order to ascend the throne must therefore be rejected as false. The emperor had more than one queen, and one inscription describes the liberality of his second queen (Dutiyâ Devî). Pâtaliputra was the capital of the empire, but Ujjayinî, Takshasîlâ, Tasalî and Samâpâ are spoken of as subject towns, and the conquest of Kalinga has already been spoken of before. The whole of Northern India owned the emperor's sway.

Fourteen nations (*A'parântas*) living beyond the limits of Northern India also owned his suzerainty. In this category are mentioned the Yavanas (of Bactria), the Kambojas (of Cabul), the Gândhâras (of Candahar), the Râstikâs (Saurâshtras and Mahârâshtras), the Petenikas (probably of the Deccan, *Paithana* or *Pratish-*

thâna), the Andhras (of the Deccan), the Pulindas (of the Deccan) the Bhojas (of Malwa), and the Nâbhakas and Nâbhapantis. Thus Southern India, as far as the Krishnâ river, and Cabul, Candahar and Bactria to the west, owned the suzerainty of the great emperor.

Other neighbouring nations are also spoken of as *Prâtyantas* who were independent. The Cholas, the Pandyas, Satyaputa Kerâlaputa (all to the south of the Krishnâ river), and the five Greek kingdoms belong to this class.

Of Asoka's system of administration the inscriptions give us but meagre information. We are told of Purushas, or officers of the king, of Mahâmâtras, or functionaries of all orders, of Dharmamahâmâtras, or officers specially employed to propagate religion and foster morality, and of Prâdesikas, or local hereditary chiefs, the ancestors of the modern Raos and Raols and Thakurs, of whom India, with its Feudel system of administration, has always been rich. Besides these we hear of Anta—Mahâmâtras, or frontier officers, of Prâtivedakas, or spies, and of Rajjukas specially appointed to inculcate religion to the Dharmayuta or the faithful.

The Anusamyâna was a religious assemblage to which all the faithful were invited, and in which the Rajjukas exercised their special mission of imparting instruction to the people. We know that such Buddhist gatherings were held every five years, but this rule was not universal. A quinquennial Anusamyâna was held in the provinces immediately under the emperor, but in Ujjayinî and Takshasîlâ the celebration was held once in every three years.

We are told in these inscriptions that offenders who were condemned to death were allowed three days to prepare themselves by alms, fasts and meditations.

In the inscription of Sahasarâm, we are told that after his conversion Asoka deprived Brâhmans of the almost divine honours in which they were held, no doubt by shewing equal honor to Buddhist monks. This salutary measure has been exaggerated into legends of sanguinary persecutions of Brâhmans of which

the pious emperor was entirely innocent. In the same inscription, as well as in that of Rupnâth, we are told that Asoka sent his missionaries (Vivuthas) to all parts of the then known world. In the inscriptions of Bhabra, Asoka makes a profession of faith in the Buddhist Trinity,—Buddha, Dharma and Sangha.

We now turn to the inscriptions themselves, and we will begin with the Rock Edicts:

Five rocks, in five different parts of India, bear on them five texts of *the same series of edicts* which Asoka published. One of them is near *Kapur da giri*, about 25 miles to the north-west of Attok, on the Indus; another is near *Khalsi*, on the Jumna river just where it leaves the higher range of the Himâlaya mountains; the third is at *Girnar* in Gujrat, about 40 miles to the north of the famous Somnath; the fourth is at *Dhauli* in Orissa, about 20 miles to the south of Cuttack; and the fifth is at *Jaugada*, near the Chilka Lake, and about 18 miles to the north-west of the modern town of Ganjam.

These Fourteen Edicts possess such surpassing interest for every student of Indian history, that we consider it necessary to transcribe them in full. They were first translated by James Prinsep, and have since been revised by Wilson and Burnouf, Lassen, Kern, and Senart. M. Senart's revision is the latest, and the following rendering is according to his interpretation of the Edicts. It is scarcely necessary to premise that Asoka calls himself Piyadasi in the Edicts.

EDICT I.

This Edict has been engraved by the order of King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. One must not, here below, kill any living animal by immolating it, not for the purpose of feasts. The King Piyadasi sees much that is sinful in such feasts. Formerly such feasts were allowed; and in the *cuisine* of King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, and for the table of King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, hundreds of thousands of living beings were killed every day. At the time when this Edict is engraved, three animals only are killed for the table, two pea fowls and a gazelle, and the gazelle not regularly. Even these three animals will not be killed in future.

EDICT II.

Everywhere in the kingdom of the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, and also of the nations who live in the frontiers, such as the Cholas, the Pandyas, the realms of Satyaputra and Keralaputra, as far as Tambapanni, (and in the kingdom of) Antiochus, king of the Greeks, and of the kings who are his neighbours,—everywhere the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, has provided medicines of two sorts, medicines for men and medicines for animals. Wherever plants useful either for men or for animals were wanting, they have been imported and planted. Wherever roots and fruits were wanting, they have been imported and planted. And along public roads, wells have been dug for the use of animals and men.

EDICT III.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. In the twelfth year after my anointment, I ordered as follows. Everywhere in my empire, the faithful, the Râjuka, and the governor of the district, shall meet in a gathering (Anusamyâna), once every five years, as a part of their duty, in order to proclaim religious instructions as follows: "It is good and proper to render dutiful service to one's father and mother, to friends, to acquaintances and relations; it is good and proper to bestow alms on Brâhmans and Srâmans, to respect the life of living beings, to avoid prodigality and violent language." The clergy shall then instruct the faithful in detail in the spirit and in the word.

EDICT IV.

In past times, during many hundred years, has prevailed the slaughter of living beings, violence towards creatures, want of regard for relations, and want of respect for Brâhmans and Srâmans. But this day the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, and faithful to the practice of religion, has made a religious proclamation by beat of drum, and has made a display of equipages, elephants, torches and celestial objects to his people.

Thanks to the instructions of the religion spread by the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, there exist to-day a respect for living creatures, a tenderness towards them, a regard for relations and for Brâhmans and Srâmans, a dutiful obedience to father and mother, and obeisance to aged men, such as have not existed for centuries. In this respect as in others, the practice of religion prevails, and the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, will continue to cause it to prevail. The sons, the grandsons, and the great-grandsons of King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, will cause this practice of religion to prevail to the end of this world. Firm in religion and in virtue, they will inculcate religion. For the teaching of religion is the most meritorious of acts, and there is no practice of religion without virtue. The development, the prosperity of the religious interest, is desirable. With this object has this been engraved, in order that they may apply themselves to the highest good of this interest, and they may not allow it to decline. The King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, has caused this to be engraved 12 years after his anointment.

EDICT V.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. The practice of virtue is difficult and those who practise virtue perform what is difficult.

I have myself accomplished many virtuous acts. And so shall my sons and grandsons, and my latest posterity to the end of the Kalpa, pursue the same conduct, and shall perform what is good. And he who shall neglect such conduct shall do what is evil. To do evil is easy. Thus in the past there were no ministers of religion (Dharmamahâmâtra). But I, 13 years after my anointment, have created ministers of religion. They mix with all sects for the establishment and the progress of religion and for the well being of the faithful. They mix with the Yavanas, the Kambojas, the Gândhâras, the Saurâshtras and the Petenikas, and with other frontier (Aparânta) nations. They mix with warriors and with Brâhmans, with the rich and the poor and the aged, for their well being and happiness, and in order to remove all the obstacles in the path of the followers of the true religion. They bring comfort to him who is in fetters to remove his obstacles, and to deliver him,—because he has a family to support, because he has been the victim of deceit, and because he is bent with age. At Pâtaliputra and in other towns they exert themselves in the houses of my brothers and sisters and other relations. Everywhere the ministers of religion mix with the followers of the true religion, with those who apply themselves to religion and are firm in religion, and with those who bestow alms. It is with this object that this Edict is engraved.

EDICT VI.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. There never was in past times a system of despatch of work and of hearing of reports at all moments. This is what I have done. At all moments, during meals, during repose, in the inner appartments, in the secret chamber, in my retreat, in the garden,—everywhere, officers entrusted with information about the affairs of my people come to me, and I despatch the concerns relating to my people. I myself with my own mouth issue instructions which the ministers of religion impart to the people. Thus I have directed that wherever there is a division, a quarrel in the assembly of the clergy, it should always be immediately reported to me. For there cannot be too much activity employed in the administration of justice. It is my duty to procure by my instructions the good of the public ; and in incessant activity and the proper administration of justice lies the root of public good, and nothing is more efficacious than this. All my endeavours have but thus one object,—to pay this debt due to my people ! I render them as happy as possible here below, may they obtain happiness hereafter in heaven ! It is with this object that I have caused this Edict to be engraved, may it endure long ! And may my sons and my grandsons and my great-grandsons follow my example for the public good. This great object requires the utmost endeavour.

EDICT VII.

The King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, ardently desires that all sects may live (unmolested) in all places. All of them equally purpose the subjection of the senses and the purification of the soul ; but man is fickle in his attachments. They thus practise but imperfectly what they profess ; and those who do not bestow ample gifts may yet possess a control over their senses, purity of soul, and gratitude and fidelity in their affections ; and this is commendable.

EDICT VIII.

In past times kings went out for pastimes. Hunting and other amusements of the kind were their pastimes here below. I, King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, obtained true intelligence ten years after my anointment. These, then, are my pastimes;—visits and gifts to Brâhmans and Srâmans, visits to aged men, the distribution of money, visits to the people of the empire, their religious instruction, and consultations on religious subjects. It is thus that the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, enjoys the pleasure derived from his virtuous acts.

EDICT IX.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Men perform various observances in illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child, and at the time of proceeding on a journey. On these and similar occasions men follow various practices. But these numerous and diverse practices observed by most people are valueless and vain. It is customary, however, to observe such practices, although they produce no fruit. But the practice of religion, on the contrary, is meritorious in the highest degree. Regard for slaves and servants, and respect for relations and teachers are meritorious; tenderness towards living beings, and alms to Brâhmans and Srâmans are meritorious. I call these and similar virtuous acts the practice of religion. A father or a son, a brother or a teacher should say,—this is what is meritorious, this is the practice which must be observed till the end is attained. It has been said that alms are meritorious, but there is no gift and no charity so meritorious as the gift of religion, the imparting of religion. Hence a friend, a relation, a companion should give such counsel,—in such and such circumstances this should be done, this is meritorious. Convinced that such conduct leads to heaven, one should follow it with zeal as the way which leads to heaven.

EDICT X.

The King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, does not deem any kind of glory and renown to be perfect except this, *viz.*, that in the present and in the future my people practise obedience to my religion and perform the duties of my religion! That is the glory and the renown which the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, seeks. All the efforts of the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, are for the fruits obtainable in the future life, and for escaping mortal life. For mortal life is evil. But it is difficult to attain this end both for the small and the great, except by a determined effort to detach themselves from all objects. It is assuredly a difficult task, specially for the great, to perform this.

EDICT XI.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. There is no gift comparable with the gift of religion, the intimacy of religion, the charity of religion, the relationship of religion. This should be observed,—regard towards slaves and servants, obedience to father and mother, charity towards friends, companions, relations, Srâmans and Brâhmans, and respect for the life of living creatures. A father or a son or a brother, a friend, a companion, or even a neighbour, should say,—this is meritorious, this

should be done. In striving thus, he derives a gain in this world and in the life to come; infinite merit results from the gift of religion.

EDICT XII.

The King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. honors all sects, both ascetics and householders; he propitiates them by alms and by other gifts. But the beloved of the gods attaches less importance to such gifts and honors than to the endeavour to promote their essential moral virtues. It is true, the prevalence of essential virtues differs in different sects. But there is a common basis, and that is gentleness and moderation in language. Thus one should not exalt one's own sect and decry the others; one should not depreciate them without cause, but should render them on every occasion the honour which they deserve. Striving thus, one promotes the welfare of his own sect while serving the others. Striving otherwise, one does not serve his own sect, and does disservice to others. And whoever from attachment to his own sect, and with a view to promote it, exalts it and decries others, only deals rude blows to his own sect! Hence concord alone is meritorious, so that all bear and love to bear the beliefs of each other. It is the desire of the beloved of the gods that all sects should be instructed, and should profess pure doctrines. All people, whatever their faith may be, should say that the beloved of the gods attaches less importance to gifts and to external observances, than to the desire to promote essential moral doctrines and mutual respect for all sects. It is with this object that the ministers of religion, the officers in charge of females, the inspectors, and other bodies of officers, all work. The result of this is the promotion of my own faith, and its advancement in the light of religion.

EDICT XIII.

Vast is the kingdom of Kalinga conquered by King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Hundreds of thousands of creatures have been reduced to slavery, a hundred thousand have been killed. Since the conquest of Kalinga, the king, beloved of the gods, has turned towards religion, has been devoted to religion, has conceived a zeal for religion, and has applied himself to the diffusion of religion,—so great was the regret which the beloved of the gods felt at the conquest of Kalinga. In conquering the country which was not subject to me I, beloved of the gods, have deeply felt and sorrowed for the murders, the deaths, and the reducing of the native inhabitants to slavery. But this is what the beloved of the gods has felt and sorrowed for more keenly. Everywhere dwell Brâhmans or Srâmans, ascetics or householders; and among such men are witnessed respect to authorities, obedience to fathers and mothers, affection towards friends, companions and relations, regard for servants and fidelity in affections. Such men are exposed to violence and to death, and to separation from those who are dear to them. And even when by special protection they themselves escape personal harm, their friends, acquaintances, companions and relations are ruined; and thus they to have to suffer. All violence of this kind is keenly felt and regretted by me, beloved of the gods. There is no country where bodies of men like the Brâhmans and Srâmans are not known, and there is no spot in any country where men do not profess the religion of some sect or other. It is because so many men have been drowned, ruined, killed and reduced to slavery in Kalinga

that the beloved of the gods feels this to-day a thousand times more keenly.

The beloved of the gods ardently desires security for all creatures, respect for life, peace and kindliness in behaviour. This is what the beloved of the gods considers as the conquests of religion. It is in these conquests of religion that the beloved of the gods takes pleasure, both in his empire and in all its frontiers with an extent of many hundred Yojanas. Among his (neighbours), Antiochus, king of the Yavanas, and beyond Antiochus, four kings, Ptolemy, Antigonas, Magas, and Alexander; to the south, among the Cholas, Pandyas, as far as Tambapanni, and also the Henarâja Vismavasi; among the Greeks and the Kambojas, the Nâbhakas and the Nâbhapantis, the Bhojas, and the Petenikas, the Andhras, and the Pulindas;—everywhere they conform to the religious instructions of the beloved of the gods. There where the messengers of the beloved of the gods have been sent, there the people heard the duties of the religion preached on the part of the beloved of the gods, and conform, and will conform to the religion and religious instructions. . . . Thus the conquest is extended on all sides. I have felt an intense joy,—such is the happiness which the conquests of religion procure! But to speak the truth, this joy is a secondary matter; the beloved of the gods attaches great value only to the fruits which are assured in a future life. It is with this object that this religious inscription has been engraved, in order that our sons and grandsons may not think that a new conquest is necessary; that they may not think that conquest by the sword deserves the name of conquest; that they may see in it nothing but destruction and violence; that they may consider nothing as true conquest save the conquest of religion! Such conquests have value in this world and in the next; may they derive pleasure only from religion, for that has its value in this world and in the next.

EDICT XIV.

This Edict is engraved by King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. It is partly brief, partly of ordinary extent, and partly amplified. All is not connected yet, for my empire is vast, and I have caused much to be engraved, and will yet cause more to be engraved. Some precepts have been repeated because I attach particular importance to their being followed by the people. There may be faults in the copy,—be it that a passage has been truncated, or that the sense has been misunderstood. All this has been engraved by the engraver.

Such are the famous Fourteen Edicts of Asoka by which he (1) prohibited the slaughter of animals; (2) provided medical aid for men and animals; (3) enjoined a quinquennial religious celebration; (4) made an announcement of religious grace; (5) appointed ministers of religion and missionaries; (6) appointed moral instructors to take cognizance of the conduct of people in their social and domestic life; (7) proclaimed universal religious toleration; (8) recommended pious enjoyment in preference to the carnal

amusements of previous times; (9) expatiated on the merit of imparting religious instruction and moral advice; (10) extolled true heroism and glory founded on spreading true religion; (11) upheld the imparting of religious instruction as the best of all kinds of charity; (12) proclaimed his wish to convert all unbelievers on the principles of universal toleration and moral persuasion; (13) mentioned the conquest of Kalinga and the names of five Greek kings, to whose kingdoms as well as to kingdoms in India missionaries had been sent; and lastly, (14) summed up the foregoing with some remarks on the engraving of the Edicts.

From a historical point of view the second Edict is important as containing the names of Hindu kingdoms and of Antiochus of Syria; the fifth Edict also contains similar allusions; and the thirteenth Edict alludes to the conquest of Kalinga, which first brought southern Bengal and Orissa into close political relations with Magadha and Northern India. The same Edict names five Greek kings, and the original text containing these names deserves to be quoted.

ANTIYOKA *nama Yona Raja, param cha tena Antiyokena chatura Rajani,* TURAMAYE *nama* ANTIKINA *nama,* MAKA *nama,* ALIKASANDARE *nama.*

These five names are those of ANTIOCHUS of Syria, PTOLEMY of Egypt, ANTIGONUS of Macedon, MAGAS of Cyrene, and ALEXANDER of Epiros. They were contemporaries of Asoka, and the latter made treaties with them, and with their permission sent Buddhist missionaries to preach the religion in those countries. The same Edict mentions names of kingdoms in India, or close to India, where missionaries were similarly sent.

Besides the Fourteen Edicts spoken of above, and which were published as one body of laws or moral rules, separate Edicts were published by Asoka from time to time, and some of them have been discovered.

An Edict published at Dhauli and Jaugada (southwest of Cuttack) lays down humane rules for the administration of the town of Tosalî, recommends religious conduct to all subjects, and prescribes the quin-

quennial religious celebration alluded to above. The same Edict lays down that at Ujjayinî and at Takshasîlâ the celebration should be held once every three years.

A Second Edict has been published also at Dhaulî and Jaugada, laying down rules for the administration of Tosalî and Samâpâ, and conveying instructions to frontier officers. Two Edicts, one at Sahasaram (south-east of Benares) and one at Rupnath (north-east of Jubbulpore), have been translated by Dr. Bühler, and contain pious exhortations, and inform us that 256 missionaries (Vivutha) had been appointed and sent in all directions by the pious emperor. The inscriptions at Bairat (south-east of Delhi) is a communication to the clergy of Magadha, and contains Asoka's profession of faith in Buddha, Dharma and Sangha,—the Buddhist Trinity. A pious Edict of the second queen of Asoka has been discovered at Allahabad.

We now turn to the inscriptions in Caves, which need not detain us long.

The cave inscriptions known are those of the Barabar and Nâgârjuni caves, about 16 miles north of Gayâ; the Khandagiri caves, south of Cuttack; and the Ramgarh caves in the Central Provinces. The inscriptions in the Barabar caves declare that they were given by Asoka (Piyadasi) to religious mendicants; and those in the Nâgârjuni caves state, that they were the gift of Asoka's successor Dasaratha. The Khandagiri and Udayagiri caves were mostly gifts of the kings of Kalinga (Orissa).

And, lastly, we turn to the inscriptions on Pillars. The famous pillars of Delhi and Allahabad attracted the attention and defied the skill of antiquarians from the time of Sir William Jones, until the inscriptions on them were first deciphered by Prinsep. Besides the two Delhi pillars and the Allahabad pillar, there are two inscribed pillars at Lauria, in Tirhoot, and one at Sanchi, in Bhopal.

The same six Edicts are published in nearly all the pillars, while two more Edicts are found in the Delhi pillar called the Lât of Feruz Shah. It will be remembered that these Eight Pillar Edicts were proclaimed

in the 27th and 28th years after Asoka's anointment; they contain little information about the emperor's politics, and are replete with moral and religious instructions, and accounts of works of public good and public utility. Briefly, the pious emperor (1) directed his officers of religion to work with zeal and pious anxiety; (2) explained religion to be mercy, charity, truth and purity; (3) inculcated self-questioning and the avoidance of sins; (4) entrusted the religious instruction of the people to Râjukas, and allowed prisoners condemned to death three days' grace; (5) prohibited the killing of various animals; (6) proclaimed his goodwill to his subjects and hoped for the conversion of all sects; (7) hoped that his Edicts and religious exhortations would lead men to the right path; and (8) lastly recounted his works of public utility and his measures for the religious advancement of the people, and enjoined the conversion of the people by moral persuasion. The following translation of the Eight Edicts is based on the interpretation of Senart.

EDICT I.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. 26 years after my anointment, I caused this Edict to be engraved. Happiness in this world and in the next is difficult to secure without an excessive zeal for religion, a rigorous supervision, a perfect obedience, a lively sense of responsibility, and a constant activity (on the part of my officers). But thanks to my instruction, this anxiety and zeal for religion increases and will increase day by day. And my officers, superior, middling and subaltern, conform themselves to it and direct the people in the right path, and keep them in cheerful spirits; and so, too, my frontier officers (Anta-Mahâmâtra) work. For the rule is this: government by religion, law by religion, progress by religion, and security by religion.

EDICT II.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Religion is excellent. But it will be asked,—what is this religion? Religion consists in doing the least possible evil and the greatest possible good,—in mercy, charity, truth, and purity of life. Thus have I bestowed gifts of all kinds, to men and to quadrupeds, to birds, and to animals that live in the waters. I have extended manifold favors for their good, even to supplying them with water for drink; and have performed many other meritorious acts. To this purpose have I caused this Edict to be engraved, so that men may conform to it and travel in the right path, and that it may endure for ages. He who will act in conformity thereto, will do what is good and meritorious.

EDICT III.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. One sees only his good acts and says,—I have done such a good act. But one does not see his evil acts and does not say,—I have committed this evil act, this act is a sin. Such examination is painful, it is true, but nevertheless it is necessary to question one's self and to say,—such things are sinful as mischief, cruelty, anger, and pride. It is necessary to examine one's self carefully and to say—I will not harbour envy, nor calumniate others. This will be beneficial to me here below; this will be in truth still more beneficial to me in the life to come.

EDICT IV.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. 26 years after my anointment, I caused this Edict to be engraved. I have appointed Râjuks over the people among hundreds of thousands of inhabitants. I have reserved to myself the power to prosecute and to punish the Râjukas in order that they may, in perfect confidence and security, perform their duties, and promote the good of the people of my empire. They take account alike of progress and of suffering, and with the faithful, they exhort the people of my empire to secure to them happiness here below, and salvation in the future. The Râjukas obey me; the Purushas also obey my wishes and my orders and spread my exhortations, so that the Râjukas may work to my satisfaction. Even as one confides his infant to a careful nurse and feels secure, and says—a careful nurse has charge of my infant,—even so I have appointed the Râjukas for the good of my subjects. And in order that they may with confidence and security, and free from anxiety, discharge their duties, I have reserved to myself the power to prosecute and punish them. It is desirable to maintain equality both in prosecution and in penalties. From this date, therefore, this rule is ordained,—To prisoners, who have been judged and condemned to death, I allow a grace of three days. They shall be informed that they shall live for this period, neither more nor less. Thus warned of the limit of their existence, they will bestow alms for the benefit of their future existence, or will practise fasting. I desire that even when confined in a prison, they shall be assured of the future; and I ardently desire to see the advancement of religious acts, the control of the senses, and the distribution of alms.

EDICT V.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. 26 years after my anointment, I have prohibited the killing of any of the following kinds of living creatures, *viz.*, the *suka*, the *sârika*, *aruna*, the *chakravâka*, the *hansa* (wild duck), the *nandimukha*, the *gajrata*, the *geldta* (bat), the *ambaka pilaka*, the *dadi*, the *anas haka* fish, the *vedaveyaka*, the *pupata* of the Ganges, the *sankuja* fish, the *kaphatasayaka*, the *pamnasasa*, the *simala*, the *sandaka*, the *okapinda*, the *palasata*, the *svetakapota* (white pigeon), the *grâmakapota* (village pigeon), and all quadrupeds which are not of use and are not eaten. The she-goat, the sheep and the sow should not be killed when heavy with young or giving milk, or until their young ones are six months old. One shall not make capons. Living creatures shall not be burnt. Jungles shall not be burnt either

recklessly or to kill the creatures inhabiting them. Animals shall not be fed on other living animals. At the full moon of the three Châturmâsyas (four-monthly celebrations), at the conjunction of the full moon with the constellation Tishya, and with the constellation Punarvasu, on the 14th and the 15th day of the moon and the day following the full moon, and generally on each *Uposatha* day, one should not kill or sell fish. On these days neither animals kept in game-forests, nor fishes in tank, nor any other kind of living beings shall be killed. On the 8th, the 14th, and the 15th day of each lunar fortnight, and on the days following the full moon of the Tishya, the Punarvasu, and the three *Châturmâsyas*, one shall not mutilate the bull, the goat, the sheep, or the pig or any other animals which are mutilated. Neither the horse nor the bull shall be branded on the full moon days of Tishya, Punarvasu, and the Châturmâsyas, and on the first days of the fortnights succeeding the full moon days of the Châturmâsyas. In the 26 years from my anointment, I have liberated 26 prisoners.

EDICT VI.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. 12 years after my anointment, I caused Edicts to be engraved (for the first time) for the good and the happiness of the people. I flatter myself that they will profit by it, and will make progress in religion in manifold ways; and thus the Edicts will tend to the benefit and the happiness of the people. I adopted means calculated to promote the happiness of my subjects,—those who are far from me, as well as those who are near me,—and also of my own relations. Hence I watch over all my bodies of officers. All sects receive from me gifts in manifold ways. But it is their own conversion which I consider the most important. I have caused this Edict to be engraved 26 years after my anointment.

EDICT VII.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Kings who ruled in past times desired that men should make progress in religion. But men did not make any progress in religion according to their desire. Then thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. I have reflected that kings who ruled in past times desired that men should make progress in religion, and men made no progress in religion according to their desire,—by what means can I lead them in the right path? By what means can I cause them to make progress in religion according to my desire? By what means can I cause them to advance in religion? Then thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. I have formed the resolution of publishing religious exhortations and of promulgating religious instructions, so that men on hearing these will enter on the right path and will elevate themselves.

EDICT VIII.

I have promulgated religious exhortations and given manifold instructions on religion, in order that religion may make rapid progress. I have appointed numerous officers over the people, each employed in his duty towards the people, in order that they may spread instruction and promote goodness. Thus I have appointed Râjukas on many thousands of men, and they have received my order to instruct the faithful. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. It is with this single idea that I have raised *pillars* with religious inscriptions, that I have appointed ministers

of religion (Dharma-mahâmâtra), that I have spread afar religious exhortations. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Along the highways I have planted Nyagrodha trees, that they may give shade to men and to animals; I have planted out gardens with mangoes; I have caused wells to be dug every half *krosa*; and in numerous places I have erected resting houses for the repose of men and of animals. But the truest enjoyment for myself is this. Previous kings and I myself have contributed to the happiness of men by various beneficial acts; but to make them follow the path of religion, it is with this object that I regulate my actions. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. I have also appointed ministers of religion in order that they may exert, in every way, in works of charity, and that they may exert themselves among all sects, monks as well as worldly men. I have also had in view the interest of the clergy, of Brâhmans, of religious mendicants, of religious *Nirgranthas*, and of various sects among whom my officers work. The Mahâmâtras exert themselves, each in his corporation, and the ministers of religion work generally among all sects. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. These and other officers are my instruments, and they work to distribute my alms and those of the queens. Throughout my palace they work in manifold ways, each in the apartments entrusted to him. I learn also that both here and in the provinces they distribute the alms of my children, and specially of the royal princes, to favour acts of religion and the practice of religion. In this way acts of religion are promoted in the world, as well as the practice of religion, *viz.*, mercy and charity, truth and purity, kindness and goodness. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. The manifold acts of goodness which I accomplish serve as an example. Through them, men have advanced, and will advance, in obedience to relations and to teachers, in kindly consideration for the aged, and in regard towards Brâhmans and Śrâmans, towards the poor and the miserable,—yea, towards servants and slaves. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. The progress of religion among men is secured in two ways,—by positive rules,—and by religious sentiments which one can inspire in them. Of these two methods, that of positive rules is of poor value, it is the inspiration in the heart which best prevails. Positive rules consist in what I order,—when for instance, I prohibit the slaughter of certain animals or lay down other religious rules, as I have done to a large number. But it is solely by a change in the sentiments of the heart that religion makes a real advance in inspiring a respect for life and in the anxiety not to kill living beings. It is with this view that I have promulgated this inscription, in order that it may endure for my sons and my grandsons, and as long as the sun and the moon endure, and in order that they may follow my instructions. For by following this path one secures happiness here below, and in the other world. I have caused this Edict to be engraved twenty-seven years after my anointment. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Wherever this Edict exists, on pillars of stone, let it endure unto remote ages.

The Edict of religion *has* endured unto remote ages; and within the two thousand years which have succeeded, mankind has discovered no nobler religion than to promote in this earth "mercy and charity, truth and purity, kindness and goodness."

CHAPTER II.

LANGUAGE AND ALPHABET.

THE Inscriptions of Asoka are invaluable to us for the study of the language and alphabet of Northern India in the third century B. C. The Edicts are undoubtedly in the language which was spoken and understood by the people in Asoka's time; and the fact that the same Edicts are recorded in dialects slightly differing from each other, in different parts of India, prove conclusively that the great emperor desired to publish his laws in the dialect which was spoken by the people in each separate portion of his extensive empire.

The inscriptions shew that the spoken language of Northern India was essentially the same, from the Himâlaya to the Vindhya mountains, and from the Indus to the Ganges. There are slight variations, however, from which antiquarians have made out three varieties of the spoken tongue of the period. General Cunningham calls them the *Punjâbi*, or North-western dialect, the *Ujjeni* or middle dialect, and the *Mâgadhi* or eastern dialect.

The Punjabi dialect is closer to Sanscrit than the others. It retains the *r* in such words as Priyadarsi, Srâmana, &c.; it retains the three sibilants of the Sanscrit; and it shews a nearer approach to Sanscrit forms. The Ujjeni dialect has its *r* as well as *l*; while the Mâgadhi dialect is marked by the entire absence of *r* for which *l* has been substituted, *Lâja* for *Râja*, *Dasalatha* for *Dasaratha*, &c.

Considering then the slightly varying dialects as one spoken language, antiquarians have held that that language is Pâli. Prinsep declared the language to be "intermediate between Sanscrit and Pâli." Professor Wilson made a careful and searching examination of four different versions of the Rock Edicts, and stated his opinion that "the language itself is a kind of Pâli,

offering for the greater portion of the words forms analogous to those which are modelled by the rules of the Pâli grammar still in use. There are, however, many differences, some of which arise from a closer adherence to Sanscrit, others from possible local peculiarities, indicating a yet unsettled state of the language."

Professor Lassen agrees with Dr. Wilson in maintaining that the language of Asoka's inscriptions is Pâli, and he further maintains that the Pâli is the eldest daughter of the Sanscrit,—the oldest spoken tongue in Northern India after Sanscrit had ceased to be a spoken tongue. Dr. Muir supports this view by a comparison of the language of the inscriptions with the language of the Buddhist scriptures taken to Ceylon in the 3rd century B. C., and proves that they are pretty much the same language,—Pâli. In an "essai sur le Pâli," written by Burnouf and Lassen, those learned authors maintain that Pâli stands "on the first step of the ladder of departure from Sanscrit, and is the first of the series of dialects which break up that rich and fertile language."*

This then is a sufficiently clear and definite fact which is invaluable to the historian of India. We know the spoken tongue of the Vedic Age, which has been preserved in the simplest and most beautiful hymns of the Rig Veda. We know the spoken tongue of the Epic Age which has been preserved in the prose Brâhmanas and A'ranyakas. After 800 B. C. there was a growing divergence between the spoken and the written tongue. Learned Sûtras were composed in the old grammatical Sanscrit, while the people spoke, and Gautama preached in the sixth century B. C., in a somewhat simpler and more fluent language. What that language was, we know from the edicts of Asoka; for the spoken tongue could not have changed very much from 477 B. C., when Gautama died, to 260 B. C., when

* Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra supposes the corrupt Sanscrit of the Buddhist Gâthâs to be intermediate in point of time between pure Sanscrit and the Pâli. It is probable, however, that this corrupt form of Sanscrit was used *at the same time* when Pâli became a spoken tongue.

Asoka reigned. The spoken language then, of the third or Rationalistic Period, was an early form of Pâli, by whatever names (Mâgadhi, &c.) antiquarians may choose to call it. And varieties of this language continued to be the spoken tongue of Northern India during the fourth or Buddhist Period.

In the fifth or Pauranik Period the Pâli had been considerably altered and formed into the different Prâkrit dialects which we find in the dramas of this period. The grammatical forms of the Prâkrit depart more widely from the Sanscrit than those of the Pâli, and historically too, we know that the spoken language of Kâlidâsa's heroines was later than the spoken tongue of Asoka. Before the Pauranik Period closed, another change had taken place; and the Prâkrits had been further modified into the Hindi, in Northern India by 1000 A. D.

It will thus be seen that the spoken tongue of Northern India has undergone considerable changes within the last four thousand years. In the Vedic Period it was the Sanscrit of the Rig Veda; in the Epic Period it was the Sanscrit of the Brâhmanas; * in the Rationalistic and Buddhist Periods it was Pâli; in the Pauranik Period it was the Prâkrits; and since the rise of the Rajputs in the 10th century it has been the Hindi.†

From the subject of the spoken language of India we turn to the subject of the alphabet, on which much has been written and many wild conjectures have been indulged in.

The Devanâgri character, in which Sanscrit is now written, is of comparatively recent origin. The oldest Indian character known is that in which Asoka's inscriptions were recorded in the third century before

* Lassen, Benfey, Muir, and other scholars have proved that the old Sanscrit was once a spoken tongue. This self-evident proposition has sometimes been questioned on very insufficient grounds.

† M. Senart states that the Vedic Sanscrit was down to the 3rd century B. C. the subject of some degree of culture; that classic or modern Sanscrit was formed between the 3rd century B. C. and 1st century A. D.; that the mixed Sanscrit of the Gâthâs was only a manner of writing the Prâkrits; and the Prâkrits were popular in their origin and were fixed in their later literary form between the 2nd and 4th centuries A. D.

Christ. It is necessary to mention that these inscriptions are recorded in two distinct characters—one reading from right to left, like the modern Arabic and Persian, and the other reading from left to right, like the modern Devanâgari and the European characters. The former is confined to the Kapur da Giri inscription and to the coins of the Greek and Scythian princes of Ariana; and it has been called the *Ariano-Pâli* character. The latter is the common character of all other texts of Asoka's inscriptions, and has been called the *Indo-Pâli* character.

The Ariano-Pâli character is not one of Indian origin, and was never used in India except in the extreme western frontier. Mr. Thomas rightly concludes that it has no claim to an indigenous origin in India, based, as it manifestly is, upon an alphabet cognate with the Phœnician.

On the other hand the Indo-Pâli character was not only universally used in India, but can claim to be of indigenous Indian origin. As we have stated before, it reads from left to right, and it is formed exclusively of straight lines or portions of circles. Mr. Thomas has no hesitation in stating that it is an "independently devised and locally matured scheme of writing;" and he insists pointedly to the Indian origin of the Indo-Pâli alphabet because it pleases many antiquarians still to conjecture that the Hindus borrowed their alphabet from the Greeks.

General Cunningham maintains, with Mr. Thomas, the Indian origin of the Indo-Pâli character. His remarks on the subject of the origin of alphabets generally, and of the Indo-Pâli alphabet in particular, are so thoughtful that we make no hesitation in making some extracts.

"The first attempts of mankind at graphic representation must have been confined to pictures or direct imitations of actual objects. This was the case with the Mexican paintings, which depicted only such material objects as could be seen by the eye. An improvement on direct pictorial representation was made by the

ancient Egyptians in the substitution of a part for the whole, as of a human head for a man, a bird's head for a bird, &c. The system was still further extented by giving to certain pictures indirect values or powers symbolical of the objects represented. Thus a jackal was made the type of cunning, and an ape the type of rage. By a still further application of this abbreviated symbolism, a pair of human arms with spear and shield denoted fighting, a pair of human legs meant walking, while a hoe was the type of digging, an eye of seeing, &c. But even with this poetical addition, the means of expressing thoughts and ideas by pictorial representations was still very limited. It seems certain, therefore, that at a very early date, the practice of pure picture writing must have been found so complicated and inconvenient, that the necessity for a simpler mode of expressing their ideas was forced upon the Egyptian priesthood. The plan which they invented was highly ingenious. * * * * * * * *

"To the greater number of their pictorial symbols, the Egyptians assigned the phonetic values of the particular sounds or names, of which each symbol previously had been only a simple picture. Thus to a mouth, *ru*, they assigned the value *r*, and to a hand, *tut*, the value *t*. * * * * * * *

"A similar process would appear to have taken place in India, as I will presently attempt to shew by a separate examination of the alphabetical letters of Asoka's age with the pictures of various objects from which I believe them to have been directly descended My own conclusion is that the Indian alphabet is of purely Indian origin, just as much as the Egyptian hieroglyphics were the purely local invention of the people of Egypt. I admit that several of the letters have almost exactly the same *forms* as those which are found amongst the Egyptian hieroglyphics for the same things, but their *values* are quite different, as they form different syllables in the two languages. Thus a pair of legs, separated as in walking, was the Egyptian symbol for walking

or motion, and the same form, like the two sides of a pair of compasses, is the Indian letter *g*, which as *ga** is the commonest of all the Sanscrit roots for walking or motion of any kind. But the value of the Egyptian symbol is *s*; and I contend that if the symbol had been *borrowed* by the Indians, it would have retained its original value. This, indeed, is the very thing that happened with the Accadian cuneiform symbols when they were adopted by the Assyrians."†

General Cunningham conjectures that the Indo-Pâli letter *Kh* is derived from the Indian hoe or mattock (*Khan*—to dig); that *Y* is derived from barley (*Yava*) or from a member of the human frame; that *D* is from the tooth (*Danta*), *Dh* from the bow (*Dhanus*), *P* is from the hand (*Pâni*), *M* is from the mouth (*Mukha*), *V* is from the lute (*Vinâ*), *N* is from the nose (*Nâsa*), *R* is from a rope (*Rajju*), *H* is from the hand (*Hasta*), *L* is from the plough (*Langa*), or from a member of the human frame, *S* is from the ear (*Sravana*), and so on.

"In this brief examination of the letters of the old Indian alphabet, I have compared their forms at the time of Asoka, or 250 B. C., with the pictures of various objects, and of the different members of the human frame; and the result of my examination is the conviction that many of the characters still preserved, even in their simpler alphabetical forms, very strong and marked traces of their pictorial origin. My comparison of the symbols with the Egyptian hieroglyphics shows that many of them are almost identical representations of the same objects. But as the Indian symbols have totally different values from those of Egypt, it seems almost certain that the Indians must have worked out their system quite independently, although they followed the same process. They did not, therefore, borrow their alphabet from the Egyptians. * * *

"Now, if the Indians did not borrow their alphabet

* The Devanâgari *g* has still a resemblance with its Indo-Pâli ancestor.

† Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. Vol I. 1877, pp. 52 & 53.

from the Egyptains, it must have been the local invention of the people themselves, for the simple reason that there was no other people from whom they could have obtained it. Their nearest neighbours were the peoples of Ariana and Persia, of whom the former used a Semetic character of Phœnician origin, reading from right to left, and the latter, a cuneiform character formed of separate detached strokes, which has nothing whatever in common with the compact forms of the Indian alphabet."*

General Cunningham further points out that the conventional signs for the five planets, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn may be formed by merely adding a star to the radical letter of each of the five classes of the alphabetical letters of Asoka, while the sun and moon are the actual radical letters of the two other classes of the Indian alphabet without any change or alteration. It is difficult to believe "that this can be an accidental coincidence."

* *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.* Vol. I, pp. 60 & 61.

CHAPTER III.

THE KINGS OF MAGADHA.

"I KNOW the Rig Veda, Sir," says Nârada in the Chhândogya Upanishad (VII, 1, 2), "the Yajur Veda, the Sâma Veda, as the fourth the Atharvana, as the fifth the Itihâsa-Purana, &c." This and numerous similar passages in the literature of the Epic Period would lead to the conclusion that some kinds of annals of kings and dynasties existed, even in that ancient period, which were known as Itihâsa-Purânas. If such annals existed, beyond what we find in the Brâhmanas themselves, they have long since been lost. Probably such annals were preserved in the traditions of the people, and were altered and re-cast, and mixed up with legends from century to century, and from age to age, until after about two thousand years, they finally assumed the shape in which we find them now, —the modern Purânas. For it has been ascertained that the Purânas which exist now were composed in the Paurânik Period, and have since been altered and considerably enlarged during many centuries *after* the Mahommedan conquest of India.

When these Purânas were first discovered by Sir William Jones and other European scholars, great hopes were entertained that they would throw light on the ancient history of India. A host of eminent scholars turned their attention to this new field of inquiry, and Dr. H. H. Wilson gave to English readers a translation of the Vishnu-Purâna "in the hope of supplying some of the necessary means to a satisfactory elucidation of an important chapter in the history of the human race."*

A close examination of the Purânas, however, has not fulfilled the hopes entertained. For the ages anterior to the Rationalistic Period, no consistent

* Preface to the *Vishnu Purâna.*

chronology could be constructed from the mass of legends and the lists of kings and dynasties which the Purânas furnished. The races of the Sun and the Moon, which are said to have ruled in Oude and in the Doab respectively, claim, according to the Purânas, an antiquity which modern scholars refuse to acknowledge. Nor is there any consistency between these two lines of kings. Thus, though the founders of the two races are said to have been contemporaneous, being brother and sister, 93 kings of the solar line, and only 45 of the lunar line are said to have reigned before the Kuru Panchâla war. And even if we reject the theory of the contemporaneous commencement of the two lines, then, on an average of 20 years for each reign, the solar line must have begun its rule in Oude 1860 years before the Kuru Panchâla war, *i.e.*, about 3000 B.C., and the lunar line began in the Doab 900 years before the war, *i. e.*, about 2000 B.C. We require some better evidence than that of the modern Purânas before we can accept these conclusions. And besides, the Kuru Panchâla war itself is placed at the commencement of the Kali Yuga, *i. e.*, about 3100 B. C.. and according to this calculation the Oude and the Doab dynasties must have commenced to reign about 5000 and 4000 B. C. respectively !

Nor are these the only difficulties. The names of the kings given shew at a glance the uselessness of the lists for the purposes of history. Ikshvâku is the first king of the solar line, and Pururavas of the lunar line. The legend of Pururavas and Urvasî which in the Rig Veda is a solar myth, is given here as a historical episode. The mythical hero Râma, the conqueror of Ceylon, figures in the solar line ; and the mythical five Pândavas and Krishna figure in the lunar line. Fourth in descent from Pururavas is Gritsamada, whom we know to be a Vedic Rishi. His son is said to be Saunaka who, we know, was a great teacher of the Epic Period. Saunaka's second cousin once removed is said to be Dîrghatamas, who is another Rishi of the Rig Veda. And Dîrghatamas is said to have

begotten by the wife of Bali (a prince, 16th in descent from Pururavas) five sons, named Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Sumbha, and Pundra,—which names are names of five countries, East Behar, East Bengal, Orissa, Tipperah, and North Bengal! These regions, it is needless to say, were unknown to Aryans in the time of Dîrghatamas or the Rig Veda.

It is unnecessary to multiply instances. The lists seem like a regular permutation and combination of names, Vedic and historic, legendary and territorial. Confused recollections of ancient and historic kings, of holy and famous Rishis, of events partly historic and partly legendary, and of the supposed founders of kingdoms, were handed down for thousands of years, no doubt with very considerable alterations and additions, and have been woven together by writers of a comparatively modern period into lists which are supposed to be lists of kings in the order of their reigns. Historians and scholars have, during the last hundred years, failed to derive any real help towards the construction of an authentic history of India from these lists of solar and lunar kings.

The annals of India preserved in the Purânas may be compared with the chronicles of the world's history written and copied from century to century by European monks in the Middle Ages. Each monk began with the creation of the world, as each Purâna begins with Ikshvâku and Pururavas; and like the writers of the Purânas, Christian monks wove together legends, miracles, and episodes from Jewish history, and narrated the discovery of Britain by the Trojans, and the fables about Arthur and Roland. Nevertheless, there was a portion in the chronicle of each renowned monk which had its value for the purposes of history. As the writer came nearer to his time, he generally wrote an authentic account of his country, its kings and its monasteries. And, as if to complete the parallel, we find something at the very close of the Paurânik annals, which is not altogether valueless for our historical purpose.

The existing Purânas, as we have said before, were compiled or recast in the Paurânik Period, *i. e.*, immediately on the close of the Buddhist Period. And as throughout the Rationalistic and Buddhist Periods the empire of Magadha was the centre of civilization and power in India, the Purânas furnish us with something that is tangible and valuable about this one kingdom,—Magadha. According to our custom, we will quote the lists from the Vishnu Purâna which relate to this kingdom.

"I will now relate to you the descendants of Brihadratha who will be (the kings) of Magadha. There have been several powerful princes of this dynasty, of whom the most celebrated was Jarâsandha. His son was Sahadeva; his son is Somâpi; * his son will be Srutavat; his son will be Ayutayus; his son will be Niramitra; his son will be Sukshatra; his son will be Brihatkarman; his son will be Senajit; his son will be Srutanjaya; his son will be Vipra; his son will be Suchi; his son will be Kshemya; his son will be Suvrata; his son will be Dharma; his son will be Susrama; his son will be Dridhasena; his son will be Sumati; his son will be Subala; his son will be Sunîta; his son will be Satyajit; his son will be Visvajit; his son will be Ripunjaya. These are the Bârhadrathas who will reign for a thousand years."

Although the Vâyu Purâna, the Bhâgavata Purâna, and the Matsya Purâna agree with the Vishnu Purâna in giving the Bârhadrathas a thousand years, yet we will venture to correct these venerable authorities, and will scarcely give 500 years to the 22 princes. Indeed, the Vishnu Purâna corrects itself as we shall find further on.

"The last of the Brihadratha dynasty, Ripunjaya, will have a minister named Sunika, who having killed his sovereign, will place his own son Pradyotana upon the throne. His son will be Pâlaka; his son will be Visâkha-

* The writer is supposed to be living at the time of Somâpi, *i. e.*, shortly after the Kuru Panchâla war, and therefore speaks in the future tense of prophecy of the succeeding princes.

yûpa; his son will be Janaka; and his son will be Nandivardhaña. These five kings of the house of Pradyota will reign over the earth for a hundred and thirty-eight years.

"The next prince will be Sinsunâga; his son will be Kâkavarna; his son will be Kshemadharman; his son will be Kshatraujas; his son will be Vidmisâra; his son will be Ajâtasatru; his son will be Darbhaka; his son will be Udayâsva; his son will also be Nandivardhana; and his son will be Mahânandin. These ten Saisunâgas will be kings of the earth for three hundred and sixty-two years."

Here we will pause, for we find in the list one or two names with which we are already familiar. Vidmisâra is called Bimbisâra in the Vâyu Purâna, and is the same king of Râjagriha in whose reign Gautama Buddha was born in Kapilavastu. And his son Ajâtasatru is the powerful king, in the eighth year of whose reign Gautama died. We have accepted 477 B. C. as the year of Buddha's death, and allowing a hundred years for the remaining portion of Ajâtasatru's reign and the reigns of his four successors, we get about 370 B. C. as the date when Mahânandin died, and the dynasty of the Sisunâgas was at an end.

If now we accept the periods which have been given for the different dynasties in the Vishnu Purâna, we get 1000 years for the Brihadratha dynasty; 138 years for the Pradyota dynasty; and 362 years for the Sisunâga dynasty; or in other words, exactly 1500 years from the Kuru Panchâla war to the end of the Sisunâga dynasty. Or in other words, if the Sisunâga dynasty ended about 370 B. C, the Kuru Panchâla war took place about 1870 B. C.

But the Vishnu Purâna's chronology is wrong, and the Vishnu Purâna's astronomy corrects its chronology. For towards the close of the very chapter from which we have made the above extracts (Book IV, Chapter XXIV) the Vishnu Purâna says, "From the birth of Parikshit to the coronation of Nanda, it is to be known that 1015 years have elapsed. When the two first stars

of the Seven Rishis (the Great Bear) rise in the heavens and some lunar asterism is seen at night at an equal distance between them, then the Seven Rishis continue stationary in that conjunction, for a hundred years of men. At the birth of Parikshit, they were on Maghâ; when the Seven Rishis are in Pûrvâsâdha then Nanda will begin to reign." From Mâgha to Pûrvâsâdha, both inclusive, there are ten asterisms, and hence it is calculated, a thousand years elapsed between Parikshit and Nanda. And if Nanda began his reign (*i. e.*, the Sisunâga dynasty ended) about 370 B.C., Parikshit was born early in the fourteenth century, and the Kuru Panchâla war was fought about 1400 B. C.

Our readers will see that this is within a century and a half of the date which we have assumed as the date of the Kuru Panchâla war in an earlier portion of this work.

If, on the other hand, we leave aside the astronomical reasons and assign an average period of 20 years* to the 37 kings of the Brihadratha, Pradyota and Sisunâga dynasties, then we shall have for the Kuru Panchâla war a date 740 years before Nanda, or in other words 1110 B.C. And this date is also within a century and a half of the year which we have fixed for that war.

From the above facts we will try to make out something like a probable list of dates for the Magadha kings. We know that Ajâtasatru began his reign in 485 B.C., and that his father Bimbisâra commenced to reign in 537 B. C. If we allow a hundred years to the four predecessors of Bimbisâra, we arrive at the fact that the Sisunâga dynasty began at 637 B.C.

The Pradyota dynasty of five kings reigned before the Sisunâga dynasty, and these five reigns covered, we are told, a period of exactly 138 years. This gives a high average of over 27 years for each reign; but allowing for one or two unimportant reigns which may have

* This is a high average. But we must make allowance for weak kings with short reigns whose names have been forgotten in later times, and have therefore not been included in the Paurânik lists.

been omitted in the list, we may accept this period of 138 years for the Pradyota dynasty.

The Brihadratha dynasty with its 22 kings are said to have reigned 1000 years. The figure is, of course, simply a round number, and has no value;— 500 years would be nearer the mark, or rather let us say 484 years, to make it divisible by 22, the number of kings. Even this would give a high average of 22 years for each reign; but we may accept the average on the supposition that some unimportant reigns have been omitted.

On these calculations we make out the following lists; but each reader must decide for himself how much reliance he will place on the lists of kings preceeding the historic dynasty of Bimbisâra and Ajâtasatru, called the Sisunâga dynasty, which commenced in the 7th century B. C.

BRIHADRATHA DYNASTY.

	B. C.
Jarâsandha	1280
Sahadeva (contemporary of the Kuru Panchâla war) ...	1259
Somâpi	1237
Srutavat	1215
Ayutayus	1193
Niramitra	1171
Sukshatra	1149
Brihatkarman	1127
Senajit	1105
Srutanjaya	1083
Vipra	1061
Suchi	1039
Kshemya	1017
Suvrata	995
Dharma	973
Susrama	951
Dridhasena	929
Sumati	907
Subala	885
Sunîta	863
Satyajit	841
Visvajit	819
Ripunjaya ...	797 to 775

PRADYOTA DYNASTY.

	B. C.
Pradyotana	775
Pâlaka	747
Visâkhayûpa	719
Janaka	691
Nandivardhana	664 to 637

SISUNAGA DYNASTY.

	B. C.
Sisunâga	637
Kâkavarna	612
Kshemadharman ...	587
Kshatraujas	562
Bimbisâra	537
Ajâtasatru	485
Darbhaka	453
Udayâsva	432
Nandivardhana ...	411
Mahânandin ...	390 to 370

We will now proceed with our extracts.

"The son of Mahânandin will be born of a woman of the Sûdra class: his name will be Nanda (called) Mahâpadma; for he will be exceedingly avaricious. Like another Parasurâma, he will be the annihilator of the Kshatriya race; for after him the kings of the earth will (be Sûdras.) He will bring the whole earth under one umbrella; he will have eight sons, Sumâlya and others who will reign after Mahâpadma, and he and his sons will govern for a hundred years. The Brâhman Kautilya will root out the nine Nandas."

We find in the above extract mention of low-caste kings ascending the throne of Kshatriyas, and of the growing power and supremacy of these kings of Magadha among the kingdoms of Northern India. We also find mention of Kautilya, the renowned Chânakya, who vowed vengeance against the house of the Nandas (see the drama called Mudrâ Râkshasa) and placed the adventurer and exile Chandragupta on the throne of Magadha. The period of one hundred years assigned to Nanda and his eight sons is apparently a guess; and the Vâyu and the Matsya Purânas support this statement by the more absurd one, that the first Nanda alone reigned 88 years. We allow ample time to Nanda and his eight sons if we give them 50 years; and this brings us to B. C. 320 as the date of Chandragupta's accession to the throne of Magadha.

"Upon the cessation of the race of Nanda, the Mauryas* will possess the earth; for Kautilya will place Chandragupta on the throne. His son will be Bindusâra; his son will be Asoka Vardhana; his son will be Suyasas; his son will be Dasaratha; his son will be Sangata; his son will be Sâlisuka; his son will be Somasraman; and his successor will be Brihadratha. These are the ten Mauryas who will reign over the earth for a hundred and thirty-seven years."

* The commentator says that Chandragupta was the son of Nanda, by a wife named Murâ, whence the race was called Maurya.

The writer of the Vishnu Purâna here tells us of Asokavardhana, but does not vouchsafe to make any mention of the religious revolution which took place in his reign,—the greatest which the world has ever seen. To the Brâhman narrator, the deeds of the scheming Chânakya who helped Chundragupta to the throne, is more worthy of mention than those of the imperial Asoka, who spread the name and religion of India from Antioch and Macedon to Cape Comorin and Ceylon! But to return to our story. Accepting the period of 137 years given for the Maurya dynasty, that dynasty came to an end in 183 B. C.

"The dynasty of the Sungas will next become possessed of the sovereignty; for Pushpa Mitra the general (of the last Maurya prince) will put his master to death and ascend the throne. His son will be Agnimitra; his son will be Sujyeshtha; his son will be Vasumitra; his son will be A'rdraka; his son will be Pulindaka; his son will be Ghoshavasu; his son will be Vajramitra; his son will be Bhâgavata; his son will be Devabhûti. These are the ten Sungas, who will govern the kingdom for a hundred and twelve years."

The genius of Kâlidâsa has immortalized the name of the second prince of this line in the celebrated play *Mâlavikâ-Agnimitra*. But Agnimitra is there named the king of Vidisa not of Magadha. And his father Pushpamitra, the general, is represented as fighting with the Yavanas (Bactrian Greeks), on the Indus. This statement has probably some foundation in fact, for after the time of Alexander the Great, the western frontier of India was the scene of continuous warfare between the Bactrians and the Hindus, and the Magadha empire, extending to the Indus, had to wage these wars. Accepting the period of 112 given to the Sunga dynasty that dynasty came to its end in 71 B.C.

"Devabhûti, the (last) Sunga prince, being addicted to immoral indulgences, his minister, the Kânva, named Vâsudeva, will murder him and usurp the kingdom. His son will be Bhûmimitra; his son will be Nârây-

ana ; his son will be Susarman. These four Kânvâyanas will be kings of the earth for forty-five years."

We will now assign dates to the kings of these dynasties according to the periods fixed for the dynasties in the Vishnu Purâna.

NANDA DYNASTY.

	B. C.
Nanda and his eight sons	370 to 320

MAURYA DYNASTY.

Chandra Gupta	320
Bindusâra	291
Asoka	260
Suyasas	222
Dasaratha	215
Sangata	208
Sâlisuka	201
Somasraman	194
Brihadratha ...	187 to 183

SUNGA DYNASTY.

	B. C.
Pushpamitra	183
Agnimitra	170
Sujyeshtha	159
Vasumitra	148
Andraka	137
Pulindaka	126
Ghoshavasu	115
Vajramitra	104
Bhâgavata	93
Devabhûti ...	82 to 71

KANVA DYNASTY.

Vâsudeva Kânva	71
Bh[illegible]imitra ...	59
N[illegible]yana	48
Susarman ...	37 to 26

The short reigns of the most of these kings, the frequent change in dynasties, and the displacement of royal houses by generals or ministers, shew that the glory of Magadha had passed away, and a period of weakness and senile decay had set in. The empire which had laid down the law for all India in the days of Chandragupta and Asoka was in the last stage of feebleness, and was ready to welcome any strong invader or line of invaders who might choose to rule its destinies. Such invaders came from the south. The Andhra kingdom had already risen to power and distinction in the Deccan in the Rationalistic Period; and an Andhra chief (described as a "powerful servant") now conquered Magadha, and his dynasty ruled for four centuries and a half. Our last extract from the lists of the Vishnu Purâna will give the names of these Andhra kings.

"Susarman, the Kânva, will be killed by a powerful servant named Sipraka of the Andhra tribe, who will become king (and found the Andhra-bhritya dynasty). He will be succeeded by his brother Krishna; his son

will be Srî Sâtakarni ; his son will be Pûrnotsanga ; his son will be Sâtakarni ; his son will be Lambodara ; his son will be Ivîlaka ; his son will be Meghasvati ; his son will be Patumat ; his son will be Arishtakarman ; his son will be Hâla ; his son will be Puttalaka ; his son will be Pravilasena ; his son will be Sundara Sâtakarni ; his son will be Chakora Sâtakarni ; his son will be Sivasvati ; his son will be Gomatîputra ; his son will be Pulimat ; his son will be Sivasrî Sâtakarni ; his son will be Sivaskandha ; his son will be Yajnasrî ; his son will be Vijaya ; his son will be Chandrasrî ; his son will be Pulomârchis. These thirty Andhrabhritya kings will reign four-hundred and fifty-six years."

Only 24 names, however, are given in the above list, but along with the Vâyu and the Bhâgavata Purânas, the Vishnu Purânas says there were thirty kings of this line. And if the line began about 26 B. C., the period given above brings us down to 430 A. D.

If we divide this period of 456 years among the 24 princes named above, we get an average of exactly 19 years for each reign as shewn below :—

ANDHRA DYNASTY.

	B. C.		A. D.
Sipraka	26	Pravilasena	202
Krishna	7	Sâtakarni III	221
		Sâtakarni IV	240
	A. D.	Sivasvati	259
Sâtakarni I	12	Gomatiputra	278
Pûrnotsanga	31	Pulimat	297
Sâtakarni II	50	Sâtakarni V	316
Lambodara	69	Sivaskandha	335
Ivîlaka	88	Yajnasri	354
Meghasvati	107	Vijaya	373
Patumat	126	Chandrasrî	392
Arishtakarman	145	Pulomârchis ...	411 to 430
Hâla	164		
Puttalaka	183		

Throughout this period of four centuries and a half the Andhras were the supreme power in India, and held distant kingdoms under obedience, if not under subjection. The power of the kingdom varied, however, with the strength of individual kings, and we will see

in the next chapter that the distant country of Saurâshtra was lost in the first century after Christ, but was reconquered by Gomatîputra subsequently. The dynasty declined in the 5th century, and the empire of Magadha was then at an end; for, after the Andhras, various foreign tribes overran the country and brought ruin and disorder. The Vishnu Purâna says that, after the Andhras, "various races will reign as seven A'bhiras, ten Gardhabhilas; sixteen Sakas; eight Yavanas; fourteen Tushâras; thirteen Mundas; eleven Maunas, who will be sovereigns of the earth."

This is about all that the Purânas have to tell us of the authentic history of India.

CHAPTER IV.

KASHMIR AND GUJRAT.

WE have in the last chapter confined our remarks to the main story of the central political power in India. We have seen that from the time of Sisunâga in the 7th century B C., the supreme power in India was held by the kings of Magadha. We have seen that after the destruction of several dynasties, the supreme power passed away to the hands of the Andhras who held it from the 1st century B. C. to the 5th century A. D.

While the Andhras were wielding supreme power in the centre of India, the western provinces suffered from a series of foreign invasions, of which some account should be given.

After the retreat of Alexander the Great, Chandragupta expelled the Greeks out of India, defeating Selucus, the Greek ruler of the Indus provinces. The Greeks, however, had an independent kingdom in Bactria, and there was frequent intercourse, sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile, between the Hindus and the Bactrian Greeks. The Bactrian Greeks were great coiners, and it is from their coins that complete lists of their kings down to 130 B. C. have been compiled. Occasionally these kings extended their supremacy beyond the Indus,* and it is certain that their civilization had considerable influence over the civilization and the arts of the Buddhist Hindus. Greek sculptures are found among Buddhist ruins, and Greek inscriptions stamped on Hindu coins.

About 126 B. C., the little civilized kingdom of Bactria came to an untimely end through the invasions of the Yue-Chi and other cognate Turanian tribes, who

* Our readers will remember, for instance, that Menander, the Bactrian king, conquered Western India as far as the Ganges, and had a controversy with the renowned Buddhist philosopher, Nâgârjuna.

swept through Central Asia, and subsequently conquered Kabul and occupied the country as far as the Indus.* Havishka, a king of this race, ruled in Cabul, and seems to have been driven out thence, and conquered Kashmir, where his successors, Hushka and the great Kanishka ruled after him, in the 1st century after Christ.

Kanishka was a great conqueror, and his empire extended from Cabul and Yarkand as far as Agra and Gujrat. Nothing like this had been witnessed in India since the time of Asoka the Great. Houen Tsang tells us that tributary princes from China sent hostages to him, and the town where these hostages lived was called Chinapati. Kanishka was also a staunch Buddhist ; he held the Great Council of the Northern Buddhists, and emissaries were sent to introduce Buddhism in the neighbouring kingdoms. We have already said before that the era known as the Sakâbda was established from Kanishka's reign. Dr. Oldenberg maintains that the Saka Era is reckoned from the date of Kanishka's coronation, and not from his death, and this conclusion seems to be well founded.

On Kanishka's death his vast empire fell to pieces, and Kashmir sank into the insignificance from which it had risen. This kingdom has a history of its own called the Râja Tarangini † by Kalhana Pandita, who lived in the 12th century after Christ, and we shall pause here to notice a few facts from this history.

Little of any importance is noted before the time of Kanishka. We are told that 52 kings reigned for a period of 1266 years from the time of the Kuru Panchâla war to Abhimanyu, the successor of Kanishka. And this would place the Kuru Panchâla war in the 12th century before Christ. We are also told that Asoka, the third king before Kanishka, was a Buddhist and " a truthful and spotless king, and built many Stûpas

* Our readers will remember that this troublesome tribe had penetrated into India 350 years before through the Himalayas, and was beaten back by Ajâtasatru about the time of Gautama Buddha's death.

† An English translation of this work has been completed by my esteemed brother, Mr. Jogesh Chunder Dutt. Two volumes, Stanhope Press, 249, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta, 1879 and 1887.

on the banks of the Vitastâ." His successor Jaloka was an orthodox Hindu king, and drove back the *Mlechchas*, who were pouring in from the west. This horde must have been the Turanians who conquered Kashmir so soon after. Jaloka was succeeded by Damodara II, and then came the foreign conquerors, and "during their long reign, Buddhist hermits were all powerful in the country, and the Buddhist religion prevailed without opposition."

We subjoin a list of the thirty-one kings from Kanishka, and up to the time of Mâtrigupta, the contemporary of Vikramâditya of Ujjayinî. If we accept 78 A.D. as the date of Kanishka's coronation, and 550 A. D. as the date of Vikramâditya and Mâtrigupta, then we get the intervening 472 years for 31 reigns, giving a not improbable average of over 15 years for each reign.

	A. D.		A. D.
Kanishka	78	Aksha	340
Abhimanyu	100	Gopâditya	355
Gonanda	115	Gokarna	370
Bibhîsana I	130	Narendrâditya	385
Indrajit	145	Yudhisthira	400
Râvana	160	Pratâpâditya	415
Bibhisana II	175	Jalauka	430
Nara I	190	Tunjina	445
Siddha	205	Vijaya	460
Utpalâksha	220	Jayendra	475
Hiranyâksha	235	Sandhimati	490
Mukula	250	Meghavâhana	505
Mihirakula	205	Shreshta Sena	520
Vaka	280	Hiranya ...	535 to 550
Kshitinanda	295	And Hiranya was succeeded by Mâtrigupta.	
Vasunanda	310		
Nara II	325		

A few of the kings deserve a passing notice. Nara I is said to have been a violent persecutor of Buddhists, and burnt numerous monasteries, and gave the villages which supported them to Brâhmans. In the reign of Mukula, the *Mlechchas* once more overran Kashmir, but his successor Mihirakula was a great conqueror, and is said to have spread his conquests as far as Karnâta and Ceylon. He was also a persecutor of Buddhists. Pratâpâditya began a new dynasty. A severe famine visited Kashmir in the reign of his

grandson Tunjina in consequence of the *sâli* grain being blighted by a sudden and heavy frost. Meghavâhana seems to have been favorably disposed towards Buddhism; he is said to have carried his conquering arms as far as Ceylon, and he prohibited the slaughter of animals in his own kingdom and in all the kingdoms he conquered. His queens built numerous Buddhist monasteries. His son Shreshta Sena and then his grandson Hiranya succeeded; and then a stranger, Mâtrigupta, was helped to the throne of Kashmir by Vikramâdîtya of Ujjayinî, then all powerful in India.

From this brief account of Kashmir we now turn to Gujrat. We have stated before that the great Kanishka extended his conquests southwards as far as Gujrat. A race of rulers known as the Kshaharata family held sway in Gujrat as the vassals of Kanishka's successors. But after the time of Nahapana and his son-in-law Usavadâta, these rulers became independent kings, and maintained their independence against the Andhras of Magadha, who claimed suzerainty over Saurâshtra. These rulers, generally known as the "Shah kings," are known to us only by their coins and inscriptions, and there has been much controversy as to the particular era which the Shah kings adopted in these coins and inscriptions. It is now, however, settled beyond a doubt, that they adopted the Saka Era from their original masters the kings of Kashmir, and all their coins and inscriptions are dated according to this era.

SHAH KINGS OF SAURASHTRA.

	Coin dates	A. D.
Nahapana	..	...
Usavadâta	...	...
Svâmi Chastana	...	...
Jaya Dama	...	...
Jîva Dama	...	...
Rudra Daman	72	150
Rudra Sinha	102	180
Rudra Shah	104	182
Sri Shah	...	...
Sangha Daman	...	...
Daman Shah	144	222
Yasa Daman	...	...
Damajata Srî	...	...
Vîra Daman	...	...
Isvara Datta	...	...
Vijaya Shah	170	248
Damajata Srî	...	...
Rudra Shah	197	275
Visva Sinha	...	...
Atri Daman	...	...
Visva Shah	200	278
Rudra Sinha	270	348
Asa Daman	271	349
Svâmi Rudra Shah	292	370
Svâmi Rudra Shah II		

Among the many inscriptions of this dynasty which have been found in different places in Western India, we will only quote one, which is perhaps the earliest, and which will give our readers a fair idea of these inscriptions. The following inscription, found in the Nâsik caves, belongs to Nahapana, who heads the list given above :—

To the Perfect One ! This cave and these small tanks were caused to be constructed on the mounts Trirasmi in Govardhana by the beloved Usavadâta, the son-in-law of King Kshaharata Satrap Nahapana, son of Dinika, who gave three hundred thousand cows, presented gold, and constructed flights of steps on the river Bârnâsâya, gave sixteen villages to gods and Brâhmans, fed a hundred thousand Brâhmans every year, provided eight wives for Brâhmans at Prabhasu the holy place, constructed quadrangles, houses and halting places at Bharukachchha, Dasapura, Govardhana and Sorparaga, made gardens, tanks and wells, charitably enabled men to cross Iuâ, Parâdâ, Damana, Tâpî, Karabinâ and Dahanukâ by placing boats on them, constructed Dharmasâlâs and endowed places for the distribution of water, and gave capital worth a thousand, for thirty-two Nâdhigeras for the Charanas and Parishads in Pinditakâvada, Govardhana, Suvarnamukha, Sorparaga, Râmatîrtha, and in the village of Nâmagola. By the command of the lord, I went in the rainy season to Mâlaya to release Hirudha the Uttamabhadra. The Mâlayas fled away at the sound (of our war music), and were all made subjects of the Kshatriyas, the Uttamabhadras. Thence I went to Poksharani and there performed ablutions and gave three thousand cows and a village.

The above inscription of Nahapana found in the Nâsik caves is of great importance, as it shews how even a vassal of the Buddhist kings of Kashmir delighted in doing honor and making gifts to Brâhmans, and how Hinduism and Buddhism flourished side by side in the centuries immediately succeeding the Christain Era, except when some intolerant prince occasionally filled the throne. To bestow gold and cattle and villages to Brâhmans, to construct bathing *ghâts*, halting places, *dharmasâlâs*, gardens, tanks and wells, to establish free ferries, and to endow institutions for charitable purposes, were acts which were deemed worthy of royal charity and benevolence. And lastly, we learn from this inscription that the Saurâshtras undertook an expedition against the Mâlayas in order to help a race of friendly Kshatriyas the Uttamabhadras.

The most remarkable inscription of the Shah kings, however, is that on a bridge near Girnar, known as Rudra

Daman's bridge, which was first read by James Prinsep, and revised and more correct readings have since been published. By referring to the list of kings given above, our readers will see that Rudra Daman was the fourth king after Nahapana and his successor Usavadâta, and reigned in the middle of the second century A.D. The inscription is remarkable on account of its reference to Asoka the Great, and his grandfather Chandragupta, the contemporary of Alexander the Great. We are told in the inscription that the ancient bridge was swept away by an inundation; that it was repaired by Puspagupta the chief artificer of the Maurya king Chandragupta, and then by Tushaspa the Yavana Raja of Asoka; that it was then constructed by the great Satrap (Mahâkshatrapa) Rudra Daman in the year 72 (Saka Era, *i. e.*, 150 A. D.) In this inscription Rudra Daman boasts that having repeatedly overcome Sâtakarni, the lord of Dakshinâpatha, he concluded an alliance with him. And he also boasts of having conquered Saurâshtra, Kutch, and other places. If the reader will refer to the list of the Andhra kings of Magadha given in the last chapter, he will find that several kings of the name of Sâtakarni belong to that dynasty; and the above inscription of Rudra Daman would shew that the Shah kings of Saurâshtra were often the rivals and connexions (by marriage) of the great Andhra kings.

On the other hand, Gautamîputra of the Andhra line boasts in an inscription in a cave at Nassik, that he had conquered Saurâshtra, Kutch, and other countries and destroyed the race of the Khaharata. The date of this conquest of the Shah kings by Gautamîputra of the Andhra line forms the subject of much controversy, into which we are unable to enter.

We have spoken of the invasions and conquests of three distinct races, *viz.*, of the Bactrian Greeks in the 2nd century before Christ, of the Yue-Chi and other cognate Turanians in the 1st century after Christ, and lastly of their vassals the Shah kings who ruled in Saurâshtra for three centuries. Other invasions followed in the wake, of which history scarcely keeps any note.

The Bactrians, expelled from their country by the Turanians, appear to have penetrated far into India; and the Cambojians, *i. e.*, the inhabitants of Cabul and Candahar, followed in the wake and entered into the country, where fertile and rich settlements could be carved out by adventurers by their strong right arm.

And lastly, the great White Huns appeared on the scene in the 4th and 5th century of the Christian Era. Their locust hordes spread over Persia and compelled Bahram Gaur, king of Persia, to seek an asylum in India and an alliance with the king of Kanouj, whose daughter he married. It is probable that this royal maiden who espoused a Persian husband was a daughter of the Gupta line, for the Gupta emperors were then ruling in Kanouj and were the paramount power in India. We will speak of them in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V.

GUPTA KINGS.

HALF a century ago James Prinsep indicated the necessity of arranging all inscriptions found in India for the study of the ancient history of India, and he also suggested that the collective publication should bear the name of *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*

In 1877 General Sir Alexander Cunningham brought out the first volume of this proposed work, and this volume contains the inscriptions of Asoka which we have spoken of in the first chapter of this book.

In 1888 Mr. Fleet of the Bombay Civil Service brought out the third volume of this work, containing the inscriptions of the Gupta kings, and giving a history of the controversy about the date of the Guptas which has been carried on during the last forty years in India and in Europe!

The second volume of the proposed work, which would contain the inscriptions of the Shah kings of Saurâshtra, has not yet been commenced. It is to be hoped that some able scholar and experienced archæologist will yet be employed on this work, and will complete the collection of Indian inscriptions which are invaluable for the elucidation of the Buddhist Period of Indian History.

We have seen that the controversy relating to the date of the Guptas has gone on for well nigh forty years, and many of the ablest oriental scholars have engaged themselves in this controversy. The history of this remarkable controversy occupies over 30 folio pages of Mr. Fleet's valuable work! Happily it is a controversy which is now at an end, and the conclusion arrived at is beyond reasonable doubt. Alberuni wrote in the 11th century that the Gupta Era was posterior to the Saka Era by 241 years, or, in other words, the Gupta Era begins with 319 A. D. All the facts collected

during recent years confirm this statement, and we can now read the dates in the Gupta coins and inscriptions, remembering that we have to add 319 to them to find out the dates of the Christian Era. Mr. Fleet, with a pardonable partiality for his own labours, maintains that the Mandasor inscription which he has discovered finally settles the controversy. Scholars were pretty well agreed on this point, and the Mandasor inscription probably confirms the conclusion.

We give below a list of the Gupta kings with their coin and inscription dates and the corresponding years of the Christian Era :—

	Coin and Inscription Dates.	A. D.
(Mahârâja) Gupta.		
Ghatotkacha.		
Chandra Gupta I (or Vikramâditya.)		
Samudra Gupta.		
Chandra Gupta II (or Vikramâditya.)	82, 88, 93, 95.	401, 407, 412, 414.
Kumâra Gupta (or Mahendrâditya)	96, 98, 129, 130.	415, 417, 448, 449.
Skanda Gupta ...	136, 137, 138, 141, 144. 145, 146, 148, 149.	455, 456, 457, 460, 463, 464, 465, 467, 468.
Buddha Gupta ...	165, 175, 180 ...	484, 494, 499.
Bhânu Gupta.		

It will be seen from the list given above that Samudra Gupta reigned in the latter end of the 4th century. The famous Gupta inscription on the Allahabad *Lât* of Asoka throws much light on the extent of this great king's power and influence.

Whose great good fortune was mixed with, so as to be increased by, his glory produced by the favour shown in capturing and then liberating Mahendra of *Kosala*, Vyâghrarâja *Mahâkântâra*, Mantarâja of *Kerala*, Mahendra of *Pishtapura*, Svamidatta of *Kottura* on the hill, Damana of *Erandapalla*, Vishnugopa of *Kânchi*, Nîlarâja of *Avamukta*, Hastivarman of *Vengi*, Ugrasena, of *Palakka*, Kuvera of *Devarâshtra*, Dhananjaya of *Kusthalapura*, and all other kings of the region of *the South*;

Who abounded in majesty which had been increased by violently exterminating Rudradeva, Matela, Nâgadatta, Chandravarman, Ganapatinâga, Nâgasena, Achyuta, Nandin, Balavarman, and many other kings of *Aryâvarta*, who made all the kings of the forest countries to become his servants;

Whose imperious commands were fully gratified by the payment of taxes and the execution of his orders by the frontier kings (*Pratyanta*

Nripati) of *Samatata*, *Davâka*, *Kâmarûpa*, *Nepâla*, *Kartripura*, and other countries; and by the *Mâlavas Arjunâyanas*, *Yaudheyas*, *Mâdrakas*, *Abhîras*, *Prâjunas*, *Sanakânîkas*, *Kâkas*, *Kharaparikas*, and other tribes;

Whose tranquil fame pervading the whole world was generated by establishing again many royal families fallen and deprived of sovereignty, whose binding together of the whole world, by means of the ample vigour of his arm, was effected by acts of respectful service,—such as offering themselves as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, giving Garuda tokens, surrendering the enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting his commands, &c —— rendered by the *Daivaputras*, *Shahis*, *Shahanushahis*, *Sakas*, *Murundas*, and by the people of *Sinhala*, and all other dwellers in islands.

Here we have an elaborate and perhaps somewhat exaggerated account of the immense power of one of the early Gupta emperors. We learn that he conquered the kings of Kânchî, Kerâla, and other countries *in Southern India*; that he exterminated the kings of A'ryâvarta or *Northern India*; that frontier kings of Samatata (East Bengal), Kâmarûpa (Assam), Nepal, and other places, and nations like the Mâlavas, Mâdrakas, and Abhîras obeyed his orders and paid him tribute; and that even the Shahs and Shahinshahs of western countries, and the people of Ceylon sent him tribute in offerings and gifts, and handsome maidens from their lands. We are told towards the close of this inscription that this great king was "the son of the son's son of the Mahârâja the illustrious Gupta,"—"the son's son of the Mahârâja the illustrious Ghatotkacha,"—"the son of Mahârâjâdhirâja the glorious Chandragupta"—"begotten on the Mahâdevî Kumâradevî," a daughter of the Lichchavi royal house.

Samudragupta was succeeded by his son Chandragupta II, and among his inscriptions there is a short one found at Sanchi, which makes a grant of a village to Buddhist monks,—the "A'rya Sangha in the holy great Vihâra of Kâkanâdabota." Elsewhere, in an inscription on a stone found in Mathurâ, Chandragupta gives us his mother's name,—describing himself as the son of the Mahârâjâdhirâja Samudragupta "begotten on the Mâhâdevî Dattadevî."

Chandragupta II was succeeded by his son Kumâragupta, who in an inscription found in Bilsad, in the Eta

District, N.-W. P., gives us the entire genealogy of the family from the first Gupta. And he describes himself as "begotten on Mahâdevî Dhruvadevî of the Mahârâjâdhirâja the glorious Chandragupta."

Another inscription of Kumâragupta in Mankuwar, in Allahabad District, was discovered by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in 1870. The inscription is under an image of Buddha seated, and we are informed that the image was installed by Kumâragupta in the year 129 (448 A.D.)

The celebrated Mandasor inscription discovered by Mr. Fleet was not engraved by order of the Gupta kings, but has reference to Kumâragupta, and may therefore be spoken of here. It is on a stone slab in front of a temple of Mahâdeva in the village of Dasapura, in Scindia's dominions. The inscription informs us that some silk weavers immigrated to this place from Gujrat, and that a portion of them formed a flourishing guild. At the time "when Kumâragupta was reigning over the whole earth," there was a ruler named Visvavarman, and his son Bandhuvarman was ruling in Dasapura, when the guild of weavers built a temple there, which was completed "in the season when the sound of thunder is pleasing, when 493 years had elapsed from the tribal constitution of the Mâlavas."

"Mâlavânâm gana-sthityâ yâte sata chatushtaye
Trinavatya-dhikâbdânâm ritau sevya-ghana-svane."

And we are further informed in this inscription that the temple was repaired in the year when 529 years of the same Era had elapsed.

Mr. Fleet maintains that the particular Kumâragupta alluded to in this inscription of the Dasapura weavers is Kumâragupta of the Gupta line, and that the Era alluded to in this inscription is the Era of the Mâlavas, now known as Vikramâditya's Samvat Era beginning with 56 B. C. The temple was therefore built in (493—56)=437 A. D., and repaired in (529—56)=473 A. D.

This is a startling discovery; for if Mr. Fleet's supposition be correct, then the true origin of the *Samvat Era* is discovered. The Era was not founded by a

Vikramâditya who reigned in 56 B. C., as was supposed by earlier scholars. Nor was the Era fixed in 544 A. D. by a Vikramâditya then reigning, and thrown backwards by six centuries, as has been supposed by Dr. Ferguson * *The Era was originally a national era of the Mâlava tribe, and came subsequently to be connected with the name of Vikramâditya*, who about the 6th century A. D. raised the Mâlavas to the rank of the first nation in India.

Kumâragupta's son Skandagupta succeeded him; and his inscription on the pillar discovered in Ghazipur District, and known as the Bhitari Lât, gives us the genealogy of the Gupta kings given before, and continues it to Skandagupta. More important is the inscription found in Junagarh, in the Bombay Presidency. After an invocation to Vishnu, it tells us that Skandagupta,—who had subdued the whole earth as far as the seas, and whose fame was acknowledged even by his enemies "in the countries of the Mlechchhas,"—appointed Parnadatta to govern his kingdom of the Saurâshtras. Parnadatta appointed his son Chakrapâlita. In the year 136 (Gupta Era. *i. e.*, 455 A. D), the lake at the foot of Girnar burst its embankment in consequence of excessive rain, and the restoration of the breach after two months' work was effected in 137, and is the cause of the inscription.

Skandagupta appears to have been the last great king of the Gupta line. There is an inscription of Buddhagupta in Eran, in the Central Provinces, and dated 165, *i. e.*, 484 A. D. It informs us that Surasmichandra, the feudatory of Buddhagupta, governed the country between the Kâlindî and the Narmadâ. The object of the inscription is to record the erection of a column to the god Vishnu under the name of Janârdana.

Another inscription in Eran alludes to Bhânugupta, and informs us that a chieftain or noble Goparâja accompanied him, and fought a battle and was killed. Goparâja's "devoted, attached, beloved, and beauteous wife, in close companionship, accompanied him into the funeral pyre."

*See *Introduction.*

This is one of the earliest instances on record of a widow following her husband to the pyre. We are not told to what race Gopaiâja belonged, and among what races the practice first prevailed in India. It was a Scythian custom, and it first comes to notice in Indian history among the Rajputs who are believed to be descended from Scythian settlers in India. The almost entire silence of the classical authors of the Pauranik Period on this practice would shew that the practice was not adopted by Hindu races generally even in the Pauranik Period.

The destruction of the powerful dynasty of the Guptas, which held the supreme power in India for over a century, has formed the subject of much controversy. Dr. Fergusson holds that the locust hordes of the white Huns which extended their invasions far and wide in Asia, weakened Persia, and dealt the death blow to the Guptas in India. Mr. Fleet shews some reasons * for believing that the great and relentless Mihirakula of the Punjab and his father Toramâna were Huns; that after the death of Skandagupta (who had once repelled the Huns) Toramâna wrested Eastern Malwa from the Guptas about 466 A. D.; that Mihirakula began his career of conquest and destruction about 515 A. D.; and that he was at last quelled by Yasadharman, the powerful king of Northern India. The sway of the Huns in Central India was thus of short duration, but Cosma Indico Pleustes, writing in the 6th century, tells us that the Huns in his day were a powerful nation settled and holding sway in the Punjab.

These and other foreign, invaders of whom we have spoken before, settled down among the people, adopted the language, the religion, and the civilization of India, and thus formed new Hindu races destined to play an important part in the political revolution which ensued at the close of the Pauranik Period, in the 9th and 10th centuries.

* *Indian Antiquary*, vol xv, p. 245, &c.
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. III, p. 11, &c.

CHAPTER VI.

FA HIAN'S ACCOUNT OF INDIA.

IN the last three chapters we have attempted to give our readers an account, unfortunately scanty and meagre, of some of the principal ruling dynasties in India in the Buddhist Period. But an account of the ruling dynasties is not a History of India, and it is necessary that we should try to form a more distinct notion of the numerous races which inhabited India, their chief towns, their arts, and their civilization. Happily we have some material at our disposal to help us in this undertaking in the records of the Chinese travellers who visited India about the close of the period of which we are speaking.

Three Chinese travellers of note visited India and have left us their journals. Fa Hian travelled in India about a century before the close of what we have called the Buddhist Period. Sung Yun came immediately at the close of that period; and Houen Tsang travelled a century after. If then we study the records of these three travellers, we shall have some idea of the political condition of India at the close of the Buddhist Period.

It must be remembered, however, that these travellers were pious and enthusiastic Buddhist pilgrims, and a great portion of their accounts is taken up with legends and fables about Buddha and about holy relics and monuments and sites. It is only incidentally that they speak of the people and their civilization, but even these casual notes are valuable towards the elucidation of a subject of which our knowledge is so meagre and poor.

Fa Hian came to India abot 400 A. D., and begins his account of it with UDYA'NA or the country round Cabul, with which he says North India commenced. The language then spoken here was the language of

Mid-India, and the dress and food and drink of the people were the same. * Buddhism was then flourishing, and there were five hundred *Sangha-ârâmas* or abodes of monks. He passed through SVAT, GA'NDHA'RA, TAXASILA and PESHAWAR, in which last place he saw a Buddhist tower of remarkable strength, beauty of construction, and height.

Travelling through Nagarahâra and their countries, and after crossing the Indus, Fa Hian at last reached the MATHURA' country on the Jumna river. On the sides of the river, both right and left, there were twenty Sanghârâmas, with perhaps 3,000 priests. The religion of Buddha was progressing and flourishing. "Beyond the deserts are the countries of Western India. The kings of these countries (Rajputana) are all firm believers in the law of Buddha. Southward from this is the so-called middle country (Madhyadesa). The climate of this country is warm and equable, without frost or snow. The people are very well off, without poll tax or official restrictions; only those who till the royal lands return a portion of profit of the land. If they desire to go, they go; if they like to stop, they stop.† The kings govern without corporal punishment; criminals are fined according to circumstances, lightly or heavily. Even in cases of repeated rebellion, they only cut off the right hand. The king's personal attendants, who guard him on the right and left, have fixed salaries. Throughout the country the people kill no living thing, nor drink wine, nor do they eat garlic or onions, with the exception of Chandâlas only. In this country they do not keep swine nor fowls, and do not deal in cattle; they have no shambles or wine shops in their market places. In selling they use cowrie-shells. The Chandâlas only hunt and

* Throughout this and the succeeding chapter we rely on Beal's translation, "Buddhist Records of the Western World." 2 vols. 1884.

† It is abundantly proved by the literature of the Hindus, and by the testimony of Greek and Chinese travellers, that the system of agricultural slavery, such as prevailed in Europe in the middle ages, was never known in India.

sell flesh. Down from the time of Buddha's Nirvâna, the kings of these countries, the chief men and householders have raised Vihâras, and provided for their support by bestowing on them fields, houses and gardens with men and oxen. Engraved title deeds were prepared and handed down from one reign to another ; no one has ventured to withdraw them, so that till now there has been no interruption. All the resident priests having chambers (in these Vihâras), have their beds, mats, food, drink, and clothes provided without stint ; in all places this is the case."

Our traveller passed through Sankâsya and came to KANOUJ. Our readers will remember that Kanouj was at this time a flourishing capital of the Gupta Emperors,—but unfortunately Fa Hian has little to say about the city, except its two Sanghârâmas !

Passing through Shachi, Fa Hian came to KOSALA and its ancient capital Srâvasti. But that great city had declined since the days of Buddha, and the Chinese pilgrim saw very few inhabitants in the city, altogether perhaps about 200 families. But Jetavana, in which Buddha had often preached, had not lost its natural beauty, and the Vihâra there was now ornamented with clear tanks, luxuriant groves, and numberless flowers of variegated hues. The monks of the Vihâra on learning that Fa Hian and his companion had travelled from China exclaimed, " Wonderful ! to think that men from the frontiers of the earth should come so far as this from a desire to search for the law."

KAPILAVASTU, the birth-place of Gautama, was no more in its glory. " In this city there is neither king nor people ; it is like a great desert. There is simply a congregation of priests, and about ten families of lay people." KUSHINAGARA, too, where Gautama had died, was no longer a town. There were but few inhabitants, and such families as there were, were connected with the resident congregation of priests.

Fa Hian then came to VAISALI, once the proud capital of the Lichchavis, and the spot where Gautama had accepted the hospitality of the courtezan Amba-

pâli. Here, too, was held the Second Council, and Fa Hian alludes to it: "One hundred years after the Nirvâna of Buddha, there were at Vaisâli certain Bhikshus who broke the rules of the Vinaya in ten particulars, saying that Buddha, had said it was so; at which time the Arhats and the orthodox Bhikshus, making an assembly of 700 ecclesiastics, compared and collected the Vinaya Pitaka afresh."

Crossing the Ganges our traveller came to PA'TALIPUTRA or Patna, first built by Ajâtasatru to check his northern foes, and afterwards the capital of Asoka the Great. "In the city is the royal palace, the different parts of which, he (Asoka), commissioned the genii to construct by piling up the stones. The walls, doorways, and the sculptured designs are no human work. The ruins still exist." By the tower of Asoka was an imposing and elegant Sanghârâma and temple with 600 or 700 monks. The great Brâhman teacher Manjusrî himself lived in the Buddhist Sanghârâma, and was esteemed by Buddhist Srâmans. We have also here an account of the pomp and circumstance with which Buddhist rites were now celebrated. "Every year, on the eighth day of the second month, there is a procession of images. On this occasion they construct a four-wheeled car and erect upon it a tower of five stages, composed of bamboos lashed together, the whole being supported by a centre post, resembling a spear with three points, in height 22 feet and more. So it looks like a pagoda. They then cover it over with fine white linen, which they afterwards paint with gaudy colours. Having made figures of the Devas, and decorated them with gold, silver and glass, they place them under canopies of embroidered silk. Then at the four corners (of the car) they construct niches (shrines) in which they place figures of Buddha in a sitting posture with a Bodhisattva standing in attendance. There are perhaps 20 cars thus prepared and differently decorated. During the day of the procession, both priests and laymen assemble in great numbers. There are games and music,

whilst they offer flowers and incense. The Brahmachâris come forth to offer their invitations. The Buddhas then, one after the other, enter the city. After coming into the town again they halt. Then all night long they burn lamps, indulge in games and music, and make religious offerings. Such is the custom of all those who assemble on this occasion from the different countries round about." This is a valuable account from an eye-witness of the system of idolatry to which Buddhism had declined by the 5th century A. D. Many writers are of opinion that later Hinduism owes its processions and idolatry to Buddhism.

More interesting to us is the account of the charitable dispensaries of the town of Pâtaliputra. "The nobles and householders of this country have founded hospitals within the city to which the poor of all countries, the destitute, cripple, and the diseased, may repair. They receive every kind of requisite help gratuitously. Physicians inspect their diseases, and according to their cases, order them food and drink, medicine or decoctions, everything in fact that may contribute to their ease. When cured, they depart at their convenience."

Fa Hian then visited RA'JAGRIHA, the new town built by Ajâtasatru, as well as the old town of Bimbisâra. The traveller here alludes to the first Buddhist Council which was held immediately after the death of Buddha to compile the sacred texts. "There is a stone cave situated in the northern shade of the mountain and called Cheti. This is the place where 500 Arhats assembled after the Nirvâna of Buddha to arrange the collection of sacred books."

At GAYA, Fa Hian found everything desolate and like a desert. He visited the famous Bo-tree and all the other places connected with Buddha's penances and attaining supreme wisdom, and tells legends which had grown up since Gautama's time. He then arrived at the country of KASI and the city of Benares, where he visited the deer park where Gautama had first proclaimed the truth. Two Sanghârâmas had been built

here. Thence he went to the ancient town of Kausambi where Gautama had often preached.

From Benares, Fa Hian returned to Pâtaliputra. The purpose of Fa Hian was to seek for copies of the Vinaya Pitaka; but "throughout the whole of Northern India the various masters trusted to tradition only for their knowledge of the precepts, and had no originals to copy from. Wherefore Fa Hian had come even so far as Mid-India.* But here, in the Sanghârâma of the great vehicle, he obtained one collection of the precepts."

Proceeding down the course of the river Ganges, the pilgrim came to CHAMPA' on the southern shore of the river We have already said before, that Champâ was the capital of Anga or East Behar, and was situated near modern Bhagulpur. Going further eastward and southward, Fa Hian came to TA'MRALIPTI which was then the great sea-port at the mouth of the Ganges. There were 24 Sanghârâmas in this country; all of them had resident priests, and the law of Buddha was generally respected. Fa Hian remained here for two years, writing out copies of the sacred books, and drawing image-pictures. He then shipped himself on board a great merchant vessel. Putting to sea, they proceeded in a south-westerly direction, catching the first fair wind of the winter season. They sailed for fourteen days and nights, and arrived at the "country of the lions" (*Sinhala*, Ceylon).

CEYLON, our traveller says, had originally no inhabitants, but merchants came in great numbers and gradually settled here, and so a great kingdom rose. Then the Buddhists came, (Fa Hian says, Buddha came), and converted the people The climate of Ceylon was agreeable, and the vegetation verdant, and to the north of the royal city was a great tower 479 ft. in height, with a Sanghârâma containing 5,000 monks. But amid these pleasing scenes, the heart of the traveller sickened for his home from which he was now separated for many years, and when on one occasion the

* The whole tract of country from Malwa to Magadha seems to have been called Middle India.

present of a fan of Chinese manufacture by a merchant, to a jasper figure of Buddha 22 ft. high, reminded Fa Hain of his native country, he "gave way to his sorrowful feelings, and the tears flowing down filled his eyes."

After a residence of two years in Ceylon, and after obtaining copies of the Vinaya Pitaka and other works "hitherto unknown" in China, Fa Hian shipped himself on board a great merchant vessel which carried about 200 men. A great tempest arose, and the ship sprung a leak, and much cargo had to be thrown overboard. Fa Hian threw over board his pitcher and his basin, "and was only afraid lest the merchants should fling into the sea his sacred books and images." The hurricane abated after thirteen days, the passengers came to a little island where they stopped the leak, and then put to sea again. "In this ocean they are many pirates who, coming on you suddenly, destroy everything. The sea itself is boundless in extent; it is impossible to know east or west, except by observing the sun, moon or stars, and so progress. At length the weather clearing up, they got their right bearings, and once more shaped a correct course and proceeded onwards," and after over ninety days they reached Ye-po-ti (Java). "In this country heretics and Brâhmans flourish."

Stopping here for nearly five months, Fa Hian embarked on board another merchant vessel with a crew of about 200 men, who took fifty days' provisions with them. After they had sailed for over a month, a storm again arose, and the superstitious Brâhmans said to one another, "It is because we have got this Srâman (Fa Hian) on board we have no luck, and have incurred this great mischief. Come let us land this Bhikshu on any island we may meet, and let us not all perish for the sake of one man." But Fa Hian's patron boldly stood by him and saved him from a miserable death in some lonely island. After sailing for 82 days they arrived at the southern coast of China.

Our readers will not regret the length of the above account of the voyage which we have given. It is

among the very few accounts which have been left to us of the state of navigation between India and China in the Buddhist Period. We learn from this account that merchant vessels from India, with a crew of 200 or more, braved the perils of the deep fifteen centuries ago ; that the bold voyagers trusted to the stars and the sun and the moon to know the direction they were going ; and that in fair weather they could thus ascertain their bearings. We learn further that Brâhman merchants sailed in these vessels to Sumatra and Java and to China ; and that in Java Hindu religion * and civilization flourished. Such enterprise has died out in India with the decline of the nation, and a voyage in the present day entails loss of caste !

The travels of Sung Yun (518 A. D) need not detain us long, as he scarcely came as far as Hindustan proper. He came to Udyâna (near Cabul), and found the king to be a faithful Buddhist and merciful in his administration. He then came to Gândhâra, a kingdom which closely resembled Udyâna, but the king did not believe in the law of Buddha ; he was warlike and powerful, and ever engaged in his frontier wars. Crossing the Indus Sung Yun came to the city Nagarahâra, and after visiting a few neighbouring sites, commenced his return in 521 A. D.

* The present writer has seen in the museum of Leyden in Holland, stone images of Ganesa, Durgâ, Siva, and other Hindu gods, brought from the temples and shrines of Java.

CHAPTER VII.

HOUEN TSANG'S ACCOUNT OF INDIA.

WE now come to the records of the most eminent of Chinese travellers, Houen Tsang, whose narrative has shed a flood of light on the state of India after the close of the Buddhist Period. He left China in 629 A. D. and came through Ferganah, Sumarkand, Bokhara and Balk, to India where he lived and travelled for many years, and finally returned to China in 645 A. D. At the commencement of his account of India, he gives a general description of the arts and manners of the Hindus which we will consider when we come to treat of their social manners and civilization. We proceed now with the traveller's account of the Hindu kingdoms he visited.

NAGARAHA'RA, the old capital of the Jelalabad district, was 4 miles in circuit. The country was rich in cereals and fruits, the manners of the people were simple and honest, and their disposition ardent and courageous. Buddhism was the prevailing religion, but Hinduism was also followed, and there were five Deva temples and about a hundred worshippers in the city. To the east of the city was a stûpa 300 feet high, built by Asoka, and wonderfully constructed of stone beautifully adorned and carved. There were many Sanghârâmas, of which one, four miles to the south-west of the city, had a high hall and storied tower made of piled up stone, and a stûpa 200 feet high.

The kingdom of GA'NDHA'RA had its capital at Peshawar, and both Nagarahâra and Gândhâra were then subject to the king of Kapisa (near the Hindu Kush) and were governed by his deputies. The towns and villages of Gândhâra were deserted, and there were but few inhabitants. The country was rich in cereals, and the people were timid and fond of literature. The 1,000 Sanghârâmas were deserted and in ruins, and there were about 100 Hindu temples.

While speaking of the kingdom of Gândhâra, Houen Tsang gives us an anecdote of Manohrita, a great Buddhist writer. He lived in the time of Vikramâditya "of wide renown," but Vikramâditya was a patron of Hinduism and Hindu learning, and Manohrita was disgraced in a controversy in his court, and retired in disgust, saying "in a multitude of partisans there is no justice." Vikramâditya's successor Sîlâditya, however, was a patron of Buddhist learned men, and he honored Vasabandhu, the pupil of Manohrita, and the Hindu learned men "were abashed and retired." Elsewhere, in his account of Malwa, Houen Tsang says that Sîlâditya reigned sixty years before his time, *i. e.*, about 580 A. D., and Vikramâditya's long reign would therefore fall before 550 A. D. which corresponds with the date we have given him.

Near the town of POLUSHA, our traveller came to a high mountain on which he found a figure of Bhîmâ Devî (Durgâ) carved out of bluish stone. Rich and poor assembled here from every part, near and distant, and saw the image after prayers and fasting. Below the mountain was a temple of Mahesvara, and the Hindu sect (Pâsupata), who covered themselves with ashes, came here to offer sacrifice. From these places Houen Tsang came to Salâtura, the birthplace of Pânini the grammarian.

At UDYA'NA or the country round Cabul, where Fa Hian had found Buddhism flourishing two centuries before, Houen Tsang found the Sanghârâmas waste and desolate, and few monks residing in them. There were ten temples of Devas.

Crossing the Indus, the traveller ascended the river through mountain gorges to LITTLE THIBET. "The roads are craggy and steep, the mountains and the valleys are dark and gloomy. Sometimes we have to cross by ropes, sometimes by iron chains stretched (across the gorges). There are footbridges suspended in the air, and flying bridges across the chasms." From Little Thibet, Houen Tsang went to Takshasîlâ and Sinhapura, both subject to Kashmir, and at Sinha-

pura he met with the sects of Jainas called Svetâmvaras and Digamvaras. "The laws of their founder are mostly filched from the principles of the books of Buddha. The figure of their sacred master (Mahâvîra) they stealthily class with that of Tathâgata (Buddha); it differs only in point of clothing; the points of beauty are absolutely the same." There is no doubt Houen Tsang regarded the Jainas as separatists from Buddhism.

KASHMIR is said to have been 1,400 miles in circuit, and its capital was 2½ miles in length and a mile broad. The soil produced cereals and abounded in fruits and flowers. The climate was cold and stern. There was much snow, but little wind. The people wore leather doublets and clothes of white linen. They were light and frivolous, and of a week pusillanimous disposition. They were handsome in appearance, but were given to cunning. They loved learning and were well instructed. There were both Hindus and Buddhists among them. There were about 100 Sanghârâmas and 5,000 monks.

Kashmir was still redolent of the fame of Kanishka, and our traveller has of course something to say of that powerful king. Here and elsewhere Houen Tsang states that the Nirvâna of Buddha took place a hundred years before the time of Asoka. When, therefore, Houen Tsang says that "in the four hundredth year after the Nirvâna of Tathâgata, Kanishka, king of Gândhâra, having succeeded to the kingdom, his kingly renown reached far, and he brought the most remote under his jurisdiction"—we must understand him to say that Kanishka lived 300 years after Asoka, *i. e.*, about 78 A. D., and this corresponds with the date which has been given to him, and with the Saka Era.

In connexion with Kanishka our traveller gives an account of the great Council of Northern Buddhists which took place in his reign. We are told that the five hundred sages who assembled composed three commentaries, *viz.*, the *Upadesa Sâstra* to explain the Sûtra Pitaka, the *Vinaya Vibhâsâ Sâstra* to explain the Vinaya Pitaka,

and the *Abhidharma Vibhâsâ Sâstra* to explain the Abhidharma Pitaka.

In connexion also with Kanishka, our traveller informs us that tributary kings from China sent hostages to that powerful monarch, and he treated them with marked attention, and assigned for their residence the tract of the country (between the Ravi and the Sutlej) which became thus known as Chinapati. Houen Tsang visited this country, 400 miles in circuit, with a capital 3 miles in circuit. The Chinese introduced the pear and the peach into India, "wherefore the peach is called Chinâni, and the pear is called Chinarâjaputra." When the people saw Houen Tsang, they pointed with their fingers, and said one to another, "This man is a native of the country of our former ruler."

Houen Tsang has also something to say about Mihirakula the great persecutor of Buddhists. "Some centuries ago" Mihirakula established his authority in the town of Sâkala (west of the Ravi). Houen Tsang says that this terrible Mihirakula "issued an edict to destroy all the priests through the five Indies, to overthrow the law of Buddha, and leave nothing remaining." The powerful king attacked Bâlâditya.* king of Magadha, but was taken prisoner and was allowed to go, humiliated and disgraced. He returned to Kashmir, rose in rebellion, killed the king, and placed himself on the throne. He conquered Gândhâra, exterminated the royal family, overthrew Buddhism and Stûpas and monasteries, and killed "three ten myriads of people" on the banks of the Indus. Some allowance must be made for exaggeration on the part of Buddhist chroniclers;—but there can be no doubt that Mihirakula of Kashmir was one of the first and greatest persecutors and destroyers of Buddhists.

* Identified by some with Bâlâditya, the son of Buddhâgupta of the Gupta line of Emperors. Mihirakula of Kashmir is thus supposed to be the destroyer of the Gupta dynasty about 515 A.D (See *ante*, page 505.) But in the list of the Kings of Kashmir given in page 495, Mihirakula is shewn to have reigned in the 3rd century A.D., and Houen Tsang, too, writing about 640 A. D., says that Mihirakula reigned "some centuries ago." Were there two kings of that name?

Houen Tsang was pleased with the kingdom of SATADRU (Sutlej) 400 miles in circuit, and with a capital town 3½ miles in circuit. The country was rich in cereals and fruits, in gold and silver and precious stones. The people wore rich and elegant garments of bright silk. Their manners were soft and agreeable, they were virtuous and believed in the law of Buddha. But, nevertheless, the halls of the Sanghârâmas were deserted and wild, and there were few priests.

The country of MATHURA' was a thousand miles in circuit, and its chief town was four miles round. The soil was rich and fertile, and the country produced white cotton and yellow gold. The manners of the people were soft and complacent, and they esteemed virtue and honored learning. There were 20 Sanghârâmas and about 2,000 priests. On the six fasting days of each of the three fast months, (1st, 5th and 9th months), the people honored the Stûpas with offerings. "They spread out their jewelled banners; the rich parasols are crowded together as net work; the smoke of incense rises in clouds; the flowers are scattered in every direction like rain; the sun and the moon are concealed as by the clouds which hang over the moist valleys. The king of the country and the great ministers apply themselves to these religious duties with zeal."

The kingdom of THANESVARA was 1400 miles in circuit, and its capital was 4 miles round. The climate was genial, the soil rich and productive, but the people were cold and insincere, and given to luxury. The capital was near the site of the old Kuru-kshetra battle field, and our traveller has his version of the story to tell. Two kings divided the five Indies between them, and it was given out that whoever fell in the battle which was to be fought, would obtain deliverance. "The two countries engaged in conflict, and the dead bodies were heaped together as sticks, and from that time till now the plains are everywhere covered with their bones."

The kingdom of SRUGHNA (North Doab), bounded by the Ganges to the east and the Himâlayas to the

north, was 1,200 miles in circuit. Our readers need scarcely be told that this was the land of the ancient Kurus, two thousand years before the time of Houen Tsang. Our traveller was struck by the Ganges with its waves "wide rolling as the sea," and supposed to "wash away countless sins." After describing MATIPURA (west Rohilkund), 1,200 miles in circuit, Houen Tsang describes Máyâ-pura, or HARIDVA'RA, the source of the Ganges. The town here was 4 miles round. "Not far from the town standing by the Ganges river is the great Deva temple where very many miracles of divers sort are wrought. In the midst of it is a tank, of which the borders are made of stone joined skilfully together. Through it the Ganges river is led by an artificial canal * The men of the five Indies call it the gate of the Ganga river (Gangâdvâra). This is where religious merit is found and sin effaced. There are always hundreds and thousands of people gathered together here from distant quarters to bathe and wash in its waters" Already then in the seventh century, Haridvâra was one of the most famed Hindu shrines, and a great gathering-place of devout pilgrims.

Our traveller goes right into the sub-Himalayas and speaks of a kingdom BRAHMAPURA (identified with Garhwal and Kumaon) which produced gold, and where "for ages a woman has been the ruler, and so it is called the *kingdom of the women*. The husband of the reigning woman is called king, but he knows nothing of the affairs of the State The men manage the wars and sow the land, that is all." This, no doubt, has reference to an old custom among the hill tribes of the sub-Himalayan regions. Polyandry prevails among them to this day.

After passing through some other countries, Houen Tsang came to the kingdom of KA'NYAKUBJA, that ancient tract of country which boasted of a civilization two thousand years old in the time of Houen Tsang. For it was here that the Panchâlas developed their

* The canal still exists.

early civilization when Magadha was still a realm of aboriginal barbarians. And although Magadha eclipsed the glory of its western neighbour under Ajâtasatru and Chandragupta and Asoka the Great, yet a few centuries after the Christian Era, Kânyakubja seems again to have attained its supremacy, and was the principal seat of the Gupta Emperors. And in the time of Houen Tsang, Sîlâditya II, the lord of Northern India, had his court in the ancient town of Kânyakubja. And coming down to modern times, Kânyakubja and Delhi, (the ancient sites of the Panchâlas and the Kurus), were still the centres of Hindu civilization when Mahmud of Ghazni, and Muhammad of Ghor came and conquered India, four and six centuries subsequent to the time of Houen Tsang.

Houen Tsang found the kingdom of Kânyakubja 800 miles in circuit, and the wealthy capital 4 miles in length and 1 in breadth. The city had a moat around it, and strong and lofty towers facing each other. The flowers and woods, the lakes and ponds, bright and pure and shining like a mirror, were seen on every side. Valuable merchandise was collected here in great quantities. The people were well off and contented, the houses were rich and well found. Flowers and fruits abounded in every place, and the land was sown and reaped in due seasons. The climate was agreeable and soft, the manners of the people honest and sincere. They were noble and gracious in appearance. For clothing they used ornamented and bright shining fabrics. They applied themselves much to learning, and in their travels were very much given to discussion on religious subjects. The fame of their pure language was far spread. The believers in Buddha and the Hindus were equal in number. There were some hundred Sanghârâmas with 10,000 priests. There were 200 Deva temples with several thousand followers.

For once, Houen Tsang departs from his usual rule, and gives us some account of the history of the country he visits. He says that Prabhâkara Vardhana was the former king of Kânyakubja, and on

his death, his eldest son Râjyavardhana succeeded; but he was defeated and was killed by Sasânka (Narendra Gupta) king of Karna Suvarna (in Bengal); and his ministers selected his younger brother Harshavardhana, under the title of Sîlâditya to the throne. Houen Tsang saw this king Sîlâditya and was kindly received by him. This was Sîlâditya II; for, as we have seen before, and will find again when we come to speak of Malwa, Sîlâditya I reigned sixty years before the time of Houen Tsang, Sîlâditya II reigned from 610 to 650 A. D.

Sîlâditya II was not slow to assert his power. He assembled a body of 5,000 elephants, 2,000 cavalry and 50,000 foot, and in six years "he had subdued the five Indies."

He was inclined towards Buddhism, forbade the slaughter of living animals, built stûpas, and erected hospitals in all the highways throughout India, and stationed physicians there, and provided food and drink and medicines. Once in five years he held a great religious assembly,—the quinquennial celebration of the Buddhists,—and gave alms in profusion.

Houen Tsang was staying in the convent of Nâlanda with the Raja of Kâmarûpa, when Sîlâditya sent an order to the Raja,—"I desire you to come at once to the assembly with the strange Srâman you are entertaining at the Nâlanda convent." On this the traveller came with the Raja of Kâmarûpa and was introduced to Sîlâditya. The latter made many enquiries about the country of the traveller, and was well pleased with his replies. Sîlâditya being about to return to Kânyakubja, convoked a religious assembly, and followed by hundreds of thousands of people, proceeded by the southern bank of the Ganges, while the Raja of Kâmarûpa proceeded by the northern bank. In ninety days they reached Kânyakubja.

Then the kings of the twenty countries, who had received instructions from Sîlâditya, assembled with the Srâmans and Brâhmans, the most distinguished of their country, with magistrates and soldiers. It was

indeed a religious imperial assemblage, and Sîlâditya constructed on the west of the Ganges a great Sanghârâma, and to the east of it a tower 100 ft. high, and between them he placed a golden life-size statue of Buddha. From the 1st to the 21st of the month,—the second month of spring,—he fed and feasted the Srâmans and Brâhmans alike. The entire place from the Sanghârâma to the king's temporary palace was decorated with pavilions and stations for musicians who poured forth music. A small image of Buddha was led forth in a gorgeously caparisoned elephant, Sîlâditya dressed as Indra marching to the left, and the Raja of Kâmarûpa going to the right, each with an escort of 500 war elephants, while a hundred elephants marched in front of the statue. Sîlâditya scattered on every side pearls and various precious substances, with gold and silver flowers. The statue was washed, and Sîlâditya carried it on his own shoulders to the western tower and bestowed on it silken garments and precious gems. After a feast, the men of learning were assembled, and there was a learned discussion. In the evening the king retired to his temporary palace.

In this way the statue was carried every day, and at length on the day of separation, a great fire broke out in the tower. If Houen Tsang can be relied on, the Brâhmans, envious of the king's leaning towards Buddhism, had not only set fire to the tower, but had actually attempted to have him murdered. But Houen Tsang was a staunch Buddhist, and his charges against Brâhmans must be accepted with caution.

The account given above shews us the kind of supremacy which the Emperor of India assumed over the kings and chiefs of the numerous states into which India was always divided. It further shews us that Buddhism had degenerated into idolatry, and gives an idea of the pomp and circumstance with which Buddhist festivals were celebrated, and which have been borrowed by later Hinduism. It also shews us that princes and kings, whether they leaned towards the Buddhist or the Hindu religion, took a pleasure in

honoring the learned and religious men of both sects, and that controversies between the two sects were generally of a friendly character. And lastly, it shews us with what jealous impatience the Brâhmans at the close of the Buddhist Period watched the triumphs of Buddhism, a religion which they contrived finally to overcome in another century or two.

Our traveller found the kingdom of AYODHYA' a thousand miles in circuit, and abounding in cereals, flowers and fruits. The climate was temperate and agreeable, and the manners of the people virtuous and amiable. As elsewhere, the people were partly Hindus and partly Buddhists, and there were 100 Sanghârâmas and 3,000 monks in the country.

Passing through the HAYAMUKHA kingdom, Houen Tsang came to PRAYA'GA or Allahabad. The kingdom was a thousand miles in circuit, the produce of the land was abundant, and fruits grew in great luxuriance. The people were gentle and compliant and fond of learning; but Buddhism was not honored here, and a large proportion of the people were orthodox Hindus. Houen Tsang speaks of the great tree of Allahabad which is still shewn to visitors as the Akshaya Bata or the immortal fig tree.

"At the confluence of the two rivers, every day there are many hundreds of men who bathe themselves and die. The people of this country consider that whoever wishes to be born in heaven ought to fast to a grain of rice, and then drown himself in the waters." There was also a high column in the middle of the river, and people went up this column to gaze on the setting sun until it had gone under the horizon.

KAUSAMBI, where Gautama had often preached, was still a flourishing place. The kingdom was 1,200 miles in circuit, rice and sugarcane grew plentifully; and the people, though said to be rough and hard in their manners, were earnest and religious.

SRAVASTI, the ancient capital of Kosala, where Gautama had preached, was deserted and in ruins. The country was 1,200 miles in circuit, and the people were

honest and pure in manners and fond of religion and learning.

KAPILAVASTU, the birthplace of Gautama, was in ruins. There were some ten deserted towns in the country which was 800 miles in circuit. The royal palace, in ruins, was three miles round, and was of brick. There was no king in the country, each town appointed its own ruler, and the manners of the people were soft and obliging.

KUSHINAGARA, where Gautama died, was similarly in ruins, and the brick foundations of the old walls were two miles in circuit.

BENARES, like Allahabad and Hurdwar, was a tower of strength for Hinduism even in the days of Houen Tsang. The country was 800 miles in circuit, and the capital was nearly four miles by one mile. The familes were rich, and possessed in their dwellings objects of rare value. The people were soft and humane in disposition and were given to study; most of them were Hindus, a few reverenced the law of Buddha. There were in the country 30 Sanghârâmas with about 3,000 priests, and about a hundred temples of Devas with 10,000 sectaries. The god Mahesvara was chiefly worshipped in Benares. Some cut off their hair and went naked, and covered their bodies with ashes, and by the practice of all kinds of austerities sought to escape future births.

In the town of Benares there were twenty Deva temples, the towers and halls of which were of sculptured stone and carved wood. Trees shaded the temples, and pure streams of water encircled them. There was a copper statue of Mahesvara 100 feet high. "Its appearance is grave and majestic, and appears as though really living."

To the north-east of the town was a Stûpa, and in front of it a stone pillar, bright and shining as a mirror, its surface glistening and smooth as ice. About 2 miles from the river Varanâ was the great Sanghârâma of the "Deer Park." Buddha had first proclaimed his religion in this Deer Park. The Sanghâ-

râma was divided into eight portions, and the storeyed towers with projecting eaves and balconies were of very superior work. In the great enclosure there was a Vihâra 200 feet high, and above the roof was a golden covered figure of the mango fruit. The foundations of the Vihâra were of stone, but the towers and stairs were of brick. In the middle of the Vihâra was a life-size figure of Buddha represented as turning the wheel of law. A fit representation on the very spot where the great preacher had set the wheel of his religion rolling.

Passing through other places, Houen Tsang came to VAISA'LI 1,300 miles round, but the capital of the country was in ruins. The soil of the country was rich and fertile, the mango and the banana were plentiful, the climate was agreeable and temperate, and the people were pure and honest. Hindus and Buddhists lived together. The Sanghârâmas were mostly in ruins, and the three or four which remained had but few monks in them. The Deva temples were many.

Houen Tsang speaks separately of the kingdom of the Vajjians, 800 miles in circuit; but originally the Lichchavis and the Vijjians were the same, or rather the Lichchavis formed one of the eight Vajjian tribes. It is scarcely necessary to add that Houen Tsang speaks also of the Council of Vaisâli, which, according to him, took place 110 years after the death of Gautama, and the Council "bound afresh the rules that had been broken, and vindicated the holy law."

Our traveller then paid a visit to NEPAL and was not favorably impressed with the people. Their manners, he says, were false and perfidious, and their temperament hard and fierce, with little regard to truth or honor, and their appearance was ungainly and revolting. From Nepal, Houen Tsang returned to Vaisâli, and thence crossing the Ganges to the country of Magadha which for him was replete with holy associations. No less than two books out of his twelve books are devoted to the legends and sites and holy relics which the pilgrim found in Magadha.

The kingdom of MAGADHA was 1,000 miles in circuit. The walled cities had few inhabitants, but the towns were thickly populated. The soil was rich and produced grains in abundance. The country was low and damp, and towns were therefore built on uplands. The whole country was flooded in the rains, and communication was kept up by boats. The people were simple and honest, they esteemed learning and revered the religion of Buddha. There were fifty Sanghârâmas with 10,000 monks, and ten Deva temples with numerous followers.

The old town of PA'TALIPUTRA, which was still inhabited when Fa Hian visited it, was now entirely deserted, the foundation walls only being visible. The traveller has much to say about Asoka and his half-brother Mahendra, about the Buddhist writers, Nâgârjuna and Asvaghosha, and about the numerous Stûpas and Vihâras and sites connected with Buddha's life which he saw; but we pass them by. He went to GAYA' which had a thousand families of Brâhmans only for its inhabitants. Thence he went to the famous Bodhi Tree, and to the neighbouring Vihâra, 160 or 170 feet high, and covered with beautiful ornamental work, "in one place figures of stringed pearls, in another figures of heavenly Rishis," and the whole being surrounded by a gilded copper A'malaka fruit. Not far from this was the grander structure of the Mahâbodhi Sanghârâma, built by a king of Ceylon. It had six walls with towers of observation three storeys high, and was surrounded by a wall of defence thirty or forty feet high.

"The utmost skill of the artist has been employed; the ornamentation is in the richest colours. The statue of Buddha is cast in gold and silver, decorated with gems and precious stones. The Stûpas are high and large in proportion and beautifully ornamented."

The entire place near the Bodhi Tree was considered sacred by Buddhists in Houen Tsang's time, and as long as Buddhism prevailed in India. "Every year when the Bhikshus break up their yearly rest of the

rains, religious persons come here from every quarter in thousands and myriads, and during seven days and nights they scatter flowers, burn incense, and sound music as they wander through the district and pay their worship and present their offerings." Buddhist celebrations are now a thing of the past in India; and it is important for the historian to note from the pages of contemporaneous witnesses, that those celebrations were in their day marked with as much pomp and circumstance, and as much joyousness and outward demonstration, as Hindu festivals of later times.

Houen Tsang came to RA'JAGRIHA, the old capital of Magadha at the time of Ajâtasatru and Bimbisara. The outer walls of the city had been destroyed, the inner walls still remained in a ruined state, and were 4 miles round. The traveller visited the great cave or stone house in which the first Council was held immediately after the death of Gautama. Kâsyapa was the president of the council, and said: "Let A'nanda who ever heard the words of Tathâgata, collect by singing through, the *Sûtra Pitaka*. Let Upâli who clearly understands the rules of discipline, and is well-known to all who know, collect the *Vinaya Pitaka*; and I, Kâsyapa, will collect the *Abhidarma Pitaka*. The three months of rain being past, the collection of the *Tripitaka* was finished."

Our traveller now came to the great NA'LANDA university, if we may call it by that name. The monks of this place to the number of several thousands were men of the highest ability, talent, and distinction. "The countries of India respect them and follow them. The day is not sufficient for asking and answering profound questions. From morning till night they engage in discussion; the old and the young mutually help one another. Those who cannot discuss questions out of the *Tripitaka* are little esteemed, and are obliged to hide themselves for shame. Learned men from different cities, on this account, who desire to acquire quickly a renown in discussion, come here in multitudes, to settle their doubts, and then the streams (of their wisdom)

spread far and wide. For this reason some persons usurp the name (of Nâlanda students) and in going to and fro receive honour in consequence."

Dr. Fergusson justly remarks that what Cluny and Clairvaux were to France in the middle ages. Nâlanda was to Central India, the depository of true learning, the centre from which it spread over to other lands. And "as in all instances connected with the strange parallelism which existed between the two religions, the Buddhists kept five centuries in advance of the Christians in the invention and use of all the ceremonies and forms common to both the religions."*

The great Vihâra of Nâlanda, where the university was located, was worthy of it. It is said that four kings, *viz.*, Sakrâditya, Buddhagupta, Tathâgatagupta and Bâlâditya successively laboured at this great architectural work, and when it was completed men came from a distance of 2,000 miles at the great assembly that was held. Many other Vihâras were built in the vicinity by succeeding kings. One great Vihâra, built by Bâlâditya, was conspicuous among them. It was 300 feet high, and "with respect to its magnificence, its dimensions, and the statue of Buddha placed in it, it resembles the great Vihâra built under the Bodhi tree."

Leaving Magadha, Houen Tsang came to the kingdom of Hiranya Parvata, which General Cunningham identifies with MONGHYR. The kingdom was 600 miles round, the soil was largely cultivated and rich in its produce, the climate was agreeable, and the people simple and honest. By the side of the capital were the hot springs of Monghyr which gave out volumes of smoke and vapour.

CHAMPA', the ancient capital of Anga, or East Behar, was situated near modern Bhagulpore. The kingdom was 800 miles in circuit, the soil level and fertile and regularly cultivated, the temperature was mild and warm, and the manners of the people were simple and

* *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1876, p. 137.

honest. The walls of the capital were several tens of feet high, and the foundations of the wall were raised on a lofty embankment, so that by their high escarpment, they could defy the attack of enemies.

Passing through other places, our traveller came to PUNDRA or Pundra Vardhana, corresponding with Northern Bengal. The kingdom is described as 800 miles in circuit and was thickly populated. The tanks and public offices and flowering woods were regularly connected at intervals. The soil was flat and loamy, and rich in all kinds of grain produce. The bread fruit, though plentiful, was highly esteemed. There were about 20 Sanghârâmas and 300 priests, and some hundred Deva temples with sectaries of various schools. The naked Nirgranthas were the most numerous.

To the east, and beyond a great river (the Brahmaputra) was the powerful kingdom of KA'MARU'PA 2,000 miles in circuit. It apparently included in those times modern Assam, Manipur and Kachar, Mymensing and Sylhet. The soil was rich and was cultivated, and grew cocoanuts and bread fruit in abundance. Water led from rivers or banked up reservoirs flowed round towns. The climate was soft and temperate, the manners of the people simple and honest The men were of small stature, of a dark yellow complexion, and spoke a language different from that of mid-India. They were, however, impetuous, with very retentive memories, and very earnest in their studies.

The people had no faith in Buddha and adored and sacrificed to the Devas, and there were about a hundred Deva temples. Of Buddhist Sanghârâmas, there were none. The king was a Brâhman by caste, Bhâskara Varman by name, and had the title of Kumâra. Our readers will remember that Houen Tsang was introduced by this king to the great Sîlâditya of Kanouj.

South of the Kâmarûpa kingdom was SAMATATA (*literally* level country) or East Bengal. The kingdom was 600 miles in circuit; the lands were low and rich and regularly cultivated, and produced crops and fruits in plenty. The capital was four miles in circuit. The

men were small in stature and black in complexion, but hardy, and fond of learning and diligent in its acquisition ;—a description which applies to the people of East Bengal to the present day. There were some 30 Sanghârâmas and about 2,000 monks, and some hundred Deva temples. The naked ascetics Nirgranthas were numerous.

Next to Samatata was the kingdom of TA'MRALIPTI, *i. e.*, Tumlook country or South-West Bengal, including modern Midnapur. The country was 300 miles in circuit, and the capital was a seaport. The people were hardy and brave, but quick and hasty. The coast of the country was formed by a recess of the sea, and wonderful articles of value and gems were collected here, and the people were rich. There were ten Sanghârâmas and fifty Deva temples.

Houen Tsang then speaks of the KARNA SUVARNA kingdom, supposed to be Western Bengal, including modern Murshedabad. We have seen that it was Sasânka, the king of this country, who defeated and killed the elder brother of the great Sîlâditya of Kanouj. The country was 300 miles in circuit and thickly populated, and the people were fond of learning and honest and amiable. The soil was regularly cultivated, and the climate was agreeable. There were 10 Sanghârâmas and fifty Deva temples.

The reader will perceive from the foregoing account that Bengal proper (*i. e*, excluding Behar and Orissa) was divided in those days into five great kingdoms. Northern Bengal was *Pundra ;* Assam and North-East formed *Kâmarûpa ;* Eastern Bengal was *Samatata ;* South-West Bengal was *Târalipti ;* and Western Bengal was *Karna Suvarna.* Houen Tsang's account of Northern India ends with Bengal ; we will now accompany our esteemed guide to Southern India.

The kingdom of Udra or ORISSA was 1,400 miles in circuit, and had its capital near modern Jajpur five miles round. The soil was rich and fertile, and produced every variety of grain and many strange shrubs and flowers. The people, however, were uncivi-

lized, of a yellowish black complexion, and spoke a language different from that of Central India. They were, however, fond of learning, and their country was a stronghold of Buddhism declining elsewhere in India. It had some hundred Sanghârâmas with about 10,000 monks, and only fifty Deva temples.

Already Orissa was a great place of pilgrimage, though the temple of Puri had not yet been built. There was a Sanghârâma called Pushpagiri on a great mountain on the south-west frontiers of the country, and it is said a stone Stûpa of this Sanghârâma emitted a strange light. Buddhists from far and near came to this place and presented beautifully embroidered umbrellas ; and placed them under a vase at the top of the cupola and let them stand as needles in the stone. The custom of planting flags prevails in Jagannâtha to the present day.

To the south-east there was a great seaport called Charitra. " Here it is that merchants depart for distant countries and strangers come and go and stop here on their way. The walls of the city are strong and lofty. Here are found all sorts of rare and precious articles."

South-West of Orissa was the kingdom of KANYODHA on the Chilka Lake. The people were brave and impulsive, but black and dirty. They had some degree of politeness and were tolerably honest, and used the same written characters as in mid-India, but their pronunciation was quite different. Buddhism was not much followed here ; Hinduism prevailed.

The nation was a powerful one ; their cities were strong and high, their soldiers brave and daring, and they ruled neighbouring provinces by force, and no one could resist them. As their country bordered on the sea, the people obtained many rare and valuable articles and used cowrie shells and pearls in commercial transactions. Elephants were used in drawing conveyances.

To the south-west of this, and beyond a vast jungle, lay the ancient kingdom of KALINGA. The kingdom

was 1,000 miles in circuit, and its capital five miles round. The soil was fertile and regularly cultivated, but there were many jungles with wild elephants in them. The people, though impetuous and rough and uncivilized, were trustworthy and kept their word.

Such was Kalinga when Houen Tsang saw it, but our readers will remember that in the time of Megasthenes, the power and the empire of Kalinga stretched along the entire seaboard from Bengal to the mouths of the Godavârî. The memory of their greatness still survived, for Houen Tsang says: "In old days the kingdom of Kalinga had a very dense population; their shoulders rubbed one with the other, and the axles of their chariot wheels girded together." But the palmy days of Kalinga were gone, and new kingdoms in Bengal and Orissa had arisen out of the fragments of their ancient empire. Such has always been the history of India. Kingdoms and races have risen in power and civilization and declined again by turns; but still the vast confederation of Hindu nations had a political unity, a cohesion in religion, language and civilization, which made India one great country in ancient times.

To the north-west of Kalinga, through forests and crags, the way lay to Kosala, corresponding to modern BERAR. The kingdom was 1,000 miles round, and the capital eight miles. The towns and villages were close together and the population was dense. The people were tall, black, violent, impetuous and brave, and were partly Buddhists and partly Hindus. In connexion with these southern Kosalas (who must be distinguished from those of Oude), Houen Tsang speaks of the famous Buddhist writer Nâgârjuna and of the king Sadvaha who tunnelled out a rock and fixed therein a Sanghârâma for his dwelling. Neither Fa Hian nor Houen Tsang personally visited this rock-cut monastery; but both speak of it, and it must have been very celebrated in their times. The king Sadvaha, we are told, "tunnelled out this rock through the middle, and built and fixed therein a Sanghârâma. At a distance of some 10 li (two

miles) by tunnelling he opened a covered way. Thus by standing under the rock, we see the cliffs excavated throughout, and in the midst of long galleries, with caves for walking under and high towers, the storeyed building reaching to the height of five stages, each stage with four halls, with Vihâras enclosed." We are told that in this Sanghârâma the Buddhist priests fell out among themselves, and went away to the king, and the Brâhmans took advantage of this, and destroyed the Sanghârâma and barricaded the place.

Our traveller next came to the ancient country of the ANDHRAS who had developed their civilization and extended their empire in Southern India several centuries before Christ, and who had at a later period held the supreme power in Magadha and in India. The Guptas and the Ujjayinî kings had since assumed that supremacy, and the Andhras of the seventh century were a feeble power. Their kingdom was only 600 miles in circuit and was regularly cultivated. The people were fierce and impulsive. There were 20 Sanghârâmas and 30 Deva temples.

South of this country was Dhanakataka or the GREAT ANDHRA country 1,200 miles in circuit, with a capital town eight miles round, which has been identified with modern Bezwada The soil was rich and produced abundant harvests, but there was much desert in the country and the towns were thinly populated. The people were yellowish-black, fierce and impulsive, but fond of learning. The old monasteries were mostly deserted and in ruins, only about 90 were inhabited, while a hundred Deva temples had numerous followers.

Houen Tsang speaks of two great mountain monasteries, to the east and to the west of the city, called Pûrvasilâ and Aparasilâ, built by a former king in honor of Buddha. "He hollowed the valley, made a road, opened the mountain crags, constructed pavilions and long galleries; and wide chambers supported the heights and connected the caverns. But for the last hundred years there have been no priests." Dr. Fergusson identifies the western convent with the great

Amarâvatî tope which has been discovered and excavated since 1796 A.D. Dr. Burgess concludes from an inscription on the stones, that the Amarâvatî Stûpa was either already built or was being built in the second century A. D., if not earlier.

South-West from Great Andhra was the kingdom of CHOLA, 500 miles in circuit, but deserted and wild. The population was sparse, troops of brigands ravaged the open country, and the people were dissolute and cruel.

Further to the south was the kingdom of DRA'VIDA 1,200 miles in circuit, with its capital the famed town of Kânchî or Kânchîpura, which has been identified with modern Conjiveram. The soil was fertile and regularly cultivated, and the people were brave, truthful, honest, and fond of learning, and used the language of Middle India. There were some hundred Sanghârâmas and 10,000 priests.

Further south from Drâvida was the kingdom of MALAKUTA which Dr. Burnell identifies with the delta of the Kâverî river. The men were dark in complexion, firm and impetuous, not fond of learning, but wholly given to commercial pursuits. South of this country were the famed Malaya mountains, the southern portions of the Malabar Ghats, which produced sandal wood and camphor. To the east of this range was Mount Potalaka, where the Buddhist spirit or saint Avalokitesvara, worshipped by Northern Buddhist in Thibet, China and Japan, was supposed sometimes to take his abode.

Houen Tsang did not visit CEYLON, but nevertheless gives an account of that island with its rich vegetation, its extensive cultivation, and its teeming population. He narrates legends about Sinha or lion, about Râkshasas, and about Mahendra the brother of Asoka who introduced Buddhism into the island ; and there were 100 convents and 20,000 priests in Houen Tsang's time. He speaks of the coast as being rich in gems and precious stones, and of Mount Lankâ to the south-east of the island.

Travelling northwards from Drâvida, Houen Tsang

came to KONKAN, 10,000 miles in circuit, fertile and regularly cultivated. The people were black, fierce and ardent in disposition, but esteemed learning.

North-West from Konkan, and across a great forest infested by wild beasts and robbers, was the great country MAHA'RA'SHTRA, 1,000 miles in circuit. The soil was rich and regularly cultivated, and the people were honest, but stern and vindictive. "To their benefactors they are grateful, to their enemies relentless. If they are insulted, they will risk their lives to avenge themselves. If they are asked to help one in distress, they will forget themselves in their haste to render assistance. If they are going to seek revenge, they first give their enemy warning, then each being armed, they attack each other with spears. If a general loses a battle, they do not inflict punishment, but present him with woman's clothes, and so he is driven to seek death for himself. The king is of the Kshatriya caste, and his name is Pulakesi. His plans and undertakings are widespread, and his beneficient actions are felt over a great distance. His subjects obey him with perfect submission. At the present time Sîlâditya Mahârâjâ (of Kanouj) has conquered the nations from east to west, and carried his arms to remote districts, but the people of this country alone have not submitted to him. He has gathered troops from the five Indies, and summoned the best leaders from all countries, and himself gone at the head of his army to punish and subdue these people, but he has not yet conquered their troops." Nor was Sîlâditya destined to conquer Pulakesi who defeated him in battle, and maintained the independence of the proud Maharattas; even as a successor of Pulakesi, a thousand years later, defied Aurungzebe, Emperor of Northern India, and restored to the Maharattas their lost independence and greatness. And when Mogul and Rajput had alike declined in power, it was the countrymen of Pulakesi who struggled with the English for the mastery of India.

On the eastern frontier of the Mahârâshtra country was a great mountain with towering crags and a

continuous stretch of piled up and scarped precipices. "In this there is a Sanghârâma constructed in a dark valley. Its lofty halls and deep side-aisles stretch through the face of the rocks. Storey above storey they are backed by the crag and face the valley." This is the famous Ajunta system of caves, cut in the lofty and almost prependicular rocks that hem in a wild secluded glen. Modern readers have been made familiar with this most wonderful work of architecture through the plates and descriptions of Fergusson and Burgess. Houen Tsang says further on, that the great Vihâra was about 100 feet high, and in the middle was a stone figure of Buddha 70 feet high. Above was a stone canopy of seven stages towering upwards, apparently without support.

To the west, or north-west from Mahârâshtra, was, the country of Bharukachha or Broach, 500 miles in circuit.

The soil was impregnated with salt, trees were scattered and scarce, and the people boiled sea water to manufacture salt, and had all their gain from the sea.

Thence Houen Tsang went to the classic land of MA'LAVA. "Two countries," he says, "are remarkable for the great learning of the people—Mâlava on the south-west, and Magadha on the north-east." Further on Houen Tsang says, "The records of the country state: sixty-years before this, flourished Sîlâditya, a man of eminent wisdom and great learning; his skill in literature was profound." This was Sîlâditya I. who reigned probably from 550 A. D. to 600 A. D., and was probably the immediate successor of Vikramâditya the Great. The prince whom Houen Tsang saw in Kanouj, and who was trying to humiliate and subjugate Pulakesi and the Maharattas, was Sîlâditya II who reigned from about 610 to 650 A. D.

In Mâlava both the religions prevailed in Houen Tsang's time, and there were about a hundred Sanghârâmas and a hundred Deva temples.

Houen Tsang then visited ATALI and Kachha, or CUTCH, and then came to VALABHI, the seat of the great Valabhi dynasty. "The character of the soil, the

climate and the manners of the people are like those of the kingdom of Mâlava. The population is dense; the establishments rich. There are some hundred families or so who possess a hundred lakhs. The rare and valuable products of distant regions are here stored in great quantities." Buddhism and Hinduism flourished alike.

The kingdom of A'NANDAPURA was subject to Mâlava, and that of SAURA'SHTRA', with its dense population, was subject to the powerful Valabhis.

GURJARA, or Gujrat, was 1,000 miles in circuit, and the country of UJJAYINI'.—which is described separately rom Mâlava spoken of above,—was 1,200 miles round.

Passing through Chikito and Mahesvarapura, our traveller came to SINDH, 1,400 miles in circuit. It abounded in gold, silver and native copper. The country was suitable for breeding oxen, sheep, camels, mules, and other cattle, and the people were hard of disposition but honest, and lived under a low-caste king. Along the Indus river there lived numerous families, cruel and hasty in temper, and given to fighting and bloodshed. They lived entirely by tending cattle, owned no masters, and had neither rich nor poor among them. They formed in fact a sort of rude primitive clan, living by pasture.

After visiting the thickly populated country of Mûlasthânapura (MULTAN) and some other places, our traveller left India. The historian of India cannot but feel grateful to this enthusiastic and pious Chinese traveller for the bird's-eye view he has given us of the various tribes and nations of India in the seventh century,—their arts, learning and civilization.

CHAPTER VIII.

BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE.

THE Hindus first came in contact with a nation as civilized as themselves in the fourth and third centuries B. C., and a great deal has been written as to the indebtedness of the Hindus to the Bactrian Greeks in the cultivation of their arts and sciences. As usual, the first writers on the subject have rushed to hasty conclusions, and it has been asserted that in architecture and sculpture, and even in the art of writing and in their alphabet, the Hindus received their first lessons from the Greeks.

A cultured nation cannot come in contact with a great and civilized nation without deriving immense advantages in arts and civilization. The gifted Greeks were certainly the most civilized nation in the earth in the fourth and third centuries before Christ, and what is more, they had spread their wonderful civilization over all the regions conquered by Alexander, until the whole of Western Asia, from Antioch to Bactria, presented the Greek type of civilization, arts and manners. That the Hindus were greatly indebted to the Greeks not only in the development of many arts, but also in the cultivation of some of the abstrusest sciences, like astronomy, will be conceded by all historians of India; and it will be our pleasing duty to acknowledge such friendly services rendered by one cultured nation to another, wherever we find facts justifying us in acknowledging such indebtedness, or even in presuming it. But it is necessary to warn our readers against hasty assumptions where facts are absolutely wanting, or where facts go directly against such assumptions.

In architecture the Hindus are not indebted to the Greeks. Buddhist Hindus developed their school of architecture themselves from the commencement; they created their own style, which is purely Indian; they borrowed from no foreign school of architecture or building. In Gândhâra, and in Western Punjab, columns have been found distinctly belonging to the Ionic order, and the general architecture, too, bears a Greek character. But in the vast continent of India itself, from Bombay to Cuttack, the architecture immediately before and immediately after the Christian Era, is purely Indian in character. This would not have been the case if the Hindus had learnt their first lessons in architecture from the Greeks.

In sculpture, too, the Hindus are not indebted to the Greeks. Dr. Fergusson, speaking of the rail of Bharut (200 B. C) says, "It cannot be too strongly insisted upon, that the art here displayed is purely indigenous. There is absolutely no trace of Egyptian influence. It is in every detail antagonistic to that art. Nor is there any trace of classical art; nor can it be affirmed that anything here established could have been borrowed directly from Babylonia or Assyria. The capital of the pillars do resemble somewhat those at Persepolis, and the honeysuckle ornaments point in the same direction; but barring that, the art, specially the figure sculpture belonging to the rail, seems an art elaborated on the spot, by Indians, and by Indians only."*

Having thus cleared our ground, we will now proceed to give a very brief account of some of the most striking specimens which still exist of the architecture and sculpture of the Hindus of the centuries immediately before and after the Christian Era, and Dr. Fergusson will be our guide on this subject. Such specimens are nearly all the work of Buddhists. Architecture in stone, previous to the Buddhist

* Indian and Eastern Architecture, London, 1876, p. 89.

movement, was confined mostly to engineering works, such as city walls, gates, bridges, and embankments; and if palaces and religious and civil edifices were also sometimes built of stone, no specimens of such have come down to us. On the other hand, the Hindu and Jaina edifices of stone which abound in all parts of India belong to the period subsequent to the fifth century of the Christian Era, and will, therefore, be treated of when we come to the Pauranik Period. In the present chapter, therefore, we will speak of works constructed in the Buddhist Period, and such works are all Buddhist.

Dr. Fergusson classifies the works under five heads, *viz*:—

(1) *Lâts*, or stone pillars, generally bearing inscriptions;

(2) *Stûpas*, or topes, erected to mark some sacred event or site, or to preserve some supposed relic of Buddha;

(3) *Rails*, often of elaborate workmanship; often erected to surround topes;

(4) *Chaityas*, or churches; and

(5) *Vihâras*, or monasteries.

The oldest LATS are those which were erected by Asoka in different parts of India, and bearing inscriptions, conveying to his subjects the doctrines and moral rules of the Buddhist religion. The best known Lâts are those of Delhi and Allahabad, the inscriptions on which were first deciphered by James Prinsep. Both of these bore the inscriptions of Asoka, while the Allahabad Lât also bore a subsequent inscription of Samudra Gupta, of the Gupta dynasty of kings as we have stated before, and details the glories of his reign and the names of his ancestors. The Lât seems to have been thrown down and re-erected by the Emperor Jahangir in 1605 A. D., with a Persian inscription to commemorate the commencement of his reign. Like most other Lâts this has lost its crowning ornament, but a Lât in Tirhoot bears the figure of a lion on the top, and the Lât of Sankissa, between Ma-

thurâ and Kanouj, bears the mutilated figure of an elephant, so mutilated, that Houen Tsang mistook it for a lion. At Karli, between Bombay and Poona, a Lât stands in front of the cave of Karli surmounted by four lions. The two Lâts at Erun are said to belong to the era of the Gupta kings.

The remarkable iron pillar near the Kutab Minar has been seen by every tourist and traveller who has been to Delhi. It is 22 ft. above ground and 20 inches under ground, and its diameter is 16 inches at the base and 12 inches at the capital. There is an inscription on it, as on other Lâts, but unfortunately the inscription bears no date. James Prinsep ascribed it to the 4th or 5th century, Dr. Bhau Daji to the 5th or 6th century. Admitting the 5th century to be its date, "it opens our eyes," as Dr. Fergusson states, "to an unsuspected state of affairs, to find the Hindus at that age forging a bar of iron larger than any that have been forged even in Europe to a very late date, and not frequently even now. As we find them, however, a few centuries afterwards using bars as long as this Lât in roofing the porch of the temple at Kanarac, we must believe that they were much more familiar with the use of this metal than they afterwards became. It is almost equally startling to find that, after an exposure to wind and rain for fourteen centuries, it is unrusted, and the capital and inscription are as clear and sharp now as when put up fourteen centuries ago."



Allahabad Lât.

Of the STUPAS, the Bhilsa topes are the most famous.

Within an area, 10 miles east and west and 6 north and south, near the village of Bhilsa in the kingdom of Bhopal, there are no less than five or six groups of topes containing about 25 or 30 individual examples. General Cunningham first published an account of them in 1854, and since then they have been repeatedly described. The principal of these topes is known as the Great Tope of Sanchi, and has a base 14 ft. high and a dome 42 ft. high, and 106 ft. in diameter at the point just above the base. The rails are 11 ft. in height, and the gateway, covered with the most elaborated sculpture which will be subsequently described, is 33 ft. in height.



GREAT TOPE, SANCHI.

The centre of this great mound is quite solid, being composed of bricks laid in mud, but the exterior is faced with dressed stones. Over this there was a coat of cement which was no doubt adorned with painting and figures in relief.

There are many other groups near Sanchi, *viz.*, one at Sonari, 6 miles away, one at Satdhara, 3 miles further on, and a numerous group at Bhojpur, seven miles from Sanchi. Another group is at Andhar, five miles from Bhojpur. Altogether there are no less than sixty topes within one small district.

Most of our readers who have visited Benares have seen the tope at Sarnâth, erected in the old Deer Park

where Gautama first preached his new religion. It consists of a stone basement 93 ft. in diameter, solidly built to the height of 43 ft. Above it is brickwork, rising to a height of 128 ft. above the surrounding plain. The lower part is relieved by eight projecting faces elegantly carved, and with a niche in each. General Cunningham believes the date of this to be the 6th or 7th century A.D.

Another Bengal tope is known as Jarâsandha-ka-Baithak, 28 ft. in diameter and 21 ft. in height, resting on a base of 14 ft. It is mentioned by Houen Tsang, and its date is probably 500 A.D.

The central Stûpa or Dagoba at Amarâvatî which Houen Tsang saw, no longer exists. In the Gândhâra country there are numerous examples. The great Dagoba, however, of Kanishka, over 470 feet in height, which Fa Hian and Houen Tsang saw, is no more The most important group of the Gândhâra topes is that of Manikyala in the Punjab, between the Indus and the Jhelum. Fifteen or twenty were found in the spot, most of which were first opened by General Ventura and M. Court in 1830. The principal tope has a dome which is an exact hemisphere, 127 feet in diameter, and therefore about 400 feet in circumference.

The most elaborately ornamented architectural works of the Buddhist Period are the RAILS and gateways generally found round Stûpas. The two oldest rails are those of Buddha Gayâ and of Bharhut; Dr. Fergusson assigns 250 B.C. for the former, and 200 B.C. for the latter. The former formed a rectangle 131 feet by 98 feet, and the pillars were 5 feet 11 inches in height.

Bharhut is situated between Allahabad and Jubbulpore. The tope enclosed here has entirely disappeared,—having been utilized for building villages, but about one-half of the rail remains. It was originally 68 feet in diameter, and therefore about 275 feet in length. It had four entrances, guarded by statues 4½ feet high. From General Cunningham's restoration, it appears that the pillars of the eastern gateway were

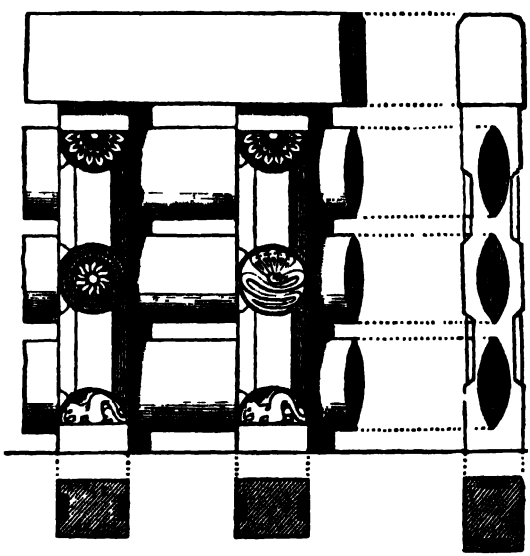
22 feet 6 inches in height. The beams had no human figures on them. The lower beam had a procession of elephants, the middle beam of lions, and the upper probably of crocodiles. The rail was 9 feet high, and the inner side was ornamented by a continuous series of bas-reliefs, divided from each other by a beautiful flowing scroll. About a hundred bas-reliefs have been recovered, all representing scenes or legends, and nearly all inscribed with the title of the Jâtaka represented. It is the only monument in India which is so inscribed, and this gives the Bharhut rails a unique value.

We make no apology for quoting the following remarks of Dr. Fergusson's work about the state of Indian sculpture as disclosed by these rails. "When Hindu sculpture first dawns upon us in the rails of Buddha Gayâ and Bharhut, B.C. 200 to 250, it is thoroughly original, absolutely without a trace of foreign influence, but quite capable of expressing its ideas, and of telling its story with a distinctness that never was surpassed at least in India. Some animals, such as elephants, deer and monkeys, are better represented there than in any sculptures known in any part of the world; so, too, are some trees, and the architectural details are cut with an elegance and precision which are very admirable The human figures, too, though very different from our standard of beauty and grace, are truthful to nature, and where grouped together combine to express the action intended with singular felicity. For an honest purpose-like, pre-Raphaelite kind of art, there is probably nothing much better to be found anywhere."

The rail surrounding the great tope of Sanchi in the kingdom of Bhopal, is a circular enclosure 140 feet in diameter, and consists of octagonal pillars 8 feet in height and two feet apart. They are joined together at the top by a rail 2 feet 3 inches deep, and between the pillars. This is, however, about the simplest rail arrangement, and the ornamentation on the rails increases in other places, until the scrolls and disks

and figures become so elaborate and profuse as to completely hide the pillars and bars from the sight, and to entirely change the character of the original design.

The great tope of Sanchi, of which we have spoken before, was probably constructed in Asoka's time. Each rail is shewn by the inscription on it to be the gift of a different individual. The four gateways were



RAIL AT SANCHI.

then added to the rail, probably during the first century of the Christian Era. Dr. Fergusson thus describes them :—

"All these four gateways or toranas, as they are properly called, were covered with the most elaborate sculptures both in front and in rear,—wherever, in fact, their surface was not hidden by being attached to the rail behind them. Generally the sculptures represent scenes from the life of Buddha. In addition to these are scenes from the Jâtakas or legends,

narrating events or actions that took place during five hundred births through which Sakya Muni had passed before he became so purified as to reach perfect Buddhahood. One of these, the Wessantara or the "alms-giving" Jataka, occupies the whole of the lower beam of the northern gateway, and reproduces all the events of that wonderful tale, exactly as it is narrated in Ceylonese books at the present day. Other sculptures represent sieges and fighting and consequent triumphs, but so far as can be seen for the acquisition of relics or subjects connected with the faith. Others pourtray men and women eating and drinking and making love. The sculptures of these gateways form a perfect Picture Bible of Buddhism, as it existed in India in the first century of the Christian Era."

The date of the Sanchi rail is said to be three centuries after that of the Buddha Gayâ and Bharhut rails; and the Amarâvatî rail is again three centuries posterior to the Sanchi rail. The date of the Amarâvatî rail is said to be the 4th or 5th century A.D.

Amarâvatî is situated on the southern bank of the Krishnâ river near its mouth, and was long the capital of the Andhra empire of Southern India. The Amarâvatî rail is loaded with ornament and sculptures. The great rail is 195 feet in diameter, and the inner 165 feet, and between these two was the procession path. Externally the great rail was 14 feet and internally 12 feet, while the inner rail was solid and six feet high. The plinth of the great rail was ornamented by a frieze of animals and boys, and the pillars, as usual, were octagonal and ornamented with disks. The inside of the great rail was more richly ornamented than the outside, and the upper rail was one continuous bas-relief 600 feet in length. The inner rail was even more richly ornamented than the great rail with figures most elaborately carved with scenes from the life of Buddha or from legends.

Two woodcuts given in Dr. Fergusson's work, one from the great rail, and one from the inner rail, are

interesting. The former represents a king seated on his throne and receiving a messenger, while his army in front defends the walls. Lower down the infantry, cavalry and elephants sally forth in battle array, while one of the enemy sues for peace. The latter, *i. e.*, the woodcut from the inner rail, represents three objects of worship, *viz.*, a stûpa with its rails, a chakra or wheel of religion, and a congregation worshipping a relic or sacred tree.

We now come to the important subject of CHAITYAS, *i. e.*, assembly halls or churches. The great distinguishing feature of these Buddhist churches is that they are not constructed but excavated. Twenty or thirty churches are known to exist, and all of them, with one exception, are excavated rocks. The external view of European churches and of Hindu temples forms their most distinguishing and noble feature; but of the Buddhist churches,—excavated in rocks,—there is no external view except the frontage which is often ornamented.

Nine-tenths of the Buddhist churches which exist belong to the Bombay presidency, and this is explained by the fact that the western presidency is the great cave district of India, with rocks peculiarly fitted for excavation.

There is a cave in Behar which is believed to be the identical Satapanni cave of Râjagriha, in which, or in front of which, the First Council was held immediately after the death of Gautama, to fix the canon. It is a natural cave slightly improved by art, and it was seen by Houen Tsang when he resided in Magadha.

There is an interesting group of caves 16 miles north of Gayâ, of which the most interesting is the one known at Lomasa Rishi's cave. The form of the roof is a pointed arch, and the frontage is ornamented with simple sculpture. The interior is a hall 33 ft. by 19 ft., beyond which there is a nearly circular apartment. All the caves of this group are said to have been excavated in the 3rd century B.C.

There are five or six Chaitya caves in the Western Ghats, all of which are said to have been excavated before the Christian Era, and of which the cave at Bhaja is said to be the most ancient. As in the Buddhist rails so in the Chaityas, we find architecture in stone slowly evolving itself out of wooden forms. The pillars of the Bhaja cave slope inwards at a considerable angle, as wooden posts would slope, to give strength to a structure ; and the rafters of the cave are still of wood, many of which remain to this day : the date of this cave is said to be the 3rd century B. C.

In the next group of caves, at Bedsor, considerable progress is manifested. The pillars are more upright, though still sloping inwards. The frontage is ornamented with rail decoration, the design being taken from actual rails as described before, but represented here merely as ornament. The date of the caves is said to be the first half of the second century.

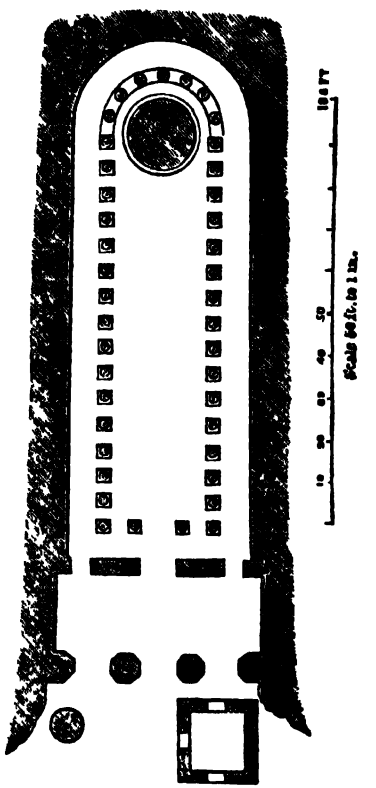
The next cave is at Nassick. The pillars are so nearly perpendicular that the inclination escapes detection, and the façade, though still exhibiting the rail decoration, shews a great advance in design. The date of the cave is said to be the last half of the second century.

And when we come at last to the cave at Karli, on the road between Poona and Bombay, we find the architecture of this class in its state of perfection. The pillars are quite perpendicular, the screen is ornamented with sculpture, and the style of architecture, both inside and in front, is chaste and pure. The Chaitya is said to have been excavated in the first century before Christ, and it is the largest and the most perfect Chaitya yet discovered in India ; and the style of architecture was never surpassed in succeeding centuries.

The following account will interest our readers :—

" The building as will be seen from the illustration on the opposite page, resembles, to a great extent, an early Christian church in its arrangements,

consisting of a nave and side aisles, terminating in an apse or semi-dome, round which the aisle is carried. The general dimensions of the interior are 126 ft. from the entrance to the back wall, by 45 ft. 7 in. width; the side aisles, however, are very much narrower than in Christian churches, the central one being 25 ft. 7 in., so that the others are only 10 ft. wide, including the thickness of the pillars Fifteen on each side separate the nave from the aisles; each pillar has a tall base, an octagonal shaft, and a richly ornamented capital, on which kneel two elephants, each bearing two figures, generally a man and a woman, but sometimes two females, all very much better executed than such ornaments usually are. The seven pillars behind the altar are plain octagonal piers without either base or capital Above this springs the roof, semi-circular in general section, but somewhat stilted at the sides, so as to make its height greater than the semi-diameter Immediately under the semi-dome of the apse, and nearly where the altar stands in Christian churches, is placed the Dagoba



Karli Chaitya.

"Of the interior we can judge perfectly, and it

certainly is as solemn and grand as any interior can well be. And the mode of lighting is the most perfect, one undivided volume of light coming through a single opening over head at a favorable angle, and falling directly on the altar or principal object in the building, leaving the rest in comparative obscurity. The effect is considerably heightened by the closely set thick columns that divide the three aisles from one another." —*Fergusson.*

There are four Chaityas at Ajanta, dating probably from the first century to the sixth century A. D. Statues of Buddha appear in the later Chaityas ; and Buddhism as represented on the latest of these Chaityas is very akin to the Hinduism of the sixth and subsequent centuries.

The Visvakarmâ cave of Ellora is a Chaitya belonging to the latter part of the Buddhist Period. The dimensions of the hall are 85 ft. by 43 ft., and in the roof all the ribs and ornaments are cut in the rock though still copied from wooden prototypes. In the façade we miss for the first time the horse-shoe opening which is the most marked feature in all previous examples. The façade of the Ellora Chaitya looks like that of an ordinary two-storeyed house, with verandas richly sculptured.

The cave of Kenheri on the Island of Salsette in Bombay harbour is well known. It was excavated in the early part of the fifth century A. D. It is a copy of the great cave at Karli, but very inferior in style.

Lastly, we come to VIHA'RAS or monasteries. Foremost among the Buddhist Vihâras was the celebrated monastery of Nâlanda (south of Patna), visited by Houen Tsang in the 7th century, as we have seen in the last chapter. Successive kings had built here, and one of them surrounded all the Vihâras with a high wall which can still be traced, measuring 1,600 ft. by 400 ft. Outside this enclosure again, Stûpas and towers were built, ten or twelve of which have been identified by General Cunningham.

The architecture of this great monastery, however, has

not been properly restored, nor the arrangements made clear. There are some reasons to suspect that the superstruction was of wood, and if that be so, scarcely a trace of it can now be left.

Many of our readers who have visited Cuttack and Bhuvanesvara, must also have seen the caves in the two hills, Udayagiri and Khandagiri, about 20 miles from Cuttack. There is an inscription on the Hathi Gumpha, or the Elephant Cave, to the effect that it was engraved by Aira, king of Kalinga, who subdued neighbouring kings. It is believed that Aira lived before Asoka, and that the inscription is one of the oldest yet found in India.

The Ganesa Gumpha and the Râjrânî Gumpha are both said to have been excavated before the Christian Era, and a curious story is sculptured on them both. A man sleeps under a tree, and a woman, apparently his wife, introduces a lover. A fight ensues, and the victor carries away the naked female in his arms.

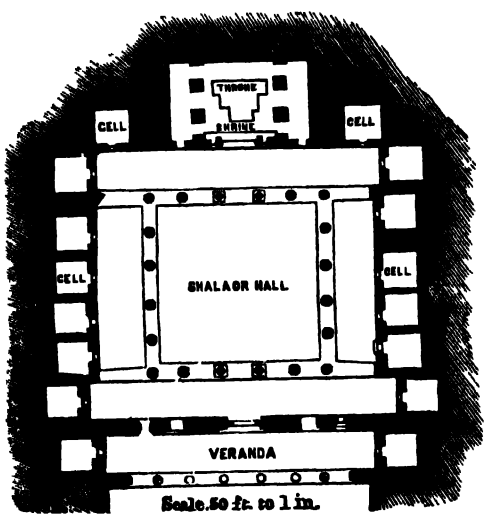
Older than these caves are smaller and simpler ones, among which the Tiger Cave in Udayagiri is the best known.

Turning now to Western India, the Nassik group contains three principal Vihâras known under the names of Nahapana, Gautamîputra, and Yaduyasri. The first two are on the same plan, being halls 40 feet square with 16 small cells for monks on three sides, and a six-pillared veranda on the fourth side. An inscription in the Nahapana Vihâra shews that it was excavated by the son-in-law of that chief, who, we have seen elsewhere, heads the list of Shah kings; and the date of this Vihâra is therefore about 100 A.D. The Gautamîputra Vihâra is supposed to be two or three centuries later. The Yaduyasri Vihâra has a hall 60 feet by 40 to 45 feet, and 21 cells for monks. It has also a sanctuary with two richly carved pillars and a colossal figure of Buddha with many attendants. The date of this Vihâra appears from an inscription to be the fifth century.

Perhaps the most interesting Vihâras in India are

Nos. 16 and 17 of the Ajanta Vihâras. They are beautiful specimens of Buddhist monasteries, and possess a unique value, as they still contain fresco paintings with a degree of distinctness unequalled in any other Vihâra in India. Their date has been ascertained; they were excavated early in the fifth century, when the Guptas were the emperors of India.

Vihâra No. 16 measures 65 feet each way, and has twenty pillars. It has sixteen cells for monks on two sides, a great hall in the centre, a veranda in the front, and a sanctuary in the back. All the walls are covered with frescoes representing scenes from the life of Buddha or from the legends of saints, and the roofs and pillars have arabesques and ornaments, and all this combines to produce a peculiar richness of effect. Judging from the representations of the frescoes which have been published, the painting was by no means contemptible. The figures are natural and elegant, the human faces are pleasant and expressive, and convey the feelings which they are meant to convey, and the female figures are supple, light, and elegant, and have an air of softness and mild grace which mark them peculiarly Indian in style. The decorations are chaste and correct in style and singularly effective. It is to be hoped that a fairly complete representation of these curious paintings will yet be published for the elucidation of the art of painting



Ajanta Vihâra No. 16.

in ancient India; and such a work will be as valuable to the historian of Indian Art as the paintings recovered from Pompii and preserved in the museum of Naples are valuable to the historian of ancient European Art. Dr. Fergusson, however, apprehends that the means adopted to heighten the color of the Ajanta paintings in order to copy them, and the "destructive tendencies of British tourists," have already spoilt these invaluable treasures.

Ajanta Vihâra No. 17 is similar in plan to No. 16 and is known as the Zodiac cave, because a figure of the Buddhist Chakra or wheel was mistaken for the signs of the Zodiac.

Eight or nine Vihâras exist at Bogh, a place about 30 miles west of Mandu. The great Vihâra here has a hall 96 feet square and a shâlâ or school-room attached to it 94 feet by 44 feet; while a veranda 220 feet in length runs in front of the hall and the shâlâ. 28 pillars beautify the hall, 16 pillars are in the school-room, while 20 pillars, all in a row, adorn the veranda. At one time the whole of the back wall of the gallery was adorned with a series of fresco paintings, equalling the Ajanta paintings in beauty. The principal subjects are processions on horseback and on elephants. Women exceed men in number, and dancing and love-making are prominently introduced.

At Ellora there are numerous Vihâras attached to the Visvakarmâ Chaitya of which we have spoken before. The great Vihâra is 110 feet by 70 feet, and this, as well as the smaller Vihâras, belong probably to the same century as the Chaitya.

There are three temples here which curiously illustrate the steps by which Buddhistic excavations gradually merged in the Hindu. The first temple is Do-tal, a two-storeyed Buddhist Vihâra, Buddhistic in all its details. The second temple is Teen-tal, similar to the Do-tal, and still having Buddhist sculptures, but departing so far from simplicity of style as to justify Brâhmans in appropriating it, as they have done! The third is Das Avatar, still resembling the other two in

architectural details, but entirely Hindu in sculptures. Later on, when Hinduism had completely triumphed over Buddhism, the Hindus of Southern India excavated on the spot, in the 8th or 9th century A. D. the famous temple of Kailâsa which has made Ellora one of the great wonders of India. But of this and other Hindu edifices we will speak when we come to treat of the Pauranik Period. We need only state here that the main distinction between Buddhist works and Hindu works is this ; Buddhist Chaityas and Vihâras are caves inside hills and rocks ; while Hindu workers, even when they worked on existing hills and rocks, imitated structural buildings by clearing away the stone on all sides, and thus allowing the edifices carved to stand out in bold relief against the neighbouring rocks. Such is Kailâsa in Ellora.

We need not lengthen this chapter by giving an account of the Gândhâra Vihâras. There can be no doubt that Greek influence greatly modified the style of architecture there, and some capitals found in Jamalgiri are undoubtedly Corinthian in style. Nor is it possible to include here an account of Ceylonese architecture. There are numerous ruins of ancient topes and other edifices in that island, specially near Anurâdhapura which continued to be the capital of Ceylon for ten centuries. Two of the largest known topes are in Ceylon, one at Abhayagiri, 1,100 feet in circumference and 244 feet high ; and the other at Jetavana a few feet higher. The former was erected in 88 B.C., and the latter in 275 A.D.

From the brief account that has been given, our readers will perceive that both in architecture and in sculpture, the highest excellence was attained and maintained in India before and immediately after the Christian Era. For the first attempts we must look to the rude caves in Orissa and Behar with the façades now and then ornamented with rude sculpture of animals. Such, for instance, is the Tiger Cave of Orissa, and we must date this class of caves with the first spread of Buddhism in the fourth century B. C. A great advance was made in the third century B.C., and

perhaps the noblest monuments, both in sculpture and in architecture, were constructed between the third century B. C., and the first century A.D. The richly sculptured rails of Bharhut and Sanchi belong to 200 B.C. and 100 A.D. and the finest Chaitya that has been yet discovered, that of Karli, belongs also to the first century before Christ. For the succeeding three or four centuries the art maintained its high position, but scarcely any progress was made, for it is doubtful if a tendency towards elaborate ornamentation is true progress. The Ajanta Vihâras and the Amarâvatî rails, constructed in the 4th and 5th century A.D., maintained the high position which art had reached in India three or four centuries earlier. Painting, too, of which we cannot discover the first beginning, attained or maintained its high excellence in the 5th century A.D. After that century, all arts declined with the decline of Buddhism. When we meet sculpture again in the Hindu temples of the 7th and 8th centuries, the art had lost much of its higher æsthetic qualities, and "frequently resorts to such expedients as giving dignity to the principal personages, by making them double the size of less important characters, and of distinguishing gods from men by giving them more heads and arms than mortal man can use or understand." There was no lack, however, of industry, enterprise or elaborate ornamentation. On the contrary, Orissa and Southern and Western India were covered with temples and sculpture works evincing very considerable vigour, and often producing a rich effect by profuse and elaborate ornamentation. But we miss æsthetic beauty, specially in the later Hindu works. The hand of the sculptor was as busy as ever, but the mind of the artist was wanting.

CHAPTER IX.

SOCIAL MANNERS. CASTE.

THE Chinese traveller Houen Tsang makes some general remarks about the people of India and the way they lived which are valuable to the historian. "With respect to the ordinary people," he says, "although they are naturally light-minded, yet they are upright and honorable. In money matters they are without craft, and in administering justice they are considerate. They dread the retribution of another state of existence, and make light of the things of the present world. They are not deceitful or treacherous in their conduct, and are faithful to their oaths and promises." Such has been the opinion of all civilized and candid travellers who have visited India from the time of Megasthenes downwards, who have seen Hindus in their homes and villages, mixed with them in their every-day life, entered into their daily transactions, and examined their dealings and ordinary relations with their co-villagers and acquaintances. Villagers, says Colonel Sleeman, adhere habitually to the truth in their Panchyets, and "I have had before me hundreds of cases in which a man's property, liberty and life has depended upon his telling a lie, and he has refused to tell it."

Our readers will pardon us for this reference to the testimony of a modern traveller and an Englishman; but judgments on a people's character are so often formed from the falsehood and chicanery exhibited in law courts, that it is refreshing to turn to the opinion of an Englishman who passed his official life in seeing and knowing the people in their own homes and villages, and in the midst of their every day dealings and transactions.

With regard to the people's clothing, Houen Tsang says, that the clothing was not cut or fashioned. "The men wind their garments round their middle, then

gather them under the armpits, and let them fall down across the body, hanging to the right." It would appear from this account that one piece of cloth served much the same purpose, and was worn much in the same way as the *dhoti* and *chudder* are worn in the present day. The women dressed themselves as they do now—"The robes of the women fall to the ground; they completely cover their shoulders. They wear a little knot of hair on their crowns, and let the rest of their hair fall loose."

"On their heads the people wear caps with flower wreaths and jewelled necklets. Their garments are made of *Kauseya*. Kauseya is the product of the wild silk worm. They have garments also of *Kshauma*, which is a sort of hemp; garments also made of *Kambala* which is woven from fine goat hair; garments also made from *Holali*. This stuff is made from the fine hair of wild animals: it is seldom that this can be woven, and therefore the stuff is very valuable, and it is regarded as fine clothing." The above brief account gives us some idea of the silken, hemp, and woollen fabrics in use in India in the 7th century. *Holali*, from the description given, would seem to be *shawl* made of the hair of Kashmir goats.

Further on Houen Tsang says that in North India, where the wind was cold, the people wore close-fitting garments; that Kshatriyas and Brâhmanas were cleanly and wholesome in their dress; that all the people were very particular in their personal cleanliness, and allowed no remissness in this particular. All washed themselves before eating. Wooden and stone vessels when used were destroyed; vessels of gold, silver, copper, and iron, after each meal, were rubbed and polished. After eating they cleansed their teeth with a willow stick and washed their hands and mouth.

Cleanliness, however, was more observable in the personal habits of the people than in their towns. Towns were generally walled and had gates, but the streets and lanes were tortuous, and the thoroughfares were dirty. Stalls were arranged on both sides of the road with appropriate signs; but butchers, fishers,

dancers, executioners, and scavengers had their abodes outside the city. The town walls were mostly built of bricks and tiles, and the towers of wood and bamboo, architecture in stone being extremely rare, except for religious edifices and excavations. The houses of the ordinary people were covered, as in the present day, with "rushes or dry branches or tiles or boards," and the walls of such houses were covered with lime and mud, "mixed with cow's dung for purity."

Houen Tsang gives an account of education in India which is interesting. He speaks of five Vidyâs or branches of learning, *viz.*, *Sabdavidyâ* or the science of words, *Silpasthânavidyâ* treating of the arts, *Chikitsâvidyâ* or medicine, *Hetuvidyâ* or philosophy, and *Adhyâtmavidyâ* of the mysteries of religion. Houen Tsang also speaks of four Vedas recognized in his time; but Manu recognizes only three and not the Atharva Veda (III, 145; IV, 123; XI, 260 to 265; XII, 112, &c). Houen Tsang further informs us that men completed their education at 30, rewarded and thanked their teacher, and then returned to their wordly duties.

Houen Tsang mentions a great variety of fruits which were produced in India. Among the food-grains, rice and corn were the most plentiful. The most usual food, beside the grains, was milk, butter, cream, soft sugar, sugarcandy, mustard oil, and various kinds of cakes made of corn. Fish, mutton, gazelle, and deer were generally eaten fresh, but sometimes salted, but it was forbidden to eat the flesh of the ox, the ass, the elephant, the horse, the pig, the dog, the fox, the wolf, the lion, the monkey, and all the hairy kind. With regard to wines, Kshatriyas were fond of the juice of grape and sugarcane. Vaisyas used strong fermented drinks, and the Srâmans and Brâhmans used a sort of syrup from the grape or sugarcane, but not fermented. We know, however, from various accounts, that drinking was rare among the higher classes and almost unknown among the common people, except among the aboriginal castes.

Gold, silver, native copper, white jade, and pearls were the products of the country, and there was also an abundance of rare gems and various kinds of precious stones. Commercial transactions were carried on by barter, goods being exchanged for other goods. Houen Tsang even says that no gold or silver coins were known. It is probable that none were generally used for ordinary transactions.

If from the accounts of the Chinese traveller we turn to the Institutes of the Hindu writer known under the mythical name of Manu, we find lists of various castes and professions into which Hindu society was divided subsequent to the Christian Era. And it is with regret and pain that the historian notes the little respect that was accorded in Hindu society to those who followed different professions, and honest, though humble, means of living,—to all who were not priest and soldiers. In III, 152, we are told that physicians and temple priests and sellers of meat and shop-keepers should be avoided at sacrifices. And in the same category are placed singers and actors (III, 155), makers of bows and arrows (III, 160), trainers of elephants, oxen, horses, and camels, astrologers, bird fanciers and instructors in arms (III, 162), architects and messengers (III, 163), as well as shepherds and keepers of buffaloes (III, 166).

A Brâhman is prohibited from accepting gifts from butchers, oil-manufacturers, publicans and brothel-keepers, who are classed together! (IV, 84). Similarly he is prohibited from taking food given by a thief, a musician, a carpenter, or an userer, by a physician, a hunter, a blacksmith, a stage player, a goldsmith, a basket maker or a dealer in weapons, by a washerman or an artisan, (IV, 210, 212, 215, 216, 219). In another place a Brâhman and a Kshatriya are directed by all means to avoid agriculture, "for the wooden implement with iron point injures the earth, and the beings living in the earth"! (X, 84.)

This is a pretty comprehensive list! If we exclude physicians, shop-keepers, singers, actors, trainers of

animals, bird fanciers, instructors in arms, architects, oil-manufactures, carpenters, washermen, hunters, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, manufacturers of baskets and arms, all *artisans*, all *shepherds*, all *agriculturists*, who then are left in the nation to receive honor? PRIESTS and KINGS!

The results were disastrous, so far as arts were concerned. Genius was impossible, except among priests and kings. Men held in a perpetual moral bondage and servitude never learnt to aspire after greatness and glory. Men to whom honor was impossible never learnt to deserve honor and distinction. In other countries a Cincinatus might leave his plough and wield the destinies of his nation, or a Robert Burns might give expression to a nation's sentiments in thoughts that breathe and words that burn; but in India the cultivator's fate was sealed, he could never break through the adamant wall of social rules. Among other people a sculptor, a painter or an architect, like Phidias or Praxiteles, like Raphael or Michael Angelo, might, by the force of his genius, win the highest honor in his country. But in India that highest honor was the exclusive privilege of the Brâhman and the Kshatriya, honor to an architect or to a sculptor was simply out of the question. Under healthier influences the humblest artisan or engineer might rise to be a Watt or a Stevenson, but in India the artisan and the engineer were chained by shackles of steel, which it was impossible for them to break. Held in comparative degradation and contempt, the artisan and the mechanic never learnt to soar beyond the fixed rules of their art, and gave no indications of a great idea, a bold conception, a new invention or an original genius. Hindu architects covered India from Orissa and Ellora to Tanjore and Rameswaram with temples and edifices of which we shall speak in a future chapter. The patience, the industry, the attention to minute details, the ingenuity, and the skill displayed in these works will bear comparision with those of any nation, ancient or modern, in the face of the earth. But the conception of a great architect, the genius of a true artist is

often wanting in these magnificent edifices. A Brâhman poet in Ujjayinî has conceived a Sakuntalâ in verse, but there is no Sakuntalâ in stone among the millions of sculptured figures in India!

By her position and her civilisation India should have been the mistress of the Indian Ocean, as Greece and Rome were of the Mediterranean; and a Hindu mercantile navy should have swept the seas from China to Egypt. But the genius of Brâhmans and Kshatriyas did not descend to the art of navigation; civilized India depended on the rude Arabians for commerce with the West; and the imperfect maritime communication which Hindus had with Sumatra, Java and China in the Buddhist Period,—as we know from Fa Hian's pages,—was soon forgotten, and it was considered a sin to cross the seas. Hindu genius struggled against the dishonour cast on arts, Hindu architects and sculptors, and goldsmiths and weavers attained all that it was possible to attain, by skill and industry and ingenuity and long training; but the genius which marks the literature and thought of ancient India is absent in her industrial arts, her mechanical inventions and her maritime enterprise.

No nation has greater reasons to be proud of its past than the Hindus. But the proudest nations of the earth are at the same time those who are the most keenly alive to their shortcomings, and most eagerly assiduous in removing them; and greatness does not long survive where such endeavour is wanting. India too has had her shortcomings, and it is necessary that we should remember them and seek to remove them. And we should never forget that monopoly is hurtful to those who hold it, as to those who are excluded from it; and that a monopoly of learning and honour is the worst kind of monopoly that the world has known. The nation is degraded under a permanent social subjection, and then drags down the monopolists in the common national ruin.

We have seen before, that in the order to make the distinctions of caste immutable, the ancient Sûtrakâras had conceived that the different castes sprang from the union

of men and women of different original castes ; and Manu of course adopts and hands down the childish myth.

The following is a list of Manu's mixed castes, or if we may so call it, Manu's theory of the Origin of the Human Species ! Sons begotten by the first three castes on wives of the next lower castes were considered similar to their fathers, and did not form new castes :—

Father.	*Mother.*	*Castes formed.*
Brâhman.	Vaisya	Ambashtha
Do.	Sûdra	Nishâda
Kshatriya	Do.	Ugra
Do.	Brâhman	Sûta
Vaisya	Do.	Vaideha
Vaisya	Kshatriya	Mâgadha
Sûdra	Vaisya	Ayogava
Do.	Kshatriya	Kshattri
Do.	Brâhman	Chandâla
Brâhman	Ugra	Avrita
Do.	Ambashtha	Abhira
Do.	Ayogava	Dhigvana
Nishâda	Sûdra	Pukkasa
Sûdra	Nishâda	Kukkutaka
Kshattri	Ugra	Svapâka
Vaidehaka	Ambashtha	Yena

First three castes. { by wives of their same caste, but not performing sacred rites. } Vrâtyas.

From Brâhman Vrâtyas	...	...	Bhrijjakantaka, Avantya, Vâtadhâna, Pushpadha, Saikha
From Kshatriya Vrâtyas	...	...	Jhalla, Malla, Lichchivi, Nata, Karana, Khasa, Dravida
From Vâisya Vrâtyas	...	...	Sudhanvan, Achârya, Kârusha, Vijanman, Maitra, Sâtvata
Dasyu Vaideha	Ayogava Do.		Sairindhra Maitreyaka

Father.	*Mother.*	*Castes formed.*
Nishâda	Ayogava	Mârgava or Dâsa or Kaivarta
Do	Vaideha	Kârâvara
Vaidehika	Kârâvara	Andhra
Do.	Nishâda	Meda
Chandâla	Vaideha	Pâudusopâka
Nishada	Do.	Ahindika
Chandâla	Pukkasa	Sopâka
Chandâla	Nishâda	Antyâvasâyin.

As if this list of Non-Aryan races was not sufficiently long, the great legislator tries to include, by a sweeping rule, all the known races of the earth! The Paundrakas (North Bengal men), the Udras (Oriyas), the Dravidas (Southern Indians), the Kambojas (Kabulis), the Yavanas (Bactrian Greeks), the Sakas (Turanian invaders), the Pâradas, the Pahlavas (Persians), the Chînas (Chinese), the Kirâtas (hill men), and the Daradas and Khasas are said to have been Kshatriyas before, but to have "gradually sunk in this world to the condition of Sûdras" through omission of the sacred rites, and for "not consulting Brâhmans" (X, 43 & 44).

On carefully looking over the foregoing list of mixed castes, we find that they include all the aboriginal and foreign races who were known to Manu, but they do not include the profession—castes of the modern, day. We find no mention of Kâyasthas and Vaidyas and Goldsmiths and Blacksmiths and Vaniks, and Potters and Weavers, and other artisans who form castes in modern times! How have these castes sprung? When did they spring into existence? And shall we believe in the myth of a further permutation and combination among the men and women of Manu's mixed castes, in order to account for the existence of the scores of new castes in the modern day?

Again, when we survey the modern Hindu castes, we do not, in many provinces of India, find any trace of the ancient Vaisya caste, which formed the mass of the nation in the days of Manu. Where are those Vaisyas gone? When and how did they disappear from most of the provinces of India? And shall we

consistently with the myth spoken of before, believe that the Vaisyas were so apt to marry women of other castes, and so little fond of their own women, that they continually formed alliances with other castes, until they simply married themselves out of their caste-existence?

The student of Indian history is spared the humiliation of accepting such nursery tales! Common-sense will suggest to him that the Vaisyas of Manu have now been disunited into new modern castes according to the professions they follow. Manu knew of goldsmiths and blacksmiths and physicians, and speaks of them as we have seen before, but does not reckon them as separate castes. *They were not castes but professions in Manu's time.* Merchants and physicians and artisans, though looked down upon by Manu, *still belonged to the common undivided Vaisya caste.* Merchants and physicians and artisans were still entitled in Manu's time to the privileges of the ancient Aryans, to acquire religious knowledge, to perform religious rites, and to wear the sacrificial thread. However much, then, we may deplore the results of the caste-system, it is important to remember that even in the centuries immediately subsequent to the Christian Era, the system had not reached its worst stage, sacred learning had not yet become the monopoly of priests, and honest citizens, who gained a livelihood as merchants, physicians, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, weavers, potters, &c., were still Vaisyas, still united as one caste, and still entitled to all the literary and religious heritage of Aryans.

We will illustrate these remarks by a few facts taken from the modern state of Bengal. Bengal Proper, *i.e.*, the country in which the Bengali is the spoken tongue, (comprising the Presidency, Burdwan, Rajshahi, Dacca, and Chittagong fiscal divisions), has a population of about 35½ millions according to the census of 1881. Roughly speaking, 18 millions are Mahommedans, 17 millions are Hindus (including aborigines), and the remaining half-million is made up of Buddhists, Christians, &c.

The castes which make up the 17 million Hindus are about a hundred in number ; and those which number 200,000 souls or more are shewn in the following list :—

1.	Kaivarta	2.006	thousands.	17.	Baniya	318	thousands.
2.	Chandâla	1,504	,,	18.	Jugi	306	,,
3.	Koch	1,215	,,	19.	Kamar	286	,,
4.	Brâhman	1,077	,,	20.	Kumar	252	,,
5.	Kâyastha	1,056	,,	21.	Bauri	252	,,
6.	Bagdi	720	,,	22.	Teor	229	,,
7.	Gowala	613	,,	23.	Dhobi	227	,,
8.	Sadgop	547	,,				
9.	Napit	447	,,			13,760	,,
10.	Vaishnav	439	,,	Other castes numbering less than 200,000 souls		3,494	,,
11.	Chamar	410	,,				
12.	Sunri	383	,,	Total Hindu population		17,254	,,
13.	Teli	383	,,				
14.	Jeleya	375	,,				
15.	Tanti	330	,,				
16.	Pod	325	,,				

The two most numerous castes, the Kaivarta and the Chandâla, find mention in Manu's list of mixed castes. The Kaivartas of Bengal form a solid body of two million people, making nearly one-eight of the entire Hindu population of Bengal. They have much the same physical features, follow the same pursuits of fishing and agriculture, and possess the same mental characteristics of patience and industry, docility, and dulness. Three-fourths of them inhabit the south-western corner of Bengal, *i.e.*, the districts of Midnapur, Hooghly and Howrah, 24-Pergunnahs, Nuddea and Murshedabad. Is there any one among our readers who is so simple as to believe with Manu, that this solid and numerous race of men, possessing the same features and characteristics, and mostly inhabiting one definite part of Bengal, are descended from children borne by A'yogava women who deserted their own husbands and yielded themselves,—by the hundred thousand,—to the embraces of Nishâdas ! Where are the traditions of this strange and universal elopement, this rape of the A'yogava women by Nishâdas, compared to which the rape of the Sabine women was but child's play ? Common-sense brushes aside such nursery-tales, and recognizes in the millions of hard-

working and simple Kaivartas, one of those aboriginal races who inhabited Bengal before the Aryans came to the land, and who submitted themselves to the civilization, the language and the religion of the conquering Hindus, and learnt from them to till the land where they had previously lived by fishing and hunting.

Let us next turn to the Chandâlas of Bengal. They too, form a solid body of people numbering a million and a half, and inhabiting mostly the south-eastern districts of Bengal, Backergunj, Faridpur and Dacca, Jessore and Khulna. They are patient and hard-working and unrivalled in boating and fishing; and landlords like to have them as tenants for bringing waste and marshy lands under cultivation.* But nevertheless the Chandâlas are a soft, timid and submissive race, and bear, without a complaint, many wrongs from the sturdier Musalmans of East Bengal. There is a marked family likeness, both physical and mental, among the Chandâlas, which shews them to be one distinct race.

And how was this race formed? Manu has it that they are the issues of Brâhman women who yielded themselves to the embraces of Sûdras. As the number of Brâhmans in South Eastern Bengal was never very large in olden times, and does not, even in the present day, come to even a quarter of a million in the five districts named above, it is difficult to account for the presence of a million Chandâlas in those districts on Manu's theory. Shall we suppose that fair-skinned Brâhman Desdemonas habitually bestowed their hands on swarthy Sûdra swains? Shall we suppose that beauteous but frail Brâhman matrons were seduced from their lords—by the hundred thousand,—by gay Sûdra Lotharios intent on creating a new caste? And shall we further suppose that the children begotten of such

*The present writer has often witnessed the curious way in which the Chandâlas of some parts of the Backergunj District turn *beels* or marshes into solid cultivable lands. They either connect the *beels* with tidal rivers by artificial canals, so as to induce a deposit of silt on the bed of the marshes day by day and year by year; or they collect a kind of weed growing in the marshes, and lay them stratum upon stratum, until the lowest stratum reaches the bottom. The present writer has seen houses and trees on lands thus *manufactured*.

unions thrived and multiplied in marshes and fishing villages, amidst toil and privations,—more than true-born Brâhman children basking in the sunshine of royal favour and priestly privileges? We have only to state such suppositions to shew their utter absurdity; and with these suppositions, Manu's theory of mixed castes is brushed aside to the region of myths and nursery-tales! Common-sense will tell every reader who knows anything of the Chandâlas of Bengal, that they were the primeval dwellers of South-Eastern Bengal and lived by fishing in its numerous ereeks and channels, and they naturally adopted the religion, the language, and the civilization of the Hindus when the Aryans came and colonized Bengal.

We have shewn that the Kaivartas and the Chandâlas were distinct primeval races, and that they formed Hindu castes when they were Hinduized by the conquering Aryans. There are other similar race-castes in Bengal. The reader will find, in the list given above, the names of the Koch, the Bagdi, the Pod, the Bauri, and the Teor, which are all race-castes. They formed distinct aboriginal races before the Hindus came to Bengal; and from century to century, in the long-forgotten ages, they submitted to the conquering Hindus, adopted their language and religion and mode of tillage, and formed low castes in the Hindu confederation of castes. The names of many of these Bengal races were unknown to Manu; those which he knew, he tired to account for by his own theory in the absence of all historical and statistical facts.

Let us now turn from *race-castes* to *profession-castes*. In the list given above, the reader will find mention of the Kâyastha or scribe, the Goala or cowherd, the Napit or barber, the Teli or oil-manufacturer, the Jeleya or fisherman, the Tanti or weaver, the Baniya or trader, the Kamar or blacksmith, the Kumar or potter, the Dhobi or washerman, &c. It is remarkable that while some of the race-castes find mention in Manu's list of mixed castes, *not one of the profession-castes finds mention in that list.* Were the professions unknown in Manu's time? Were there no merchants and

traders, no blacksmiths and potters, no barbers and washermen in Manu's time? The supposition is absurd, for Manu lived at a time of high civilization in India, and speaks of those professions in his Code. But he does not mention them in his list of mixed castes, and does not speak of them as castes. And this demonstrates, with mathematical certainty, that the different professions in Manu's time were yet professions only, and had not yet been formed into castes.

We now know the true origin of the profession-castes which were unknown to Manu, and have been formed since. We know also the origin of the race-castes which were formed before Manu's time, and were known to Manu. And lastly, we know now what to think of Manu's theory of mixed castes. Manu's mistake was unavoidable. He saw distinct castes like the Kaivartas and Chandâlas, and did not know their historic origin. The religious traditions of his time traced all mankind from the four parent castes, and he was compelled therefore to stretch the old theory of permutation and combination among the men and women of the parent castes in order to account for the new castes of his time. All this is intelligible. What is not intelligible is, that the old theory should still find acceptance among orthodox Hindus in these days of statistics and historical inquiry. But the very sanctity of the Dharma Sâstras disarms historical inquiry, repels careful examination, silences criticism. It is for this reason that the ancient theory of mixed castes has been upheld and accepted and venerated for centuries in the face of all facts and all probabilities. Never questioned, never criticised, never tested by facts, the theory has floated in the imagination and belief of orthodox Hindus, an object of admiration and blind faith. And yet this theory, so symmetrical and comprehensive, so perfect and complete, vanishes like a beauteous soap-bubble into nothingness, the moment it is touched by the finger of criticism.

CHAPTER X.

DOMESTIC LIFE. THE POSITION OF WOMEN.

MANU'S account of domestic rites is based on the accounts of the old Sûtrakâras, and much the same rites are described. The *Jâtakarman* must be performed immediately after the birth of a child and before the navel-string is cut. On the tenth or twelfth day after birth, or on a lucky day, in a lucky muhûrta, under an auspicious constellation, the *Nâmadheya* rite should be performed, and the child should be named. In the fourth month the *Nishkramana* should be done, and the child taken out of the house, and in the sixth month the child should have his *Annaprâsana* or first meal of rice. The *Upanayana* or initiation should be performed in the eighth year for a Brâhman, in the eleventh for a Kshatriya, and in the twelfth for a Vaisya ; and then the boy, invested with the holy thread, is to be made over to his instructor.

The rules of the student's life are much the same as those laid down in the Dharma Sûtras. The student should have a girdle, a staff, and one or two garments ; he should be obedient and respectful to his teacher ; he should beg from door to door every day, and bring the proceeds to his teacher's house ; and he should live there and serve him menially, while receiving instruction from day to day and from year to year. The ceremony of *Kesânta* or shaving was performed for a Brâhman in the sixteenth year, for a Kshatriya in the twenty-second, and for a Vaisya two years later.

The time for learning the three Vedas is 36 years or 18 years or even 9 years or until the student has perfectly learnt them. We are not told of any fourth Veda here (III, 1), nor is any time allotted for learning the Atharvan. And having concluded his studies and bathed, the student became a Snâtaka, returned home, married and settled down as a householder. The

sacred fire was to be lighted at the wedding; and the householder was enjoined to perform his domestic ceremonies, and the five great sacrifices all through his life. These great sacrifices were (1) teaching and studying, metaphorically called a sacrifice to the Supreme God (Brahman); (2) offerings of water to the departed spirits; (3) burnt offerings to the minor gods; (4) offerings to ghosts; and (5) an ever hospitable reception of guests described as a sacrifice to men. (III, 67 and 70). The last duty was a most important one, and Hindu sages are never tired of impressing on pious Hindus this great duty to their fellowmen.

The five great sacrifices spoken of above are the same as were enjoined in the Sûtra Period as Devayajna, Bhûtayajna, Pitriyajna, Brahmayajna and Manushyayajna, (A'svalâyana Grihya Sutra III, 1). The ancient and cardinal idea was, that man should not look to his own needs and comforts before he had done his duty to all beings above and around him. Accordingly it was ordained that these five sacrifices should be *daily* performed.

Apart from the daily offering to departed spirits, there was the monthly Pinda-Pitriyajna (III, 222). Pindas or cakes were prepared on this occasion and were offered to the manes. Brâhmans were fed at the daily offerings to departed spirits, as well as at the monthly funeral offerings, and Manu is as bitter as the Sûtrakâras were, against feeding ignorant Brâhmans.

"As a husbandman reaps no harvest when he has sown the seed in barren soil, even so the giver of sacrificial food gains no reward if he presented it to a man unacquainted with the Richas." (III, 142).

"As many mouthfuls as an ignorant man swallows at a sacrifice to the gods or to the manes, so many red hot spikes, spears and iron balls, must the giver of the repast swallow after death." (III, 133).

Elsewhere we are warned against offering even water "to a Brâhman who acts like a cat, or like a heron." And it would sound irreverent to modern Hindus if we quoted the words in which Manu indignantly stig-

matized the cat-like and heron-like Brâhmans of his day ! (IV, 192, 195, 196).

With regard to sacrifices we are told that a Brâhman should always offer the Agnihotra morning and evening ; that he should perform the Darsa and Paurnamâsa Ishtis at the new and full moon ; that he should do the Châturmâsya sacrifices at the end of the three seasons ; that he should perform animal sacrifices at the solstices, and a soma sacrifice at the end of the year. When the new grain was reaped he should perform an A'grayana Ishti and an animal sacrifice. (IV, 25 to 27.) The reader is referred to Chapters VII and VIII of the Third Book for an account of these and similar rites as described in the older Sûtra works.

All these injunctions to continue the daily, monthly, and periodical rites prescribed in the ancient Brâhmanas and Sûtras, shew that Manu sought to perpetuate the old Vedic rites which were fast falling into disuse. Such expressions as "A Brâhman who keeps sacred fires" (IV, 27) would indicate that to keep such fires was becoming rather the exception than the rule ; and bitter expressions against heretics would indicate that the influence of Buddhists and others was telling on the ancient forms and rites. A householder is forbidden to honor, even by greeting, heretics and logicians arguing against the Veda (IV, 30) ; he is directed to avoid atheism and cavilling at the Veda (IV, 163) ; and women who have joined a heretical sect are classed with lewd women living with many men, with drunken women, with women who have murdered of their husbands, and with women who have caused abortion (V, 90).

We shall probably never know exactly in what way and by what degrees the Vedic rites and forms of the Epic and Rationalistic Periods were changed into the forms of modern Hinduism. But we may be quite certain that at the very time at which the Institutes of Manu were compiled, the ancient domestic sacrifices (Grihya) at the householder's hearth, and the more pompous sacrifices (Srauta) performed by priests, were falling into disuse, and were being supplanted by those very temple priests

whom Manu contemptuously classes with sellers of meat and wine, with shopkeepers and usurers (III, 152, 180). The Institutes are a vain attempt to perpetuate the past against the innovations of the present, and the historian has little difficulty in noting in what direction the tide was turning.

The forms of marriage recounted by Manu are the same that we find in the Dharma Sûtras. He enumerates the *Brâhma*, the *Daiva*, the *A'rsha*, the *Prâjâpatya*, the *A'sura*, the *Gândharva*, the *Râkshasa*, and the *Paisâcha* forms; but his sense of decorum rebels against some of the forms; "the Paisâcha (seduction), and the A'sura (sale), must never be used" (III, 25). And again we are emphatically told that—"No father who knows the law must take even the smallest gratuity for his daughter; for a man who, through avarice, takes a gratuity, is a seller of his offspring" (III, 54). As if to leave no doubt whatever on the subject, we are told that even a Sûdra should not take a nuptial fee; and that such a transaction has never been heard of (IX, 98 and 100). But nevertheless a nuptial fee was, probably, received among the low people in ancient times as it is done to this day in India, and Manu in one place incautiously lays down a rule that if one damsel has been shewn and another is given to a bridegroom, he may marry both for the same price (VIII, 204).

Similarly Manu is indignant against widow-marriage, which ancient custom was becoming unpalatable to the later Hindus; but he unguardedly informs us of the fact,—and the fact is more valuable to the historian than Manu's opinions,—that widow-marriage still prevailed in his time, although it was not approved by the orthodox. We are told in (V, 157) that a widow must never even mention the name of another man after her husband has died, and again that a second husband is nowhere prescribed for virtuous women (V, 162). But nevertheless we are told of husbands of re-married women (III, 166), and of sons of re-married widows (III, 155 and 181; IX, 169, 175 and 176). Virgin widows were expressly permitted to re-marry. Such a

widow "is worthy to perform with her second husband the nuptial ceremony" (IX, 176).

Intermarriage, as we have already seen before, was freely allowed, provided that a man of a lower caste did not marry a woman of a higher caste. How far this prohibition was faithfully observed we do not know. Houen Tsang, after speaking of the four castes, the Brâhman, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya and the Sûdra, adds that "When they marry, they *rise or fall* in position according to their new relationship."

Marriage between relations was strictly prohibited in Manu's time. "A damsel who is neither a Sapinda on the mother's side, nor belongs to the same family on the father's side, is recommended to twice born men for wedlock and conjugal union" (III, 5). And Houen Tsang also tell us that "they do not allow promiscuous marriages between relations."

With regard to the age at which girls were married, we should infer from Manu's rules, that though girls were sometimes married before they reached their puberty, this was by no means obligatory, and they often married later. We are told that a man of thirty should marry a girl of twelve, and that a younger man should marry girls still younger (IX, 94). We are again told that to a distinguished handsome suitor a father should give away his daughter "though she have not attained the proper age." This is laid down as an exception, and the usual rule, therefore, we should infer, was to give away girls at "the proper age." And we are expressly told that a girl when marriageable should wait for three years and then give herself away (IX, 90), and that her father should rather keep her unmarried the whole of her life than give her away to a bridegroom who is not suitable (IX, 89).

The ancient custom of raising issue on a brother's widow seems to have fallen into disuse. Manu, in his anxiety to adhere to ancient rule, and also to proclaim a purer custom, seems to flatly contradict himself. In (IX, 59 and 60) he says that on failure of issue by her husband, a wife or widow who has been

authorized may obtain the desired offspring by a brother-in-law, or by some other Sapinda of the husband. But shortly after he emphatically declares that a widow must never be appointed to raise issue in this way; that in the sacred texts the appointment of widows is nowhere mentioned; that the practice is reprehended by the learned as fit for cattle (IX, 64 to 68.) This is pretty strong language, and shews how utterly the somewhat primitive custom had fallen into disuse.

It will seen from what has been stated above that the Institutes of Manu are somewhat composite in their character. The author tries to adhere to ancient law, often quotes the current sayings and verses of his time,—many of which have been found in the Mahâbhârata,—and at the same time he is anxious to proclaim a pure law for the Aryans. Actuated by such different influences, Manu is sometimes uncertain in the rules he lays down; but the general scope and object of his law cannot be mistaken by the candid reader. And if such a reader carefully peruses all the chapters and verses in the Code bearing on the position of women, he will, in spite of some objectionable passages, certainly form a high idea of the status of women, and of the Hindu civilization and manners of Manu's time.

Women were regarded as dependent on their male relations;—this Manu emphatically declares. But nevertheless women were honored in their families, respected by their relations, held in esteem by the society in which they lived. And this will appear not only from the rules of Manu, but from the general tone of all Sanscrit literature.

"The A'châryа (teacher) is ten times more venerable than the Upâdyâya (sub-teacher), the father, a hundred times more than the teacher, but the mother a thousand times more than the father. II, 145.*

"Women must be honored and adorned by their fathers, brothers, husbands, and brothers-in-law who desire their own welfare.

* See Book III, Chapter VII.

"Where women are honored, there the gods are pleased; but where they are not honored, no sacred rite yields reward.

"Where female relations live in grief, the family soon wholly perishes; but that family where they are not unhappy, ever prospers." III, 55 to 57.

On the other hand, we have as clear an enunciation of women's duties.

"In childhood a female must be subject to her father; in youth to her husband; when her lord is dead, to her sons; a woman must never be independent.

"She must not seek to separate herself from her father, husband, or sons. By leaving them she would make both her own and her husband's family contemptible.

"She must always be cheerful, clever in the management of her household affairs, careful in cleaning her utensils, and economical in expenditure.

"Him to whom her father may give her, or her brother, with her father's permission, she shall obey as long as she lives, and when he is dead, she must not insult his memory.

"Though destitute of virtue, or seeking pleasure, or devoid of good qualities, yet a husband must be constantly worshipped as a god by a faithful wife.

"No sacrifice, no vow, no fast, must be performed by women apart from their husbands; if a wife obeys her husband, she will, for that reason alone, be exalted in heaven. V. 148 to 151, & 154 & 155.

CHAPTER XI.

CIVIL AND MILITARY ADMINISTRATION.

As we have seen before, Houen Tsang gives us an interesting picture of the court of Sîlâditya II, Emperor of Northern India, at a great assemblage of a religious character at which kings of twenty different countries, with their courtiers and retainers, were present. Manu gives us a humbler, but no less interesting picture of the daily duties and the private life of kings.

To protect his subjects, to deal impartial justice, and to punish the wrong-doer were the essential duties of a king, and the very existence of society depended on the performance of these duties (VII, 2, 16 to 35). Drinking, dice, women, and hunting were said to be the most pernicious faults of kings (VII, 50).

The king rose in the last watch of the night, and having performed personal purification, and offered oblations to the fire, he entered the hall of audience in the morning. There he gratified all subjects who came to see him, and having dismissed them, he took counsel with his ministers in a lonely place unobserved by the public (VII, 145 to 147). When the consultation was over, the king took his customary exercise, bathed and entered the inner apartments in order to take his meals. The food was prepared by faithful servants, hallowed by sacred texts that destroyed poison, and well tried females served him with fans, water, and perfumes. The carefulness which is enjoined in the matter of food, is enjoined also in respect of the king's carriages, bed, seat, bath, toilet and ornaments, and shews that the risk of death by poison or treachery was guarded against in the ordinary arrangements in a king's household (VII, 216 to 220).

After taking his meals the king passed some time with his wives in the inner apartments; but in the afternoon he issued again in his robes of state and

inspected his fighting men, his chariots, animals, weapons and accoutrements. And then having performed his twilight devotions, he gave audience to his secret spies, and heard secret reports collected for his information. After this he entered his inner apartments again and had his supper. Then, after refreshing himself by the sound of music, he retired to rest (VII, 221 to 225).

This is a rational routine of daily life, and was generally followed by Hindu kings, as we learn from various Sanscrit dramas and tales. When we speak of Hindu kings generally, we do not, it must be remembered, speak of great emperors like Asoka, Vikramâditya or Sîlâditya, but of humbler kings who reigned in their little kingdoms, from the Punjab to Bengal. According to Houen Tsang's accounts, such kingdoms were generally petty ones, and there were several such kingdoms in the modern province of Bengal, as we have seen before. The king of such a kingdom, if he was a man of vigour and intelligence, had a hold over the administration of his kingdom, knew his principal officers and checked their work, kept his little army in trim order, amassed wealth and beautified his capital. On the other hand, if he was a weak man, as he too often was, his ministers and officers served their own ends, revenue fell into arrear, the army was disorganized, and the country probably suffered defeat and humiliation at the hands of a neighbouring king. Such petty rivalries and wars were not infrequent, but beyond the temporary humiliation of a king, and the payment of a ransom perhaps, they did little harm to the country at large. Wars in India caused less harassment to the people at large than wars anywhere else in the world.

Houen Tsang's account of the way in which administration was carried on is brief and clear. "As the administration of the country is conducted on benign principles, the executive is simple. The private demesnes of the Crown are divided into four principal parts; the first is for carrying out the affairs of State and providing sacrificial offerings; the second is for providing subsidies for the ministers and chief officers

of state ; the third is for rewarding men of distinguished ability, and the fourth is for charity to religious bodies, whereby the field of merit is cultivated. In this way the taxes on the people are light, and the personal service required of them is moderate. Each one keeps his own worldly goods in peace, and all till the ground for their subsistence. Those who cultivate the royal estates pay a sixth part of the produce as tribute. The merchants who engage in commerce come and go in carrying out their transactions. The river passages and the road barriers are open on payment of a small toll. When the public works require it, labour is exacted but paid for. The payment is in strict proportion to the work done.

"The military guard the frontiers, or go out to punish the refractory. They also mount guard at night round the palace. The soldiers are levied according to the requirements of the service ; they are promised certain payments and are publicly enrolled. The governors, ministers, magistrates and officials have each a portion of land consigned to them for their personal support."

It will be seen from the above that, according to the ancient custom of India, all the officials were paid by assignments of land. What Houen Tsang calls the king's private estates and demesnes was probably the entire kingdom, except such villages and lands which were given away in perpetuity to private persons, to temples or monasteries, and such other lands or provinces which were assigned to officials. All the expenses of the state in peace and war, and those of the royal household, were defrayed from the proceeds of the king's lands, and of taxes.

The king was of course assisted in his work of administration by his ministers,—seven or eight ministers according to Manu,—versed in sciences, skilled in the use of weapons, and descended from noble and well tried families. Such ministers advised the king in matters of peace and war, revenue and religious gifts. The king also employed suitable persons for the collection of revenue, and in mines, manufactories and store-

houses; and he employed an ambassador "who understands hints, and the expression of the face and gestures" for carrying on negociations (VII, 54 to 63).

For the protection of villages and towns, separate officers were appointed. The king appointed a lord over each village, lords of ten villages, lords of twenty villages, lords of a hundred villages and lords of a thousand villages, and it was their duty to check crime and protect villagers. Similarly, each town had its superintendent of all affairs, who personally inspected the work of all officials and got secret information about their behaviour. "For the servants of the king who are appointed to protect the people, generally become knaves, who seize the property of others; let him protect his subjects against such men" (VII, 115 to 123). This is a bitter invective against the rapacity of officers; but few administrative officers of the present day will consider the invective too strong for the modern protectors of the people,—the police officers,—each entrusted with the charge of an extensive Thana with a population of fifty to a hundred thousand or more!

The income of the State from the royal demesnes was supplemented, as we have stated before, by taxes. Manu fixes the taxes at "a fiftieth part of the increments on cattle and gold," which corresponds to an income tax of 2 per cent., and "the eighth, sixth or twelfth part of the crops" which represents a land revenue much lower than modern assessments. The king might also take a sixth part of trees, meat, butter, earthen vessels, stone ware, &c., and might exact a day's service in each month from artisans, mechanics, and Sûdras living by manual labour. But he should, on no account, tax Srotriyas. And lastly, kings are warned against excessive taxation. "Let him not cut up his own root, nor the root of others by excessive greed. For by cutting up his own root or theirs, he makes himself or them wretched." (VII, 130 to 139).

All these and other rules about administration and taxation shew that a fairly advanced system of

government prevailed in India between fifteen hundred and two thousand years ago. And the testimony of Chinese and Greek writers who lived in the country, proves that the ideas were not merely worked out by theorists and book-makers, but were carried into practice by kings and their responsible officials. Megasthenes speaks in the highest terms of the government of Chandragupta; and Houen Tsang, who lived many years in India and visited many kingdoms, also speaks highly of Hindu administration, and does not cite one single instance of a people being ground down by taxes or harassed by the arbitrary and oppressive acts of kings, or ruined by internecine wars. On the contrary, the picture which he presents to us is that of a happy and prosperous group of nations, loyal and well-disposed to their kings, enjoying the fruits of a benign and mild and civilized administration. Agriculture flourished everywhere; the arts were cultivated; learning was respected and cultivated with great assiduity by Hindus and Buddhists alike; religion was taught and preached from temples and monasteries without let or hinderance; and the people were left to their own pursuits without oppressive interference. These results are a truer indication of a beneficent administration than any rules, however just and humane, which we may find recorded in law-books.

Houen Tsang also makes some general remarks about the army which are worth quoting. "The chief soldiers of the country are selected from the bravest of the people, and as the sons follow the profession of their fathers, they soon acquire a knowledge of the art of war. They dwell in garrison around the palace (during peace), but when on an expedition, they march in front as an advanced guard. There are four divisions of the army, *viz.*, (1) the infantry, (2) the cavalry, (3) the chariots, (4) the elephants. The elephants are covered with strong armour, and their tusks are provided with sharp spurs. A leader in a car gives the command, while two attendants on the right and left drive his chariot, which is drawn by four horses abreast.

The general of soldiers remains in his chariot; he is surrounded by a file of guards, who keep close to his chariot wheels.

"The cavalry spread themselves in front to resist an attack, and in case of defeat they carry orders hither and thither. The infantry, by their quick movements, contribute to the defence. These men are chosen for their courage and strength. They carry a long spear and a great shield; sometimes they hold a sword or sabre, and advance to the front with impetuosity. All their weapons of war are sharp and pointed. Some of them are these,—spears, shields, bows, arrows, swords, sabres, battle-axes, lances, halberds, long javelins and various kinds of slings. All these they have used for ages."

Fortresses were highly esteemed for the purposes of defence, and Manu declares that "one bowman placed on a rampart is a match in battle for one hundred foes" (VII, 74). He directs that a king should always build for his safety a fortress, protected by a desert, or water, or trees, or by earthworks, or by armed men; but he gives his preference to hill forts which are the strongest of all forts. And such forts should be well supplied with weapons, money, grain and beasts of burden; with Brâhmans, artisans, engines, fodder, and with water. (VII, 70, 71, 75). The value of such hill forts has repeatedly been proved in the history of modern Indian warfare, and the enemy has often wasted a campaign in a futile attack against a single fort, sufficiently provided with provisions and water, with natural defences and brave men.

The laws of war have always been honorable and humane among the Hindus. Chariots and horses and elephants, grain, cattle and women conquered in battle, are the prize of the conqueror; but he is strictly enjoined not to strike the flying foe, nor one who joins his hands in supplication or sits down and says, "I am thine." Similarly, no violence should be used against disarmed or wounded men, or men who were merely

looking on without joining in the fight (VII, 91, 92, 93, 96). These rules have been scrupulously observed from the ancient times to the days of modern Rajput warfare, and foreigners have noted peaceful villagers following their daily occupations, and husbandmen ploughing their fields without concern, while hostile armies were contending within sight for the destinies of kingdoms and nations.

A great many rules have been laid down about the policy of kings and the conduct of war, some of which are interesting. The king was to consider his immediate neighbour his foe, and the next king beyond to be his friend, a rule which finds apt illustration in the Continent of Europe in the present day,—in the policies of France, Germany, and Russia ; (VII 158). The tall men of the Doab formed then, as now, the best soldiers in India, and kings were recommended to engage such men, the Matsyas, the Panchâlas and the men of Kurukshetra and Surasena as soldiers, and to keep them in the van of the battle (VII, 193). The commencement or end of the cold season was said to be the proper season for marching troops, but movements should be commenced at any time according to the exigencies of the war (VII, 182, 183). We get curious glimpses here and there into the rules which were observed in arranging troops in a march or a battle. In a march the troops were to be arranged like a staff (oblong), or like a waggon (wedge), or like a boar (rhombus), or like a makara (two triangles with the apices joined), or like a pin (long line), or like a Garuda (rhomboid with extended wings), In a battle a small number of soldiers might fight in close order, or the army might be extended in loose ranks ; a small number could fight in the needle array, or a large number in the thunderbolt array. (VII, 187, 191). When the enemy is shut up in a town or fort, the assailant should encamp outside and spoil the enemy's grass, food, fuel and water, destroy his tanks, ramparts and ditches, assail him unwares at night, or instigate rebellion among his subjects and followers. (VII, 195 to 197.)

And when a king has conquered his enemy, he is directed to place a relation of the vanquished ruler on the throne, after consulting the wishes of the conquered people, and to respect the local customs and laws of the vanquished (VII, 202, 203). These are just and humane rules worthy of Hindu conquerors.

CHAPTER XII.

LAWS.

THE Institutes of Manu are dividend into twelve books, comprising 2,685 couplets. The two longest books (VIII and IX) comprising 756 couplets, are devoted to civil and criminal law. Much that we find in these laws is a repetition, or a modification of the laws laid down by the ancient Sûtrakâras.

The king was the fountain of justice in ancient India, and Manu directs that the king should, with learned Brâhmans and experienced councillors, enter the Court of Justice and perform judicial work. Should, however, the king not do the work himself, he should appoint learned Brâhmans to perform it with the help of three assessors. "Where three Brâhmans versed in the Vedas, and the learned judge appointed by the king sit down, they call that the Court of Brahman." (VIII, 1, 2, 9, 10, 11).

The injunctions to speak the truth are as solemn and strict as those provided in any age or country.

"Either the Court must not be entered, or the truth must be spoken; a man who either says nothing (*i. e.*, conceals facts) or speaks falsely, becomes sinful." (VIII, 13).

"The witnesses being assembled in the Court in the presence of the plaintiff and of the defendant, let the judge examine them, kindly exhorting them in the following manner:

"'What ye know to have been mutually transacted in this matter between the two men before us declare all that in accordance with the truth; for ye are witnesses in this cause.

"'A witness who speaks the truth in his evidence gains after death the most excellent regions of bliss, and here below, unsurpassable fame; such testimony is revered by Brahman himself.

"'He who gives false evidence is firmly bound by Varuna's fetters, helpless, during one hundred existences. Let men give true evidence.

"'By truthfulness a witness is purified, through truthfulness his merit grows; truth must therefore be spoken by witnesses of all castes.

"'The soul itself is the witness of the soul; the soul is the refuge of the soul; despise not thy own soul, the supreme witness of men.

"'The wicked indeed say in their hearts, Nobody sees us. But the gods distinctly see them, and the male within their own breasts.

"'The sky, the earth, the waters, the heart, the moon, the sun, the fire, Yama and the wind, the night, the two twilights and justice, know the conduct of all corporal beings.'" (VIII, 79 to 86.)

Still more solemn are the injunctions given further on:—

"Naked and shorn, tormented with hunger and thirst, and deprived of sight, shall the man who gives false evidence, go with a potsherd to beg food at the door of his enemy.*

"Headlong, in utter darkness shall the sinful man tumble into hell, who, being interrogated in a judicial enquiry, answers one question falsely." (VIII, 93, 94.)

And it is provided in VIII, 123, that the king should banish all witnesses who give false evidence.

A somewhat long list is given of persons who were not competent witnesses, and persons who were exempted from being witnesses. Interested persons, friends and enemies of parties, persons previously convicted of perjury, and men tainted with sin were not competent as witnesses; while a king, a Srotriya and a student of the Veda, as well as mechanics and actors were exempted. But it is quite clear that these rules were not meant to be strictly applied, and we are told further on, that in cases of violence, theft, adultery, defamation, and assault, *i. e.*, in criminal cases, the rule

* See Book III, Chap. III.

about the competency of witnesses should not be strictly applied. (VIII, 64, 65, 72.)

Manu divides the whole body of substantive law under 18 heads, *viz.*, (1) Debts, (2) Deposits, (3) Sale without ownership, (4) Partnership, (5) Resumption of gifts, (6) Non-payment of wages, (7) Non-performance of agreements, (8) Rescission of sale and purchase, (9) Disputes between masters and servants, (10) Disputes about boundaries, (11) Assault, (12) Defamation, (13) Theft, (14) Robbery and violence, (15) Adultery, (16) Duties of husband and wife, (17) Inheritance, and (18) Gambling and betting. It will be seen that heads (11) to (15) and the last head relate to criminal law, and the other heads relate to civil cases. We will, however, follow the order in which Manu has arranged the subjects, and our remarks under each head will be necessarily exceedingly brief.

(1) DEBTS. Under this head Manu gives us a list of the weights in use in his time. It begins of course with the theoretically smallest weight Trasarenu, the mote which can be seen when the sun shines through a lattice.

8	Trasarenu	...	1	Likshâ (egg of a louse)
3	Likshâ	...	1	Black mustard grain.
3	Black mustard grain	...	1	White mustard seed.
6	White mustard seed	...	1	Barleycorn.
3	Barleycorn	...	1	Krishnala or Raktikâ.
5	Krishnala	...	1	Mâsha (bean).
16	Mâsha	...	1	Suvarna.
4	Suvarna	...	1	Pala.
10	Pala	...	1	Dharana.
2	Krishnala of silver	...	1	Mâshaka (silver).
16	Mâshaka	...	1	Dharana (silver)
1	Karsha of copper	...	1	Kârshâpana or Pana.
10	Dharana (silver)	...	1	Satamâna.
4	Suvarna	...	1	Nishka (VIII, 132 to 137).

With regard to interest on loans, Manu quotes from Vasishtha's Dharma-Sûtra, and says that "a moneylender may stipulate, as an increase of his capital, for the interest allowed by Vasishtha, and take monthly

the eightieth part of a hundred." This comes to 15 per cent. per annum, and was the interest on security; but for unsecured loans the interest was 24 per cent., 36 per cent., 48, or 60 per cent. according as the borrower was a Brâhman, a Kshatriya, a Vaisya or a Sûdra. (VIII, 140 to 142). It is needless to say that this graduated scale is only theoretical,—a money-lender looked more to the competence of the borrower than to his caste.

It appears that female slaves could be pledged like other property by persons borrowing money (VIII, 149). When the property pledged was one from which profit accrued (like land), no interest could be charged (VIII, 143). 60 per cent. was the very highest rate of interest which could be recovered (VIII, 152); but special rates were allowed in the case of merchants going on sea voyages, probably to cover the insurance on risks (VIII, 157). And lastly, we are told that contracts made under intoxication, or contrary to law and usage, or fraudulently, or by force, were void (VIII, 163 to 168).

(2) DEPOSITS. A person with whom an open or sealed deposit was made was compelled under the law to restore it, except when the deposit was stolen by thieves, washed away by water, or burnt down by fire. It would appear that fraudulent demands of things never deposited, and fraudulent refusal to return deposits were by no means unknown, and in both cases the guilty persons were punished as thieves. (VIII, 191).

(3) SALE WITHOUT OWNERSHIP. Such sales were to be considered null and void, and the seller, if a kinsman of the real owner, to be fined 600 panas,—and if not a kinsman, he was to be treated as a thief (VIII, 198, 199).

(4) PARTNERSHIP. It appears that disputes often arose among priests who performed a religious rite in common, and could not agree in sharing the fee or reward. Manu decides that the Adhvaryu should take a chariot, the Brahman a horse, the Hotri also a horse, and the Udgâtri a cart. And on this principle, says the legislator, should shares be allotted among all men working conjointly. The principle, which is some-

what obscure, is the natural one that each man is to be paid according to the amount and nature of his work. (VIII, 209 to 211.)

(5) RESUMPTION OF GIFTS. A gift made for a pious purpose could be revoked if the money was not used for the purpose for which it was given. (VIII, 212.)

(6) NON-PAYMENT OF WAGES. The law is very simple, *viz.*, that a workman was not to be paid unless he did his work completely according to agreement. (VIII, 217.)

(7) NON-PERFORMANCE OF AGREEMENTS. The breaking of an agreement after swearing to it was very severely punished; the offender was to be banished, imprisoned and fined six nishkas of four suvarnas each, and one satamâna of silver. (VIII, 219, 220.)

(8) RESCISSION OF SALE AND PURCHASE. There is a most remarkable rule, that a purchaser or a seller if he repented of his bargain might return or take back the chatel within ten days. Commentators add that this rule applied only to things not easily spoilt like land, copper, &c. (VIII, 222).

(9) DISPUTES BETWEEN OWNERS OF CATTLE AND SERVANTS. Frequent cases probably arose between owners and keepers of cattle, and the law on the subject has been somewhat minutely laid down. The responsibility for the safety of the cattle was with the herdsman during the day, and with the owner during the night, *i. e.*, if the cattle were in his house by night; and the hired herdsman could, in the absence of other wages, take the milk of one cow in ten. He was responsible for all animals lost by his negligence. Thus, if sheep and goats were attacked by a wolf, and the herdsman did not try to save them, he was responsible for the loss. There was a healthy rule of keeping pasture lands round every village and every town, which has, unfortunately, disappeared in these days. On all sides of a village, lands to the width of 100 dhanus were to be kept for pasture, and thrice that space was to be

reserved round towns. If cattle did any damage to any unfenced crops on that common, the herdsman was not responsible. Fields situated away from the common were not fenced, and if cattle strayed there and did damage to crops, a fine was imposed of one pana and a quarter per head of cattle, and the actual damage done had also to be made good. (VIII, 230 to 241.)

(10) DISPUTES ABOUT BOUNDARIES. We have a curious glimpse into the state of villages and agriculture in the laws on this subject. The month of Jaishtha (May-June) is the driest in the year in India, and it is laid down that all disputes regarding boundaries of contiguous villages should be decided in that month. Such boundaries were generally marked by an Asvathva, Kinsuka, or other tree, by tanks, wells, cisterns and fountains. Hidden marks were to be left to determine boundaries, and stones, bones, pebbles, &c., were to be buried where such boundaries met.

When a boundary question could not be decided on the existing landmarks, the villagers were to be examined, and on failure of villagers, hunters, fowlers, herdsmen, fishermen, root diggers, snake catchers, gleaners and foresters could be examined. If all these resources failed, the king was directed to generously make good out of his own demesnes any possible loss to either of the contending villages. (VIII, 245 to 265.)

(11) and (12) ASSAULT AND DEFAMATION. We now come to Criminal Law properly so called, and there we meet once more the influence of that baneful system which has cast its shadow over every phase of Hindu civilization and life. A Brâhman should be fined fifty panas for defaming a Kshatriya, twenty-five panas for defaming a Vaisya, and twelve panas for defaming a Sûdra, but a Sûdra who defamed a Brâhman should have his tongue cut out, "for he is of low origin." And if he mentioned the names and castes of the twice born with contumely, an iron nail ten fingers long should be thrust red-hot into his mouth. (VIII, 268 to 271.) Of course, it must not be supposed that the actual

administration of the law was ever so barbarous, or that even Brâhman judges ever disgraced themselves by inflicting such monstrous punishments on Sûdras who had in a moment of anger used harsh words towards Brâhmans. Brâhmans have painted themselves much worse than they really were ; and the administration of the law, sufficiently cruel towards the poor Sûdra, as it undoubtedly was, was never so barbarous as it is said to have been. "With whatever limb a man of low castes does hurt to a man of the highest castes, even that limb shall be cut off ;—that is the teaching of Manu." (VIII, 279) But with due deference to Manu, we hold that his countrymen never disgraced themselves by following his teaching.

The ordinary punishment for defaming was 12 panas (VIII, 269), and for causing hurt so as to cut the skin, 100 panas. If a muscle was cut, 6 nishkas was the fine, and if a bone was broken, the offender was banished. (VIII, 284)

For causing damage, a fine equal to the damage was levied, but if the property was of inferior value, five times the damage was levied. (VIII, 288, 289.)

(13) and (14) THEFT AND ROBBERY. The utmost precautions were taken to punish thieves, for if the king "punishes thieves, his fame grows and his kingdom prospers." (VIII, 302.) And the king who does not afford protection to property, and yet takes his leases, tolls, and fines, "will soon sink into hell." (VIII, 307.)

Thefts were punished with various fines, or with corporal punishment, or with the amputation of the hand. When theft was committed in presence of the owner (*i. e.*, with violence) it was called robbery (VIII, 319 to 332). The use of violence was considered a most serious offence ; but the right of private defence was granted when a man was attacked by assassins and in other cases. (VIII, 345 to 350.)

(15) ADULTERY. This offence was always looked upon with the greatest detestation in India, and an adulterer, if he was not a Brâhman, was to be punished

with death, "for the wives of all the four castes must always be carefully guarded." (VIII, 359.) Violating an unwilling maiden was punishable with corporal punishment, or with the amputation of two fingers and a fine of 600 panas (VIII, 364, 367.) We have still more terrible punishments provided for; a woman seducing another was to be lashed and fined, an adulteress was to be devoured by dogs, and an adulterer was to be burnt to death (VIII, 369, 371, 372.) It is doubtful, however, if such sentences as the above were ever carried out.

Less cruel punishments are provided for further down. For a Sûdra committing adultery with a twice born woman, amputation was the punishment. For a Vaisya and a Kshatriya committing the offence with a Brâhman, imprisonment or heavy fines were provided. For a Brâhman committing the offence with a woman of the same caste, a heavy fine was imposed (VIII, 374 to 378) A Brâhman was on no account to be punished with death, "though he have committed all possible crimes." "No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brâhman" (VIII, 380, 381).

At the conclusion of the sections on Criminal Law, Manu has some miscellaneous provisions. A sacrificer forsaking his priest, or a priest forsaking his sacrificer, a son forsaking his parents, a Brâhman not asking his neighbours to invitations, and a Srotriya not entertaining other Srotriyas, were all punishable with fines. There are provisions for the punishment of dishonest washermen and weavers. The king could impose an *ad valorem* tax of 5 per cent. on the sale of all merchandise. He could keep a monopoly of certain articles in his hands, and punish those who traded in those articles. He levied customs and tolls. And it is even said that he was to fix the price of all marketable goods; but this, of course, was never attempted by any ruler.

The king was also to settle all weights and measures, fix ferry charges, direct Vaisyas to trade, to lend money, or to cultivate the land, and make the Sûdra to serve

the twice born castes. A Brâhman could make a Sûdra, whether bought or unbought, do servile work for him, for the Sûdra "was created by the Self-existent to be the slave of a Brâhman." (VII, 413.) Never was the name of the Self-existent taken to sanctify a baser and more iniquitous institution!

Slaves are said to be of seven kinds, *viz.*, captives of war, those serving for daily food, slaves born as such in the house, slaves bought or given by others, slaves inherited, and men enslaved by way of punishment. (VIII, 388 to 415).

(16) HUSBAND AND WIFE. Manu begins this subject with insisting on the dependence of women on men, and with certain sayings about women, which may have been considered witty at the time, but which are unworthy of Manu's pages. For, as we have seen before, Manu assigns, on the whole, a high and respected position to women.

We have seen before how Manu contradicts himself on the ancient custom of raising issue on a widow, and there can be no doubt that public opinion was against such custom after the Christian Era. We have also seen how widow marriage was becoming unpopular, though it was no doubt still prevalent in Manu's time. The marriage of a virgin widow is, however, expressly permitted (IX, 69). Again, Manu quotes the ancient rule that a wife should wait for her husband 8 years if he went on sacred duty, 6 years if he went for learning or fame, and 3 years if he went for pleasure. One commentator states that she was to marry again after that period, and that is the obvious meaning of the old rule.

A wife must not shew aversion to a drunken husband, but may shew aversion to a mad husband or an outcaste, or one "afflicted with such diseases as punish crimes." A drunken, rebellious or diseased wife might be superseded, and so also a barren wife or one who bore female children only (IX, 78 to 81). But this superseding does not mean absolute desertion; but the wife must still be kept in the house, and maintained (IX, 83).

"Let mutual fidelity continue until death."—This is the highest law for husband and wife (IX, 101).

(17) INHERITANCE. The important subject of Inheritance is treated in over a hundred sections (IX, 104 to 220), but it is not necessary for our purpose that we should go into the law on the subject in detail. After the death of the father and mother, the brothers might equally divide the estate among themselves (IX, 104), or the joint-family system might be continued under the eldest brother, who would, under those circumstances, take the management of the whole estate (IX, 105). But the separation of brothers is not condemned, on the contrary, it is recommended and called meritorious (IX, 111). To the eldest and youngest sons additional shares were allotted in the division of property (IX, 112 to 117). To maiden sisters each brother should pay out of his share one-fourth (IX, 118), but this is supposed by commentators to mean, that brothers must provide for the dowry of their unmarried sisters. In IX, 120, 146, &c., we have a provision for the son begotten on the wife or widow of an elder brother by a younger brother, although Manu has elsewhere condemned such practice. Again, a person who had no sons might make his daughter an "appointed daughter," saying to her husband "the male child born of her shall perform my funeral rites." And when this was done, there was no distinction between a son's son and an appointed daughter's son (IX, 127, 133). IX, 141 and 142 sanction adoption.

As usual Manu repeats the old rules laid down by Sûtrakâras about the twelve different kinds of sons, although in accordance with the public opinion of his own time, Manu calls the last eleven of these to be "bad substitutes for a real son" (IX, 161). The twelve kinds of sons are, *Aurasa*, or son begotten on wedded wife; *Kshetraja*, son begotten on the wife of a diseased man or the widow of a deceased; *Dâtrima*, son adopted; *Krîtrima*, a son made such; *Gûdhotpanna*, a son secretly born, his father being not known, he must be supposed to be the son of his mother's husband: *Apavid-*

dhu, a son received as such after desertion by his natural parents; *Kânîna*, son of an unmarried damsel, who must be considered the son of him who marries the damsel afterwards; *Sahodha*, son of the woman who is married when she is pregnant; *Krîtaka*, a son bought; *Paunarbhava*, son of a remarried widow; *Svayamdatta*, an orphan who gives himself up as the son of another; and *Pârasava*, a son begotten by a Brâhman on a Sûdra female (IX, 167 to 178).

Of these twelve kinds of sons the first six are kinsmen and heirs, the last six only kinsmen (IX, 158). And among these different kinds of sons, on failure of each better son, each next inferior is worthy of inheritance (IX, 184). Failing children father and brothers, a man's property will go to the nearest relative within three degrees; failing such, a Sakulya, or next the spiritual teacher or pupil, or lastly to Brâhmans (IX, 187, 188).

Strîdhana, or the exclusive property of females, is defined to be what is given before the nuptial fire, or in the bridal procession, or by the husband as token of love, or by brother, mother or father (IX, 194).

"When the mother has died, all the uterine brothers and sisters shall equally divide the mother's estate (IX, 192).

(18) GAMBLING AND BETTING, &c.—"These two vices cause the destruction of the kingdoms of princes," and kings are therefore recommended to exclude them from their realms. Corporal punishment is enjoined for the offence (IX, 224), and banishment is also provided for them, as well as for dancers, singers, and men of a heretical sect, *i.e.*, Buddhists! (IX, 225).

Death is provided for forgers of royal edicts, for bribing ministers, for slaying women, infants and Brâhmans, and for treason (IX, 232). Branding on the forehead is provided for violating a guru's bed, for drinking surâ (wine), and for stealing a Brâhman's gold or killing a Brâhman (IX, 237). A thief caught with stolen property and the implements of burglary, as well as those who gave shelter to thieves, might be slain (IX, 270,

271). Robbers, house breakers, cut purses and others might have their hands or two fingers cut off (IX, 276, 277).

Death or severe punishment is provided for destroying dams of tanks (IX, 279), and fine is provided for physicians treating their patients wrongly! (IX, 284). Various punishments are provided for the adulteration of commodities, for mischief of different kinds, for cheating in the sale of seed corn, for the dishonesty of goldsmiths, and for the theft of agricultural instruments. (IX, 258 to 293).

Besides the two chapters on law, Manu has a separate chapter on Penances, &c., for sins committed, and a very few remarks will indicate what were considered the greatest sins.

PENANCES.—Here again we find that "killing a Brâhman, drinking the liquor called surâ, stealing the gold of a Brâhman, adultery with a guru's wife, and association with men who have committed these offences are the gravest moral sins, the *Mahâpâtakas* (XI, 55). The reader will see that they are identically the same as the *Mahâpâtakas* enumerated by Vasistha (see p. 288). There are other offences which are said to be equal to these in enormity, among which we note giving false evidence, incest, and the defilement of maidens, desertion of one's parents, and neglecting the Veda.

Less heinous than the *Mahâpâtakas* are the *Upapâtakas* among which we find the neglecting of the domestic fire, slaying kine, defiling a damsel, theft, non-payment of debts, living as a Vrâtya,—and lastly and curiously enough,—"superintending mines or factories and executing great mechanical works," which, according to commentators, means constructing dams or making great machines like sugar mills and the like (IX, 60, 67). We have deplored elsewhere the little respect paid in ancient India to mechanics, artists and artisans; but it is with still greater regret and pain that a Hindu writer notes, that mechanical works were actually classed with sins.

There were some actions which involved loss of caste,

(*Jâtibhransa*), among which was classed the smelling of spirituous liquor; and there were other actions which reduced a man to the mixed castes (*Sankarîkarana*) like the killing of animals (XI, 68, 69). Elsewhere we have the most terrible punishments prescribed for drinking;—the drinker should be made to drink that liquor boiling hot until he was completely scalded! (XI, 91). How many of Manu's *Mahâpâtakas* and minor sins are committed in modern times without involving loss of caste! And how many harmless and even meritorious acts, not prohibited by Manu or any ancient legal writer, are condemned by new-fangled and degenerate modern rules!

The date of Manu's Institutes has formed the subject of much controversy since the time of Sir William Jones; but it is now generally admitted that the compilation now extant was framed within a century or two before or after the Christian Era. It speaks (X, 44) of the Yavanas, the Chînas, the Sakas, and the Kambojas, and this passage sufficiently indicates its date. The work stands half way between the ancient Sûtras of India on which it is based, and the later Dharma Sâstras of the Pauranik Period, of which we will speak in the next Book. Unlike the former, it belongs to no particular Vedic school, but is the law for all Aryans. And unlike the latter, Manu does not yet know of the Hindu Trinity or the Pauranik mythology, scarcely knows Vishnu (mentioned only once in the Code, XII, 121, and there identified with motion), despises temples and temple priests, and still proclaims Vedic rites and sacrifices.

Manners and religion change with times, and many portions of the Institutes of Manu have ceased to be operative in the present day in their entirety. The Draconic severity of the law towards Sûdras was probably never reduced to practice, even in the days of Brâhman supremacy, and all distinctions in punishment, based on caste, certainly ceased to have operation after the Mahommedan conquest of India. Other portions of the work are equally obsolete now. Men of

superior caste do not marry women of inferior caste now; widow marriage has altogether been stopped since Manu's time; and the barbarous rite of *suttee* was introduced centuries after Manu. Manu's mixed castes were a list of Hinduized aboriginal tribes; and Manu's Vaisyas have now been cut up into numerous separate castes according to their professions. And lastly, the religious rites insisted upon by Manu have ceased to be performed; even Brâhmans do not perform the Srauta sacrifices and the Grihya rites which were still current in Manu's days, while the descendants of Kshatriyas and Vaisyas have ceased to wear the holy thread, and to acquire holy learning as they did in Manu's time. The mass of the Aryan population is disinherited of their national sacred learning.

The portion of Manu's institutes which still has the greatest influence with modern Hindus is the law of inheritance. But even in this matter customs have changed, and the blindest reverer of Manu would shudder to acknowledge a *Gûdhotpanna* or *Kshetraja* son! For change is inevitable, and even Manu's revered Institutes cannot perpetuate ancient customs. Hindus in recent years are working out changes in their national customs slowly and sensibly, still clinging to the traditions of the past, but nevertheless yielding to modern ideas. Young Hindus who would hastily cut asunder all connection with the past, should learn from a perusal of Indian History, that never within the last four thousand years has such a complete severance been witnessed in India, that the religion and philosophy of the Upanishads and the Sânkhya system were based on the traditions and teachings of previous periods, and that the great Buddhist revolution itself was founded on Hindu ideas and Hindu faith. On the other hand, orthodox Hindus, who quote the laws of Manu and the supposed immutability of Hindu customs against all social progress, may be gently reminded that the time is gone, by, when great mechanical works could be punished as a sin, when Kânîna boys could be recognized as sons, or when the blasphemy could be uttered that

the Sûdra "was created by the Self-existent to be the slave of a Brâhman."

Hindus will remain Hindus to the end of the chapter; but their rites and customs have continuously changed in the past; and in the future, the Hindus will be *progressive*, as all the world is progressing.

CHAPTER XIII.

ASTRONOMY AND THE PROGRESS OF LEARNING.

WE have, in the preceding pages, dwelt on the history and political condition of the Hindus, their arts and architecture, their social life and laws during the Buddhist Period. It remains now to say a few words about their learning and progress in knowledge during that age. Unfortunately, our materials are very poor,—poorer perhaps than those for any other period of ancient Hindu history.

Nor are the reasons far to seek. For five or six centuries India was the scene of foreign invasions and wars, and literature and science could not have a healthy and natural growth. Much of what was achieved was also under Buddhist influences, and bore the mark of Buddhism, and later Hindu writers have not been careful in preserving such records. And lastly, scientific works composed in this period have been replaced to a great extent by the more exhaustive works of the Pauranik Period which followed. For all these reasons, the literary and scientific remains of the Buddhist Period are scanty indeed.

Nevertheless intellectual pursuits were never given up in India, and there was no such thing as a "literary interregnum" in Hindu history. And traces of what was done in the Buddhist Age are still left to us.

We have spoken of the six schools of Hindu philosophy in our account of the Rationalistic Period; but it should be remembered that at least two of them, *viz.*, the Yoga of Patanjali and the Vedânta of Bâdarâyana Vyâsa, were started in the Buddhist Age, in the second century B. C. or later; and all the six schools were considerably developed in this Age. Patanjali was again the writer of the celebrated Mahâbhâsya or Great Commentary on Pânini,—a monument of the grammatical culture of the Buddhist Period.

In religious literature the codes of Manu and Yâjnavalkya belong to the Buddhist Age, while much of the large mass of Buddhist theology was composed in this Age in the universities of Nâlanda and elsewhere. In poetry, little is left to us that clearly belongs to this period; but nevertheless the earliest beginnings of later or classic Sanscrit poetry date from this Age. We know from the inscriptions of the Gupta kings, that graceful and flowing versification was appreciated. Poetry was honored by kings in courts, and Samudragupta, the greatest of the Gupta kings, who reigned towards the close of the fourth century, was himself a poet, and received the title of Kavirâja from his court-poets.

But it was in astronomy that the most brilliant results were achieved in the Buddhist Age. We have seen before that astronomical observations were made as early as the Vedic Age; and that early in the Epic Age the lunar zodiac was fixed, the position of the solstitial points marked, and other phenomena carefully observed and noted. No separate astronomical works, however, of these ages, or even of the Rationalistic Age, have come down to us. The oldest astronomical works of which we know anything or which have come down to us belong to the Buddhist Period.

Hindu writers speak of eighteen ancient Siddhântas or astronomical works which are now mostly lost. They are named below:—

1.	Parâsara Siddhânta	10.	Marîchi Siddhânta
2.	Garga „	11.	Manu „
3.	Brahma „	12.	Angiras „
4.	Sûrya „	13	Romaka „
5.	Vyâsa „	14.	Pulisa „
6.	Vasishtha „	15.	Chyavana „
7.	Atri „	16.	Yavana „
8.	Kasyapa „	17.	Bhrigu „
9.	Nârada „	18.	Saunaka or Soma „

A few remarks about some of these Siddhântas will throw some light on the pursuit of the science in the Buddhist Age; and we will only premise that the Hindus received much of their astronomical knowledge of

this age from the Greeks, who cultivated the science with great success.

Parâsara, says Professor Weber, is considered to be the most ancient of Hindu astronomers, and the second in order of time is Garga. Of Parâsara we know next to nothing, except that his name is connected with the Veda Calendar. The work which professes to contain Parâsara's teachings is called the Parâsara Tantra. It was held in high esteem in the Pauranik Period, and Varâhamihira often quotes from it. "To judge from very numerous quotations, the greater part, at least a large part of it, is written in prose, a striking peculiarity among the works of its class. A pretty large part is in Anushtubh, and it contains also Âryâs. Interesting, for the geography of India, is an entire chapter which Varâhamihira, only changing the form, but leaving the matter almost intact, has given in the 14th Chapter of the Brihat Sanhitâ." * As the Yavanas or Greeks are placed by Parâsara in Western India, the date of the work cannot be much earlier than the second century B.C.

Of Garga we know something more, and he is one of the few Hindu writers who tell us something of the Greek invasion of India of the 2nd century B. C. He could feel respect for learned men among the Greeks,—although they were considered Mlechchhas,—and the following passage of his is well known and often quoted: "The Yavanas (Greeks) are Mlechchhas, but amongst them this science (astronomy) is well established. Therefore they are honoured as Rishis,—how much more then an astronomer who is a Brâhman."

In the historical portion of his work Garga speaks of the four Yugas, the third ending and the fourth beginning with the war of the Mahâbhârata. Further on we are told of the Sisunâga dynasty of Magadha, and then of the Maurya kings. Speaking of Sâlisuka, (whom we know to be the fourth in succession from Asoka the Great), Garga says: "Then the viciously valiant Greeks, after reducing Sâketa, (Oude) Panchâla

* Kern, *Brihat Sanhitâ*, Preface, p. 32.

country and Mathurâ, will reach Kusumadhvaja (Patna); Pushpapura (Patna) being taken, all provinces will undoubtedly be in disorder."

So rarely do Sanscrit writers furnish us with historical facts that we are thankful to get, in the astronomy of Garga. this evidence of the conquest of India as far down as Patna by the Bactrian Greeks in the 2nd century B. C. Many of our readers are aware that the profound scholar Dr. Goldstücker discovered a mention of this invasion of Sâketa or Oude by the Greeks in Patanjali's work, and has thus fixed the date of Patanjali the author of the Mahâbhâsya and the Yoga Philosophy.

But we will proceed with Garga. "The unconquerable Yavanas (Greeks) will not remain in the middle-country. There will be a cruel, dreadful war among themselves. Then, after the destruction of the Greeks at the end of the Yuga, seven powerful kings will reign in Oude." We are then told that after the Greeks, the rapacious Sakas were the most powerful, and we have little difficulty in recognizing in them the Yu-Chi conquerors, who destroyed the kingdom of Bactria about 130 B. C. These new conquerors continued to repeat their depredations, and the annals of Garga here come to an end. From the details given above we would agree with Dr. Kern in placing Garga in the first century before Christ.

We now proceed to the other Siddhântas, and we will first take up the five Siddhântas which are known as the Pancha-siddhânta, and on which Varâhamihira based his work, the Pancha-siddhântika, in the 6th century A.D. They are the *Brahma* or Paitâmaha, the *Sûrya* or Saura, the *Vasishtha*, the *Romaka* and the *Pulisa*.

The ancient Brahma or Paitâmaha Siddhânta seems to have been entirely superseded by the celebrated work of Brahmagupta known as the Sphuta-Brahma Siddhânta. Alberuni obtained a copy of this last work in the 11th century, and speaks of it in his account of India.

The date of the original Sûrya-Siddhânta (like that of the other Siddhântas) falls within the Buddhist Period. Bentley placed Sûrya-Siddhânta in the 11th century A. D., but this absurd supposition has been completely controverted by Whitney.* At the same time it appears that the original Sûrya-Siddhânta has been repeatedly recast ; we do not know the date of the original work, except that it must have been composed in the Buddhist Age ; and we do not know when the work was recast finally in the shape in which we have it now, except that it was in the Pauranik Age.

Utpala, the commentator of Varâhamihira, lived in the 10th century, and quotes six slokas from the Sûrya-Siddhânta of his day, not one of which slokas, as Dr. Kern points out, is to be found in the present edition of the Siddhânta. Nevertheless "the Sûrya-Siddhânta, in its present edition, is a lineal and legitimate descendant of the work mentioned by Varâhamihira as one of his authorities."†

The work, as we find it now, is divided into 14 chapters and treats of the mean places and true places of planets, of questions on time, of the eclipses of the moon and the sun, of the conjunction of planets and stars, of the heliacal rising and setting of planets and stars, of the phases of the moon, and the position of the moon's cusps, of the declination of the sun and the moon, of cosmography, of the construction of astronomical instruments, and of the different kinds of time.‡

The Vasishtha-Siddhânta was ascribed by Alberuni to Vishnu Chandra, but Brahmagupta states more correctly that the ancient work was revised by Vishnu Chandra. A work pretending to be Vasishtha-Siddhânta now exists,—but it is undoubtedly a modern work.

The Romaka-Siddhânta is ascribed both by Brahmagupta and by Alberuni to Srî Sena. Of course a spurious and modern Romaka-Siddhânta exists which

* *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, translation, p. 21.
† Kern, *Bṛihat Sanhitâ*, Preface, p. 46.
‡ See Whitney's translation or Bâpudeva Sâstri's translation.

contains a horoscope of Jesus Christ, and an account of the kingdom of Baber, and of the conquest of Sindh by Akbar!

The Pulisa-Siddhânta was known to Alberuni, who obtained a copy of it, and he calls the author Paules the Greek. Professor Weber thinks that Pulisa the Greek may be indentical with Paulus Alexandrinus, the author of an astrological work, the Eisagoge. Dr. Kern thinks this indentification doubtful, although he has no doubt that Pulisa was a Greek.

These are the five famous Siddhântas, and Dr. Kern roughly dates them half way between Garga and Varâhamihira,—*i.e.*, about 250 A. D.

We now pass on to some of the remaining names out of the 18 Siddhântas in our list.

There is a Nâradî Sanhitâ now available which is quite different from the ancient Nârada Siddhânta. The opening lines of the Nâradî Sanhitâ give the names of the 18 Siddhântas which we have given in our list.

Kasyapa is another high authority in astronomy, often quoted by the astronomers of the Pauranik Period, and from these quotations Kasyapa's work appears to have been of the same kind as Garga Siddhânta. Manu, the mythical ancestor or personification of mankind, is quoted even in the Garga-Sanhitâ as an authority on astrology, and of course his name finds a place in the list of the 18 Siddhântas. It is doubtful, however, if such a work as Manu-Siddhânta ever existed; when Varâhamihira quotes Manu, he quotes the famous Institutes.

Works in various other departments existed in the Buddhist Period, which are now lost to us. For instance, we learn with much interest that Nagnajit composed a work on architecture, sculpture, painting, and kindred arts.

BOOK V.

PAURANIK PERIOD. A.D. 500 TO A.D. 1194.

CHAPTER I.

VIKRAMA'DITYA THE GREAT AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

WE have now come to the last Act of the Drama of Hindu History, and the curtain rises on a truly great spectacle. The victor of a great and patriotic war, the patron of reviving Hinduism, the centre of all that is best and most beautiful in modern Sanscrit literature, and the subject of a hundred legends, Vikramâditya the Great is to the Hindus what Charlemagne is to the French, what Alfred is to the English, what Asoka is to Buddhists, and what Harun Ar'Rashid is to Mahommedans. To the learned as to the illiterate, to the poet as to the story-teller, to old men as to schoolboys, his name is as familiar in India as the name of any prince or potentate in any country. Tender recollections of Sakuntalâ and Urvasî rise in the minds of Hindu scholars with the name of the prince in whose court Kâlidâsa flourished. Hindu astronomers cherish the memory of the patron of Varâhamihira; and Hindu lexicographers honour the name of the potentate who honoured Amara Sinha. And as if his true claims to glory were not enough, a hundred tales familiarize his name to the illiterate and the simple. Villagers assemble to this day under the umbrageous pepul tree to hear how the thirty-two speaking puppets, who bore aloft the throne of the great emperor, would not brook his successor, and departed, each telling a story of Vikrama's glory. And little boys in every village school in India still learn with wondering admiration how the undaunted Vikrama struggled in the midst of darkness and scenes of terror to obtain mastery over a mighty spirit, and how he succeeded at last, by his indomitable bravery, his never

wavering judgment, his never failing self-possession and valour.

When we turn, however, from literary recollections and popular tales to history, we find the greatest confusion with regard to Vikrama's age and even his very identity! For a long time scholars held that Vikramâditya, the patron of Kâlidâsa, lived about 56 B.C., as the Samvat Era would seem to indicate. This opinion has now been generally abandoned, and Dr. Fergusson suggested the theory already mentioned in the Introduction to this work, that Vikrama lived in the 6th century A. D., and that his Era, founded in 544 A. D., was antedated by six centuries, so as to run from 56 B. C. Again, Mr. Fleet maintains, as has been stated in Chapter V of Book IV, that the Samvat Era was not created in the 6th Century A. D., but was an old existing Era of the Mâlavas, and that "the name of Vikrama or Vikramâditya came to be connected with the Mâlava Era of B. C. 57, in consequence of some confused reminiscence of a conquest of the Indo-Scythians by Chandragupta I or II" of the Gupta line of kings, who assumed the title of Vikramâditya.*

Such is the darkness which still hangs over the origin of the Samvat Era, and we leave it to subsequent scholars to dispel this gloom and finally settle the controversy about the origin of this Era. We leave the question untouched. We are concerned here with Vikramâditya and his age, and not with the origin of the Samvat Era.

In the Satrunjaya Mâhâtmya † it is stated that Vikramâditya ascended the throne in 466 of the Saka Era or 544 A. D.

Houen Tsang, who came to India in the seventh century, places the reign of Sîlâditya I. about 580 A. D., and places Vikramâditya immediately before Sîlâditya. The historian Kalhana who lived in the twelfth century, places Vikramâditya thirty reigns after Kanishka, who reigned from 78 A. D., and six reigns before Durlabha-

* *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 37, *note* 2.

† *Wilford Asiatic Researches IX*, p. 156; quoted by Dr. Kern, *Brihat Samhita*.

vardhana, who reigned from 598 A. D.; and this conclusively fixes the reign of Vikramâditya in the sixth or possibly in the fifth century after Christ.

Turning to literary and scientific annals, we know that a tradition, which we will shew hereafter to be at least a thousand years old, speaks of nine great writers as the *nine gems* of Vikrama's court. Amara, Varâhamihira, Vararuchi, and Kâlidâsa are the best known among them. Amara is supposed to have built the temple at Buddha Gayâ which General Cunningham has shewn to have been built between 400 and 600 A.D. Varâhamihira was probably born in 505 A. D., and is shewn by Dr. Bhau Daji to have died in 587 A. D. Vararuchi could not have composed his Prâkrita grammar much before the fifth or sixth century, as the Prâkrita was scarcely a literary language before that period. And Kâlidâsa's writings shew that he must have lived in the fifth or sixth century when Pauranik Hinduism flourished, when temples and images were revered, and when the Hindu Trinity was worshipped; the poet could not have lived in the first century B. C. when Pauranik Hinduism was unknown, when temples and images were despised, and when the Hindu Trinity had not yet been conceived. Kâlidâsa's successors, Bhâravi, Dandin, Bânabhatta, Subandhu, Bhartrihari, Bhavabhûti,—who have so much in common in thought and in language with Kâlidâsa,—all belong to the sixth to eighth century after Christ. One of them, Subandhu, speaks of Vikramâditya as departed not very long ago.* All these dates and facts relating to the *nine gems* of Vikrama's court and their immediate successors conclusively fix the reign of Vikramâditya in the fifth or sixth century A.D.

Not to prolong this discussion we will only adduce one more argument from the political events of the age

* Attention was first drawn to this pasage in the Vâsavadattâ by Pundit Isvara Chandra Vidyâsâgara. It may be thus translated: "Now that Vikramâditya has disappeared, save in his fame, the excellence of poetical sentiments has disappeared, new writers are flourishing, and each attacks every one else in this earth,—even like a lake where Sârasa birds disappear, where Vaka birds do not sport, and where the Kanka bird does not stride about, when the sun is set."

Vikramâditya is distinguished in traditions and in legends for his victory over foreign invaders, and we know that it was in the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. that great Hindu kings repeatedly beat back the Huns who were pouring into India.

Alberuni, who lived in India in the eleventh century, tells us that Vikramâditya marched against the Saka king, " put him to flight, and killed him in the region of Korur, between Multan and the castle of Loni." This is about all that we know historically of Vikrama's great victory over the foreign invaders !

We know something more than this of some other Hindu kings of the sixth and fifth centuries A. D. Yasodharman fought and beat back the Huns. Skandagupta also repelled the Huns on an earlier date. Chandragupta II assumed the title of Vikramâditya. And his father Samudragupta, the master of all India, was a patron of learning and extended his supremacy over many foreign races. Is it possible that the memory of the deeds of some of these kings is woven in the legends which have gathered round the brighter name of Vikramâditya of Ujjayinî. We do not know ; but it seems clear that Vikramâditya, the conqueror of the Sakas, must have lived in this age of wars between Hindu sovereigns and invading foreigners. Thus, the testimony of Houen Tsang and Kalhana, the ascertained dates of Sanscrit Writers, and the political history of the 5th and 6th centuries,—all fix the reign of Vikramâditya in that period.

We have spoken before of Vikramâditya's victory over the Sakas or Huns, and this defeat or expulsion of the foreign invaders had the happiest results, and secured peace to Northern India which had been harassed by centuries of invasions. The arts of peace flourished with the return of peace. The courts of kings as well as large towns became the centres of luxury and wealth, industries and manufactures. Science raised her head, and modern Hindu Astronomy obtained a fresh start. Poetry and the Drama lighted their magic lamps and spread light and gladness on the

Hindu mind. Religion itself gathered strength and life, and Hinduism, in its new and Pauranik form, sought to win back the people from the ranks of Buddhism.

Buddhism had never assumed a hostile attitude towards the parent religion of India ; and the fact that the two religions existed side by side for long centuries, increased their toleration of each other. In every country Buddhists and orthodox Hindus lived side by side. Hindus went to Buddhist monasteries and universities, and Buddhists learned from Brâhman sages. The same kings favoured the followers of both systems of religion. The Gupta Emperors were often worshippers of Siva and Vishnu, but loaded Buddhists and Buddhist monasteries with gifts, presents, and favours. One king was often a Buddhist and his son an orthodox Hindu ; and often two brothers followed or favoured the two religions without fighting. Every court had learned men belonging to both the religions, and Vikramâditya's court was no exception to the rule.

We will speak of the great writers of Vikrama's court when we come to treat of literature and science, but our account of Vikrama's rule will not be complete without some mention, however brief, of those writers here.

A verse naming the nine gems* of Vikrama's Cour is known to every Pandit in India. The verse is quoted in the Jyotirvidâbharana, and as that astrological work is undoubtedly a modern work, falsely ascribed to Kâlidâsa, Dr. Hall considered the tradition about the nine gems to be also modern. That is, however, not the case ; for in an inscription of Buddha Gayâ, dated Samvat 1015 or 948 A.D., we find the following passage :—"Vikramâditya was certainly a king renowned in the world. So in his court were nine learned men known under the epithet of *nava-ratnâni*." The antiquity of the tradition is thus beyond question. Kâlidâsa is the central figure among these noted literary men

* They are Dhanvantari, Kshapanaka, Amara Sinha, Sanku, Vetâla bhatta, Ghatakarpara, Kâlidâsa, Varâhamihira and Vararuchi.

We read in the Râjataranginî that, after the death of Toramâna, his son Pravarasena was unable to assert his claims to the throne of Kashmir, and that Vikramâditya of Ujjayinî, the recognized Emperor of India, sent an eminent poet of his court, Mâtrigupta by name, to rule in Kashmir. Mâtrigupta ruled till the death of his patron, when he retired as a Yati to Benares, and Pravarasena succeeded in Kashmir.

Dr. Bhao Daji first started the bold theory that this Mâtrigupta is no other than the poet Kâlidâsa. He argues that the names in the literary history of India are generally honorific appellations, and Kâlidâsa means the same as Mâtrigupta, *viz.*, the servant or the protected of the goddess mother Kâlî. Dr. Bhao Daji further argues that Mâtrigupta must have been a renowned poet, and yet, unless he be the same as Kâlidâsa, Hindus know absolutely nothing of that renowned poet. On the other hand, the author of Râjataranginî must have known the author of Sakuntalâ, and although he mentions the names of other poets, and even of Bhavabhûti, yet he makes no mention of the author of Sakuntalâ unless his Mâtrigupta be the poet. Lastly, king Pravarasena, who succeeded Mâtrigupta in Kashmir, built a famous bridge of boats on the Vitastâ, and there exists a poem in Prâkrit on the bridge, and the commentary to the poem attributes it to Kâlidâsa. We need not pursue this subject further, and can only say that, although Dr. Bhao Daji has not proved his theory, he has made out a plausible case.

We next come to the poet Bhâravi, the author of the Kirâtârjunîya. He does not appear to have flourished in the court of Vikramâditya, but an inscription has been found dated 637 A. D., in which his name and that of Kâlidâsa are mentioned. If he was not a contemporary of Kâlidâsa, he certainly lived in the sixth century A. D.

Amara Sinha, the writer of the best known dictionary in Sanscrit, was one of the "nine gems," and was a Buddhist. His work was translated into Chinese in

the sixth century, and he is said to have built the Buddhist temple at Buddha Gayâ.*

In astronomy A'ryabhatta was the first writer of the Pauranik Period. He was born, as he tells us, in 476 A. D.† He did not belong to Vikramâditya's court; he was born in Pâtaliputra, and made his mark early in the sixth century, before Vikramâditya became renowned.

Varâhamihira, who followed A'ryabhatta, was one of the "nine gems." He was a native of Avanti, and died in 587 A. D.

His successor Brahmagupta was born at the very close of the sixth century, in 598 A. D., and wrote his work, when he was thirty years of age, in 628 A. D. Brahmagupta's father was Jishnu, and may have been the very Jishnu mentioned as one of the contemporaries of Kâlidâsa.

Of the remaining "gems" of Vikrama's court, Dhanvantari was a famous physician, and is mentioned by Dandin in his Dasa Kumâra Charita. Vetâlabhatta was the author of Nîtipradîpa, and Vararuchi was a well known grammarian. Ghatakrpara, Sanku and Kshapanaka are little known; and posterity has not held them in the same honour in which they were held in the royal court of Vikrama.

We will only mention two more names which Kâlidâsa himself has mentioned. Dr. Bhao Daji first pointed out that Mallinâtha, in commenting on the 14th verse of the Meghaduta, stated that Dignâga and Nichula were contemporaries of Kâlidâsa, the former being his adversary, and the latter his friend. This Dignâga was a pupil of Asanga, and Asanga's brother Vasubandhu was a pupil of Manoratha, who, as we have seen in a previous chapter, was humiliated in Vikrama's court in a controversy with the Hindu party. Under the successor of Vikramâditya, Vasabandhu won in argument and restored the credit of the Buddhist party.‡

* See discussions on the subject in Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's Buddha Gayâ.

† Dr. Bhao Daji on the age of A'ryabhatta.

‡ See the whole question ably discussed in Max Müller's *India*, &c., p. 302, &c.

One more work, which in some form or other has become known to all the civilized nations of the world, deserves mention in connexion which the age of Vikramâditya. The fables of Panchatantra (known as Pilpay) were translated into Persian in the reign of Nausharwan 531—579 A.D. The fables were probably long current in India, and were collected by the author of Panchatantra, who was probably a native of the Deccan, about the time when Vikrama was ruling in Ujjayinî. In the same way the stories of the Brihat Kathâ, long prevalent in Southern India, were recast in the 12th century in the shape of the Kathâsarit Sâgara.

We are now able to form some idea of the great literary activity which marked Vikramâditya's age, and has shed an undying lustre round his name. We are able after a lapse of over thirteen centuries to form some conception of the upheaval of the Hindu mind and the rise of literary genius which marked the revival of Hinduism. We can imagine how, after a prostration of centuries, after harassing wars and invasions, the national mind suddenly rose to vigour, to greatness, to glory. The nation wanted a leader, and Vikramâditya, the conqueror of the foreigners, the master of all Northern India, the enlightened patron of genius and learning, be it Buddhist or be it Hindu, stood forth as the leader. The times called for a great man, and the great man appeared. And the nation gathered round their great king, and achieved results in literature and science, such as were seldom achieved before.

Thus, if we try to read history carefully and aright, if we brush aside fables and silly exaggerations and unfounded pretentions to antiquity, we can understand each period of Indian History philosophically, and trace each result to its true cause. We trace the greatness of Vikramâditya himself to the circumstances by which he was surrounded ; we understand the matchless flights of Kâlidâsa's fancy in the light of the general exhilaration of the Hindu spirit in his time ; we appreciate the labours of Varâhamihira and Amara Sinha, incited as they were by a spirit of emulation in a very learned court ; and

we understand the healthy rivalry between Hindus and Buddhists at a time when difference of opinion had not degenerated into intolerance and persecution. Buddhism was decaying and Hinduism was reviving, and naturally enough the reviving religion shewed the greatest signs of vigor, of learning, of genius.

Vikramâditya the Great was succeeded by Sîlâditya Pratâpasîla about 550 A. D. We know from Houen Tsang that he was inclined towards Buddhism, and in his court, Vasubandhu, the pupil of Manoratha, was honored, and won a great victory in controversy over the Hindu party. Vasubandhu was the son of a Brâhman, and was the brother of the famous Asanga. He studied in Kashmir, returned to Magadha, became a Pundita in the University of Nâlanda, and died in Nepal. We do not know of any other great men of Sîlâditya's court.

Sîlâditya I. was succeeded by Prabhâkara Vardhana, probably about 580 A. D. Prabhâkara's sister Râjyasrî was married to Grahavarman, but a war broke out with Mâlava, and Prabhâkara was defeated and Grahavarman was killed.

Prabhâkara was succeeded by Râjyavardhana about 605 A. D. Râjyavardhana continued the war with Mâlava, and slew the king of that country We know from Houen Tsang, that Râjyavardhana was afterwards defeated and killed by Sasânka Narendra Gupta, king of Karna Suvarna or Western Bengal.

He was succeeded by his younger brother Sîlâditya II, called Harshavardhana and also Kumârarâja, about 610 A. D. He was a great and powerful king, and both by his conquests and by his patronage of learning, revived the memories of Vikramâditya's reign. In six years he conquered the "five Indies;" but he could never defeat Paulakesin II, king of the Mahârâshtras. The Mâlavas were defeated and Râjyasrî was recovered, and Sîlâditya made an alliance with Bhâskaravarman, the king of Kâmarûpa, who was also known as Kumârarâja.

A copper-seal of Harshavardhana or Sîlâditya II

has been discovered, and gives us his genealogy. The inscription is short, and informs us that A'dityavardhana was the son of Râjyavardhana and Mahâdevî; Prabhâkaravardhana was the son of A'dityavardhana and Mahâsenagupta; Râjyavardhana was the son of Prabhâkaravardhana and Yasomatî; and Prabhâkara's younger brother Harshavardhana was also begotten on Yasomatî.*

We know from Houen Tsang that Sîlâditya had his capital at Kânyakubja or Kanouj, that he held every five years a great assemblage of princes and nations to celebrate a religious festival, and that Houen Tsang saw him, when he was holding his sixth quinquennial assembly, *i. e.*, in the 30th year of his reign. This was at about 640 A. D. We also know that Sîlâditya was a staunch Buddhist, though he respected and honored Brâhmans.

Sîlâditya Harshavardhana was a renowned patron of letters, and is said to be the author of Ratnâvalî and the Buddhist drama Nâgânanda. But probably he was the real author of neither, though both the works were composed in his court. The Ratnâvalî was probably composed by Bânabhatta, the author of Kâdamvaî and of Harshacharita, a life of the king. Dandin, the author of Dasakumâra Charita, lived before Bânbahatta and after Kâlidâsa, and alludes to Kâlidâsa. It is probable that Dandin was still living, when Bânabhatta followed in his footsteps in the more ambitious fiction of the Kâdamvarî.

The other well-known prose fiction in Sanscrit is the Vâsavadattâ of Subandhu, and he, too, was a contemporary of Bânabhatta, though he may have written a little earlier, as Bânabhatta often quotes him. We thus approximately know the dates of the three best prose fictions in Sanscrit.

The name of Mayûra is often mentioned in connexion with the name of Bânabhatta, and a legend has it, that Bâna married Mayûra's daughter, a Chandî, or scold. Mayûra is the author of Mayûra Sataka.

* *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol III, *Texts*, &c., p. 232.

A more renowned name is that of Bhartrihari. In a most interesting note,* Professor Max Müller shews, on the authority of the Chinese traveller I-tsing, that Bhartrihari died about 650 A. D., or in other words, that the author of the three Sataks on Love, Discipline, and Tranquility, was a contemporary of Sîlâditya II.

The Bhattikâvya, being an easy and entertaining method of learning grammar, is better known to Hindu students than the Satakas of Bhartrihari. Commentators of the Bhattikâvya like Kandarpa, Vidyâvinoda and Srîdhara Svâmin call Bhartrihari, the author of Bhatti. The name Bhartri has frequently been called Bhatti by other commentators, and, on the whole, there is the strongest presumption that the author of the Satakas and of the Bhattikâvya is the same person, Bhartri or Bhatti. Professor Max Müller adduces the testimony of the Chinese traveller named above to confirm this presumption.

Such was the literary activity of the time of Sîlâditya, the great emperor of Kanouj, who assembled the kings and nations of Northern India at his quinquennial festivals, and swayed the destinies of all Northern India. We have seen before that the astronomer Brahmagupta also lived in the time of this potentate.

Sîlâditya died about 648 or 650 A.D. Fifty years later a weak prince reigned on the throne of the great Sîlâditya. The prowess and glory of Kanouj were gone, and Yasovarman, the king of Kanouj, was defeated in war by the proud Lalitâditya, king of Kashmir. The lamp literature, lighted in Ujjayinî two centuries before, still shone, however, in the court of Yasovarman, and one of the greatest poets that India has produced, Bhavabhûti lived in that prince's court. He is almost the last of that bright galaxy of poets who appeared in India between the sixth and the eighth centuries A.D. The Râjatarangini, from which we get this information, further tells us that two other writers, Vâkpati and

* *India, &c.*, p. 347, &c.

Râjyasrî, also lived under Yasovarman's patronage. They all lived in the first half of the eighth century *

If these two and a half centuries, 500 to 750 A. D., are reckoned as the brightest period in the annals of later Sanscrit literature, these centuries also mark the period of toleration and friendly rivalry between the Hindus and the Buddhists. Buddhism was dying a natural death, but from the ninth century violence and persecution were adopted to stamp out the decaying religion. The great and redoubted enemy of the Buddhist religion, Sankarâchârya was born, according to K. B. Pathak, in the year 788 A. D., and began his labours early in the ninth century. The age of discussions, commentaries and glosses on laws and philosophical systems was now come, and original genius seemed to be extinct. We seek in vain for worthy successors of Kâlidâsa and Bânabhatta and Bhavabhûti after the eighth century A. D. During a period of over four centuries after the date of Bhavabhûti, the Hindus still remained an independent nation ; but scarcely gave any indication of literary genius. The ancient epics were no doubt retouched and considerably enlarged, and voluminous Purânas, in easy graceful verse, were composed, but we see no mark of great ideas, no indication of genius. Even in science Âryabhatta and Varâhamihira and Brahmagupta had no worthy successors for four hundred years, until we come to Bhâskarâchârya in the twelfth century.

We note down below the approximate dates of the kings of whom we have spoken in this chapter :—

	A. D.
Vikramâditya the great	515—550
Sîlâditva I (Pratâpasila)	550—600
Prabhâkara vardhana	600—605
Râjya vardhana	605—610
Sîlâditya II (Harsha vardhana) ...	610—650
* * * * *	
Yasovarman	700—730

* See preface to R. G. Bhandarkar's edition of Mâlatî Mâdhava.

CHAPTER II.

THE VALABHIS AND THE RAJPUTS.

GUJRAT was subject to the Gupta Emperors during the palmy days of that dynasty; and when in the latter half of the fifth century the Valabhis of Gujrat rose to independence and power, they naturally adopted the Gupta Era, reckoned from 319 A. D. When the power of the Guptas, then emperors of India, was slowly decaying, an enterprising military commander, Senâpati Bhatarka by name, asserted his independence in Gujrat, and was the founder of the Valabhi dynasty of Saurâshtra.

The genealogy and history of the Valabhi family are elucidated by numerous inscriptions which have been discovered. Among the earliest of them are two copper-plates which were found over fifty years ago in making excavations in Gujrat.* They were published by W. H. Wathen in 1835, and are of considerable importance.

Senâpati Bhatarka, the originator of the family, is stated to have "earned glory in hundreds of battles fought in the countries of his foes," and must have been, like all beginners of dynasties, a great warrior and able administrator. He had four sons Dharasena, Dronasinha, Dhruvasena, and Dharapatta. The first of these brothers is styled Senâpati, and had apparently not yet assumed the title of king; but his younger brother "received his inauguration to the throne from the great sovereign himself" (probably of Kanouj), and is styled Srî Mahârâja Dronasinha. His two brothers are similarly styled Srî Mahârâja Dhruva Sena and Srî Mahârâja Dharapatta.

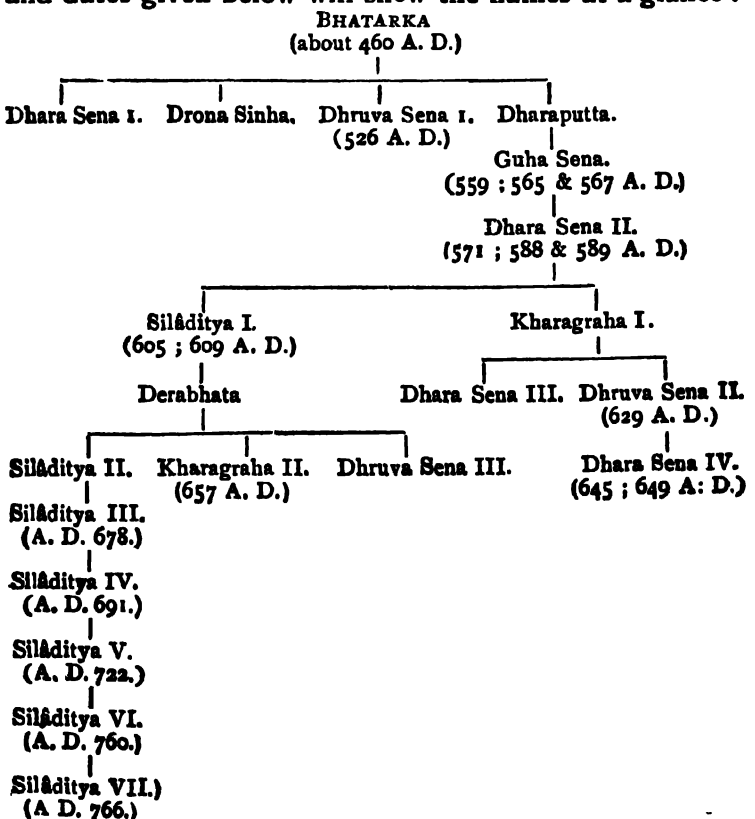
Dharapatta's son was Guha Sena, "the destroyer of multitudes of foes," and his son Dhara Sena II made the gift.

In the second plate published by Wathen, the successors of Dhara Sena II are called Sîlâditya Khara Graha, Dhara Sena III, Dhruva Sena II, Dhara

* See Prinsep's Essays. Ed. Thomas. Vol. I, p. 252, *et seq.*

Sena IV, Sîlâditya II, [(two or three names illegible here), Khara Graha II, Sîlâditya III, and Sîlâditya IV.

An inscription* discovered by Mr. Haribhallabha, Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector of Kaira and Broach in 1878, brings down the list of kings to Sîlâditya VII, who reigned at the close of the 8th century. We have thus in this single inscription a complete list of the kings of this dynasty for three centuries from Bhatarka who commenced the line in the latter half of the 5th century to Sîlâditya VII who reigned in the latter half of the 8th century. The genealogical table and dates given below will shew the names at a glance:



* *Corp. Ins., Ind.* Vol. III. *Text, &c.*, p. 171.

We have only to add that when Houen Tsang visited Valabhi, he found the people a rich, powerful and flourishing nation, holding Saurâshtra under subjection. Rich and valuable products of distant regions were stored within their capital in great quantities, and shewed the brisk maritime trade which the Valabhis carried on. The decline of this great people is involved in mystery, but there can be little doubt that the Rajputs arose in power and glory in Western India as the Valabhis declined.

For many reasons the Rajputs may be considered the successors of the Valabhis to supreme power in Western India, as the Valabhis themselves, were the successors of the Guptas. And the haughtiest of the Rajputs, *viz.*, the Ranas of Mewar traced a fictitious descent from the Valabhis. While the Rajputs immediately succeeded the Valabhis in Gujrat, and Puttun arose as Valabhipur declined in the latter half of the 8th century, there was no such continuity in the history of Northern India. There, the great dynasties of Ujjayinî and Kanouj disappear from view, as we have seen before, about the middle of the eighth century. From that time to the middle of the tenth century the history of Northern India is an absolute blank. We have accounts of the Chalukyans in the South, of the kings of Kashmir in the extreme North-West, of those of Bengal and Orissa in the extreme East ; but the centre of Hindu civilization and culture, the Madhyadesa stretching from Kanouj to Magadha, has no history ! No dynasty rose to sufficient distinction to leave a record, no event transpired which lived in the traditions or writings of the people, no great invasions or great revolutions took place of which any trace can be found. These two centuries have left us no literature to speak of, as we have seen in the last chapter, and no great works of art or industry in the shape of buildings in Northern India. A mysterious cloud hangs over these dark centuries which historians have not yet been able to lift.

When the dark and impenetrable cloud is removed in the middle of the 10th century, we find new actors and

new scenes. Buddhism is practically extinct in India, and the absolute supremacy of Pauranik Hinduism is contemporaneous with the political supremacy of a new and brave nation, the Rajputs. The Rajputs have issued out of their kingdoms in Gujrat and Southern India, and are the masters in Delhi, in Kanouj, in Ajmir, in the most distant parts of India! Everywhere they carried the banner of Pauranik Hinduism and of Brâhman supremacy! And the Brâhmans rewarded their toil, and recognized the new race as the Kshatryas of them for their modern times.

From these results then we are enabled to know the history of the two dark centuries, from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the tenth. That unhappy period was a period of internecine wars and of religious persecutions, and of the crumbling down of old institutions and dynasties. Ancient houses fell from senile decay or through violence, a new and sturdy race stepped forward in their places. It was a repetition of a scene which had taken place, at least once before in the history of India. Thus, in the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ, the vigorous and young Magadhas, considered a few centuries before as outside the pale of Aryans, rose in power, extended their conquests, and established their supremacy over the ancient kingdoms of the Kâsîs, the Kosalas, the Kurus, and the Panchâlas; and when the Greeks came to India, they found the Prâchyas or Magadhas supreme in Northern India. In the same way during the obscure 8th to 10th centuries A. D., the Rajput races, scarcely considered within the pale of Aryan Hindus before, stepped forward in the midst of the struggle of races and nations, and by their superior might and bravery made room for themselves on the empty thrones of the kings of Kanouj, Delhi, Lahore, and other places. As in the 5th to 3rd century B.C., so in the 8th to 10th century A.D., it was not a question of dynastic supremacy, but of racial supremacy,—a new, brave and vigorous race stepping forward in each case to the places vacated by ancient and cultured but effete races. And as if to make the

parallel complete, each political revolution was accompanied by a religious revolution. The spread of the Magadha power over the ancient and cultured races of India facilitated the spread of a new religion like Buddhism against the ancient and learned creed of the land. And the rise of the Rajputs finally secured the triumph of Pauranik Hinduism and stamped out Buddhism from India.

We have in the Introduction to this work seen that the History of Europe, from the 5th to the 10th century A.D., affords a still more remarkable parallel to the history of India from the 8th to the 10th century. Both in Europe and in India ancient rule and ancient institutions were destroyed; new races asserted their rule and their authority over the land; and these new races again, the German masters of Europe and the Rajput masters of India, had to face the rising power of the Mussalmans. Europe maintained her independence, India struggled but fell.

We have seen that the Rajputs were scarcely reckoned among Aryan Hindus before the 8th century. We find no mention of their name in the literature of the country or in the records of foreign travellers, and no traces of their previous culture. Conjectures have been made as to their origin. Dr. H. H. Wilson and others have held that they were the descendants of the Sakas and other invaders who swarmed into India for centuries before the time of Vikramâditya, who were defeated by that king, but nevertheless spread themselves and settled down in India, specially in Western and Southern India. Dark hints are thrown out in the Purânas to indicate that the Rajputs were new comers. Thus the primitive Parihara, Pramara, Chalukya, and Chohan races are fabled to have sprung from four warriors conjured into existence by the sage Vasishtha from a sacrificial fire he had kindled on Mount Abu. And the 36 Rajput tribes are said to have been derived from these four primitive races.

The Chalukyas who were the masters of the Deccan from the close of the 5th century, now became masters

of Gujrat from the close of the 8th century. The Parihara branch settled down in Marwar, the Pramaras established themselves in Western Malwa, and the Chohans came more to the east towards Delhi and Ajmir. There were other Rajput tribes for whom other descents have been imagined. Thus the Ghelote Ranas of Mewar, said to belong to the solar race, claimed descent from Râma through the Valabhi princes of Gujrat. There is a tradition on the other hand connecting the Rathores of Marwar with Hiranya Kasipu of Indian mythology.

Whatever the origin of the Rajputs may be, there is no doubt whatever that they were new comers within the pale of Hindu civilization and religion. Like all new converts they were fired with an excessive zeal to revive the religion they embraced. The descendants of a Sîlâditya would have hesitated to take measures against Buddhism such as the new Hindus felt no hesitation in adopting. Brâhmans worked on the zeal of this new race of Kshatriyas, and wherever Rajput kings conquered and ruled, monasteries went down, temples and Hindu gods multiplied. The spirit of Sankaràchârya inspired many a humbler theologian and preacher; and they found responsive audiences and willing workers in the new Kshatriya kings, who had no old history of their own, no endearing associations or regard for Buddhist institutions, no ancient and historic pride such as had characterized the ancient Kshatriyas. Janaka and Gautama Buddha had vindicated the dignity of Kshatriyas by claiming equality with Brâhmans; the Chohan and the Rathore now vindicated their claims to be regarded as Kshatriyas by establishing the supremacy of Brâhmans who gratified them by that ancient and much-coveted name. By the middle of the tenth century Buddhism was practically dead in India, Hinduism was everywhere re-established and triumphant, and Kanouj and Mathura and hundred other towns were beautified with those noble buildings and temples which struck the Sultan of Ghazni, half a century later.

Rajput history is a portion of modern Indian history, and it is not our object to recount it here. We will only mention one or two striking facts which marked the close of Hindu rule in Northern India.

The first serious Mahomedan invasion of India was that of Muhammad Kasim 711 A.D. Kasim met a brave and determined enemy in Dahir the king of Alor. But Rajput bravery was unavailing against the superior discipline and practical knowledge of war of the Moslems, and Dahir fell fighting gallantly within sight of his capital. Kasim was soon after recalled, and India was free from foreign invasions for nearly three centuries after.

In the latter half of the tenth century Jaipal was the great Rajput king of Western India, and his dominions stretched from Delhi to Lahore. Jaipal fought against Sabaktagin and then against Mahmud of Ghazni bravely but in vain ; and his son Anangapal and all the princes of Northern India made a combined and determined effort to oppose and vanquish the invader from Ghazni. The result was the same. The determined bravery and devotion of the Rajputs were unavailing against the skill and discipline of the Moslems.

We next come to Shahabuddin Ghori, the real Mahommedan conqueror of India. Western India was ruled by three great Rajput kings at the latter end of the twelfth century. Prithu Rai Chohan ruled Delhi and Ajmir, and in both these places the ruins of his forts are still visible. Jaya Chandra Rathore was the king of Kanouj and held Allahabad, Oude, and Benares under his sway. Bhîma Deva was the ruler of Gujrat and of Central India.

Shahabuddin attacked Prithu Rai in 1191 in the field of Tirouri, and for once the Moslems were beaten. But their game was not lost. Shahabuddin defeated Prithu Rai in 1193, and Jayachandra in 1194 A. D., and conquered the whole of Northern India from the Punjab to Benares. And the haughtiest of the Rajputs left the conquered region and retreated to their desert home in Rajputana.

The heroism of the Rajputs was like a gleam of sunshine preceding the gloom of Hindu subjection and national death. In personal bravery, in patriotism, in a determination to conquer or to die, the Rajputs who resisted Kasim and Mahmud and Shahabuddin were not inferior to their enemies or to any nation on the face of the earth. But in military discipline, as well as in strategy and matured plans of operations, the Hindus were not equal to their more experienced and trained enemies. Superstition, too, often changed the heroism of the Hindus into cowardice; while their dealings with the foe were often marked by a "simplicity derived from a want of intercourse with other nations, which rendered them inferior in practical ability, and even in military efficiency to men actuated by much less elevated sentiments than theirs."*

It is remarkable that during the six centuries that the Mahommedans remained masters of India, scarcely one serious attempt was made to reassert Hindu independence. At first the mumber of the Mahommedan conquerors must have been exceedingly small, and it is a curious fact that the millions of brave Hindus from the Punjab to Behar made no exertion to throw off the yoke. But political life was extinct in Northern India except among the Rajputs. With the fall of the old nations and dynasties during the 8th and 9th centuries was witnessed the fall of all dynastic pride, all national vigour among races. The people were brave, but bravery is of small avail without political life. The only living race, therefore, the Rajputs, had naturally taken up the position which there was no one else to take up, and had become masters of Delhi, Kanouj, Benares,—all capitals of ancient but effete races. And when the Rajputs were hurled from their proud position, the races of Northern India submitted to the new invaders, as they had submitted to the Rajputs. For political life was extinct, and subjection and national death ensued.

*Elphinstone's History of India. Ed. Cowel. 1874, p. 362.

Such are the political causes which account for the easy subjugation of a great confederacy of nations by a handful of invaders. There were other causes, religious and social, which prostrated the Hindu nation, and made them feeble, superstitious, disunited, and incapable of exertion. These causes, too, were in active operation during the centuries immediately before the Mahommedan conquest. But of this we will speak elsewhere.

CHAPTER III.

BENGAL AND ORISSA.

IN the second or Epic Period, the kingdoms of Magadha and Anga, *i.e.*, South and East Behar, were scarcely yet within the Aryan pale, although slowly imbibing Aryan civilization. It was in the Rationalistic Period, after 1000 B.C., that Magadha became completely Aryanized, and rose in power and civilization, until it eclipsed and even subdued the more ancient Aryan kingdoms in the Gangetic Valley. And it was then, probably in the 5th or 6th centuries B.C., that Bengal proper and Orissa received from the flourishing kingdom of Magadha the first rays of Aryan civilization.

During the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., Bengal and Orissa gave little indication of progress and learning. Sûtra schools were founded in the monarchy of the Andhras in Southern India at this time, but we hear of no such schools in Bengal or Orissa. In the fourth century B.C., when the Greeks visited India, they found powerful kingdoms founded in Bengal and Orissa which they called by the general name of Kalinga. In the third century B.C., Kalinga was conquered by Asoka the Great, as we learn from his inscriptions, and this conquest probably facilitated the spread of Buddhism in these provinces, and also brought Bengal and Orissa in closer connexion with the civilization of Northern India.

Slowly and obscurely Bengal rose in importance and in civilization, and by the close of the Buddhist Period, Bengal was a recognized power in India. Sasânka (Narendra Gupta) king of Karna Suvarna, near Gaur, defeated and killed in war the elder brother of the great Sîlâditya about the commencement of the seventh century; and when about 640 A.D., Houen Tsang came to Bengal, he found civilized and powerful kingdoms in Pundra or Northern Bengal, Samatata or Eastern Bengal, Kâmarûpa or Assam, and Tâmralipti or

Southern Bengal, as well as in Karna Suvarna or Western Bengal. These kingdoms correspond, roughly, with the present Rajshahi, Dacca, Assam, Burdwan, and Presidency divisions. Houen Tsang's account of these kingdoms has been given elsewhere, and need not be repeated here.

After this we scarcely hear anything of Bengal till near the time of the Mahommedan conquest. Indeed, Bengal was in olden times so barren of literary culture, talent or genius, of architecture or striking works of art, or even of great political transactions in connection with Northern India, that but for the visits paid by the Greeks and the Chinese, we should have known little or nothing of the country from its first colonization by the Aryans in the Rationalistic Period to the time of the Mahommedan conquest.

A number of copper-plate grants which have been discovered in recent times, shew that races of kings, known as the Pâla kings and Sena kings, ruled in Bengal for about three centuries before the Mahommedan conquest. Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra has carefully condensed and arranged the information on this subject in his essay on the Pâla and Sena Dynasties, now published in the second volume of his Indo-Aryans, and we take the following lists from that essay. It will be seen Dr. Mitra allows generally an average of 20 years for each reign :—

PALA KINGS.

In Western & Northern Bengal.

I.	Gopâla ...	855	A.D.
II.	Dharmapâla	875	,,
III.	Devapâla ...	895	,,
IV.	Vigrahapâla	915	,,
V.	Nârâyanapâla	935	,,
VI.	Râjapâla ...	955	,,
VII.	——Pâla ...	975	,,
VIII.	Vigrahapâla II	995	,,
IX.	Mahîpâla ...	1015	,,
X	Nayapâla ..	1040	,,

(Expelled from Bengal by the Senas)

SENA KINGS.

In Eastern & Littoral Bengal.

I.	Vîra Sena ...	986	A.D.
II.	Sâmanta Sena	1006	,,
III.	Hemanta Sena	1026	,,
	In the whole of Bengal.		
IV.	Vijaya *alias* Sukha Sena ...	1046	,,
V.	Ballâla Sena	1066	,,
VI.	Lakshmana Sena ...	1106	,,
VII.	Mâdhava Sena	1136	,,
VIII.	Kesava Sena	1138	,,
IX.	Lâkshmaneya *alias* Asoka Sena	1142	,,
	Mahommedan conquest about	1204	,,

Very little is known of the Pâla kings except that they were Buddhists, but were tolerant towards Hindus, employed Hindu officials, and gave lands for religious purposes to the Hindus. They never possessed East Bengal, but ruled, as Dr. Mitra says, "on the west of the Bhâgirathî, certainly as far as the boundary of Behar, and probably further, taking the whole of the ancient kingdom of Magadha. On the north it included Tirhut, Malda, Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Rangpur, and Bagura, which constituted the great ancient kingdom of Pundra Vardhana. The bulk of the delta seems not to have belonged to them."

Of the first king Gopâla a short inscription has been found in Nâlanda, proving that the great king had conquered Magadha; and this fact is confirmed by Târanâth who tells us that Gopâla "began to reign in Bengal, and afterwards conquered Magadha." According to General Cunningham* he began his reign in 815 A. D., which is 40 years earlier than the date assigned by Dr. Mitra. Gopâla's successor Dharmapâla conquered Indra Raja, which General Cunningham takes to mean Barendra; and he married Kanna Devî, daughter of Prabala, "Raja of many countries." Dharmapâla's successor Devapâla was a great conqueror; the inscriptions assign to him the conquest of Kâmarûpa in Orissa, and Târanâth ascribes to him the subjugation of the whole of Northern India from the Himâlaya to the Vindhya mountains. All these warlike expeditions of Devapala are said in one inscription to have been conducted by his brother Jayapâla, whose son Vigrahapâla eventually succeeded to the throne after one or two short reigns omitted in Dr. Mitra's list. We learn from the Bhagalpur copper inscription that Vigrahapâla married the Haihaya princess Lajjâ, and the Haihayas are believed to have been Rajputs. Vigrahapâla seems in the end to have abdicated, saying to his son, "let penance be mine, and the kingdom thine." So Nârâyanapâla, his son, succeeded, and his successor

* Archæological Survey of India, Vol. XV, p. 148.

Râjyapâl was ruling all India from Monghyr to Kanouj when Mahmud appeared before Kanouj, 1017 A. D.

Of the successors of Rajyapâl little is known until we come to Mahîpâla who, according to Târânath, reigned fifty-two years; and the probable qeriod covered by his reign is from 1028 to 1080 A. D. The king of Orissa is said to have been tributary to this powerful king. It was in the time of the immediate successors of this king, and in the eleventh century, that the Sena Rajas of Eastern Bengal rose in power, and wrested from them the eastern provinces, leaving them Magadha, where the Pâla kings continued to reign till the dynasty came to a sudden end shortly after 1178, the date of the last inscription of this line of kings.*

Of the Sena Rajas, Dr. Rajendra Lala believes the first, Vîra Sena, to be the same as the renowned A'di Sûra, who is supposed to have brought five Brâhmans and five Kâyasthas from Kanouj, because Bengal was poor in learned men. General Cunningham, however, considers that Vîra Sena was a remote ancestor of the later Sena kings, and reigned in the seventh century A.D. This is not unlikely if we consider that the descendants of the ten Brâhmans and Kâyasthas said to have been brought by A'di Sûra had so multiplied by the eleventh century as to require a classification by Ballâla. To the reigns of kings Sâmanta Sena to Lâkshaneya, General Cunningham assigns dates from 975 to 1198 A. D.

Of Sâmanta and his son Hemanta little is known. The next king was Vijaya, and his son was the celebrated Ballâla Sena.

It is said that the Brâhmanas and Kâyasthas imported from Kanouj had multiplied by this time, and Ballâla forbade all intermarriage between the original Brâhmanas and Kâyasthas of the country with the descendants of the new comers from Kanouj; and complicated rules were framed by him and by his successors to elevate the status of those who succeeded in

* Archæological Survey of India, Vol. XV, p. 156.

securing the alliances of Kulins. It is probable, however, that Ballâla only gave his sanction to distinctions and rules which had already grown up among the different classes of Brâhmans and Kâyasthas.

Ballâla was succeeded by Lakshmana Sena. His prime minister was Halâyudha, the author of *Brâhmana Sarvasva*, and his brothers wrote *Pasupati Paddhati* and *A'hnika Paddhati*. Mahommedan historians state that this king greatly embellished the city of Gaur.

He was followed successively by his two sons, Mâdhava Sena and Kesava Sena. Then came Lâkshmaneya, in whose reign Bengal was conquered by Bakhtiyar Khilji about 1204 A. D., or 1198 A. D. by other accounts.

The chief seat of the Sena family seems to have been Vikramapura near Dacca, where the supposed ruins of Ballâla's palace are still shewn to travellers. The Senas were Hindus as the Pâlas were Buddhists, and the gradual substitution of the one dynasty by another really marks the decay and death of the Buddhist religion and the universal acceptance of modern Hinduism in Bengal. The cause of the rise and fall of dynasties often lies deeper than appears on the surface, and in India the rise of new dynasties during the 8th and 9th centuries is intimately connected with the rise of Pauranik Hinduism over the ashes of Buddhism.

The race or caste to which the Pâla and the Sena kings of Bengal belonged, has formed the subject of much animated controversy in recent years, in which doughty scholars like Dr. Rajèndra Lala and General Cunningham have taken part! It is not necessary that we should enter into the discussion; we will only state the conclusions which appear to us to be the most plausible.

The Pâlas ruled in Bengal when Jaipâla and Ananga Pâla were ruling in Western India, and trying to oppose the march of Sabaktagin and Sultan Mahmud. There is nothing very improbable in the supposition that the Bengal Pâlas were an offshoot from the same

Rajput race which founded new kingdoms all over India in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. They were Kshatriyas, of course, but only in the sense that they were a race of kings and warriors. So long as the Hindus were a living nation, the proud title of Kshatriya was frequently assumed by bold dynasties rising from the ranks, and Rajput kings and even the Maharatta chief Sivaji assumed the title of Kshatriya.

The Senas of Bengal in the present day are Vaidyas, *i.e.*, they belong to the medical caste ; and they assume, therefore, that the early Sena kings of Bengal also belonged to the same caste. But before this assumption is made, it ought to be shewn that the Vaidyas as a separate caste existed previously in Western or Southern India from which the Bengal Sena dynasty must have come. We have shewn elsewhere, and we will shew again in Chapter VI of this Book, that neither Kâyasthas nor Vaidyas existed as separate castes in the time of Manu and for centuries afterwards. Professional clerks and medical men still belonged to the great body of the Aryan people forming the Kshatriya and Vaisya castes ; and they have differentiated into castes only in modern times. How can we suppose, then, that the Sena kings were Vaidyas by caste?

Vaidyas as a separate caste do not exist to this day, (so we are informed), in any province outside Bengal ; while in Bengal marriage is still allowed in the eastern districts between respectable Vaidyas and Kâyasthas, shewing that they are descended from the common Aryan stock. What, then, are we to understand by the statement, that the Sena kings who came to Bengal from Western or Southern India were Vaidyas by caste?

Gupta Emperors reigned in Northern India in the 4th and 5th centuries A. D., and the Valabhi or Sena kings ruled in Gujrat in the sixth and seventh centuries ; and no scholar has yet told us that they belonged to the medical caste. Many kings of Northern India, from the renowned Brahmadatta of Kâsî were Dattas ; and we have not been told that these kings were Kâyasthas. The fact is that Guptas and Senas and Dattas were merely names

in the centuries succeeding the Christian Era, when Vaidyas and Kâyathas as castes were yet unknown.

General Cunningham holds that the first Sena or Vîra Sena of Bengal was the same king as Sûra Sena "who married the princess Bhoga Devî, the sister of Ansu Varma, Raja of Nepal, who was the contemporary of Houen Tsang, and of whom Pandit Bhagwan Lal Indraji has published inscriptions dated in 645 and 651 A.D." The issue of the marriage was A'ditya Sena of Magadha, and "hence it seems probable that the latter Sena Rajas of Bengal were the direct descendants of A'ditya Sena Deva the great king of Magadha."* This is merely a conjecture, and it is an equally plausible conjecture that the first Sena king of Bengal was a scion of the Valabhi Sena house of Saurâshtra or some Sena house of Southern India. In any case there can be no doubt that the founder of the Bengal dynasty was a scion of some martial family, Valabhi or Rajput, or Vaisya, who assumed the title of Kshatriya, because he founded a kingdom.

The Sena Vaidyas of East Bengal may have good and sufficient seasons for claiming kinship with Ballâla Sena and his successors. But instead of declaring that the ancient kings were Vaidyas, and came to Bengal with pestle and mortar, ointments and drugs, it would be historically more intelligible to urge, that the descendants of the ancient Vaidya or Kshatriya kings of the Sena dynasty have now become merged in the modern Vaidya or medical caste of Bengal.

It is of far greater importance to us to ascertain the race to which the people of Bengal belong. The proportion of Aryan population in Bengal has always been, and is to this day, very small. The Brâhmans are of Aryan blood, except of course the Varna Brâhmans who belong to the castes whose religious rites they perform. The Kâyasthas are also of Aryan blood, descended mainly from Kshatriyas, of Aryan Vaisyas, except the menial and cultivating classes of Eastern Bengal and else-

* *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. XV, p. 163.

where (Bhândâris, &c., (who call themselves Kâyasthas, but are generally known as Sûdras. The Vaidyas are a small compact body, and are probably of pure Aryan blood, being descendants of the ancient Vaisyas. Of the trading castes the Suvarna Vaniks and some other castes are more or less of Aryan descent. Potters, weavers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, and other artisans are undoubtly of Aryan blood, descended from the ancient Vaisya stock, and differentiated into different modern castes by following different professions. At the same time there is in these Aryan castes a large admixture of aborigines, those who followed the trades which the conquering Aryans taught them, and thus finally came to belong to the same trade-castes with their conquerors. Beyond this pale, the large agricultural, pastoral, hunting, and fishing castes, the Kaivartas, the Chandâlas, and the millions of agricultural Mahommedans are undoubtedly descended from the non-Aryan aborigines of the soil. Beyond them again, the Bagdis, Bauris, Doms, Hadis, &c., are aborigines who are hardly yet Hinduized. The Aryan population of Bengal Proper, if represented by numbers, would scarcely exceed five millions out of the forty million inhabitants.

We now turn to the history of Orissa. Orissa, like Bengal was probably first colonized by Aryans in the Rationalistic Period, but unlike Bengal, Orissa has memorials of the early Aryan settlers in its rock-cut caves and palaces. Buddhist missionaries came to this land to spread that religion and spend their lives in calm and austere contemplation in caves; and some of the caves must be referred to a period a century or more before the time of Asoka. Half-way between Cuttack and Puri, two sandstone hills rise abruptly from the jungles, and the peaks and sides of these hills, the Khandagiri and the Udayagiri, are honeycombed with cells, caves, and other edifices. The oldest of them consist of single cells, scarcely fit for the habitation of men, except of such who had determined to pass their lives in austere seclusion. In course of time larger caves were excavated and even ornamented with sculpture

and the last works were commodious residences, fit for assemblies of monks, and even for kings and queens. There can be little doubt that Asoka's conquest of Kalinga fostered these fine Buddhist excavations; and we have seen before that some of Asoka's inscriptions have been found in Orissa.

We know little of the history of Orissa during the Buddhist Period. The history of that province was first explored by Stirling, who published the results of his labours in Vol. XV. of the Asiatic Researches. The subject has since received the attention of Sir William Hunter and of Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra.

It would seem that the last of the Buddhist kings were called Yavanas; but it is not known if they were so called because descended from the Bactrain Greeks, or simply because they were Buddhists. Yayâti Kesari expelled the Yavanas in 474 A. D., and began the Kesari or "Lion line," and introduced Hinduism in its Pauranik form. The Kesari dynasty reigned for nearly seven centuries, and the authentic history of Orissa begins with the commencement of this dynasty. The following chronological list, taken from Dr. Hunter's work, may interest our readers :—

Yayâti	Kesari	476	Madhusûdana	Kesari	904
Sûrya	,,	526	Dharma	,,	920
Ananta	,,	583	Jana	,,	930
Alabu	,,	623	Nripa	,,	941
Kanaka	,,	677	Makara	,,	953
Vîra	,,	693	Tripura	,,	961
Padma	,,	701	Mâdhava	,,	971
Vriddha	,,	706	Govinda	,,	989
Bata	,,	715	Nritya	,,	999
Gaja	,,	726	Narasinha	,,	1013
Vasanta	,,	738	Kurma	,,	1024
Gandharva	,,	740	Matsya	,,	1034
Janamejaya	,,	754	Varâha	,,	1050
Bharata	,,	763	Vâmana	,,	1065
Kali	,,	778	Parasu	,,	1078
Kamala	,,	792	Chandra	,,	1080
Kundala	,,	811	Sujana	,,	1092
Chandra	,,	829	Sâlini	,,	1099
Vira Chandra	,,	846	Puranjana	,,	1104
Amrita	,,	865	Vishnu	,,	1107
Vijaya	,,	875	Indra	,,	1119
Chandrapâla	,,	890	Suvarna	,,	1123 to 1132

[Extinction of the Kesari Line.]

The Kesari kings had their capital at Bhuvanesvara, which they beautified with numerous temples and edifices, the remains of which are among the noblest specimens of Hindu architecture in India. The whole place is still crowded with such buildings, and must have been, during the ascendancy of the Kesari line, the most magnificent city in India for temples and beautiful edifices.

The first king, Yayàti Kesari is said to have founded this capital, the name of which implies that the Siva or Bhuvanesvara was then the most popular deity of the Orissa Hindus. Jajpur was another capital of Yayâti, and the collossal statues there found also attest to the power and greatness of the dynasty, and to their devotion to Siva and his consort. Nripa Kesari, who reigned from 941 to 953 A. D., is said to have founded the city of Cuttack.

A new dynasty known as the Gangâ Vansa, or the Gangetic Line, succeeded the Lion dynasty.

The origin of this dynasty is still involved in obscurity, but the name of the family, as well as traditions, connect them with Bengal; and it is probable they came from near Midnapur and the ancient Tâmralipti or Tumlook. The rise of this dynasty marks a religious revolution; and as the Lion dynasty had supplanted Buddhism by Siva worship, so the Gangetic house supplanted Siva worship by Vishnu worship. But nevertheless none of these creeds was altogether extinct in Orissa; on the contrary, the three religions ran in parallel streams contracting or expanding in influence and power with the lapse of ages. Vishnu worship, in its peculiar modern form, is the prevailing religion in the present day.

We append the following list of the Gangetic kings from Dr. Hunter's work :—

	A. D.
Chor Gangâ	1132
Gangesvara	1152
Ekjatakam Deva	1166
Madana Mahâdeva	1171
Ananga Bhima Deva	1175
Râjarâjesvara Deva	1208

	A D.
Lânguhya Naraswa	1237
Kesari ,, ...	1282
Pratâpa ,, ...	1307
Ghati Kantha,, ...	1327
Kapila ,, ...	1329
Sankha Bhasura	1330
,, Vâsudeva	1337
Bali ,, ...	1361
Vîra ,, ...	1382
Kali ,, ...	1401
Neungatanta,, ...	1414
Netra ,, ...	1429
Kapilendra Deva	1452
Purushottama Deva	1479
Pratâpa Rudra Deva	1504
Kalinga Deva	1532
Kalharuga Deva	1533 to 1534

[Extinction of the Gangetic Line]

Some of the earlier kings of this line were among the most powerful monarchs of their time. Gangesvara (1152 to 1166) ruled from the Ganges to the Godâvarî, and Ananga Bhîma Deva (1175 to 1202), also a most powerful king, is said to have built the present temple of Jagannâtha. Later on, Purushottama Deva (1479 to 1504) is said to have defeated the king of Kânchî in Southern India and married his daughter; and his successor Prâtapa Rudra Deva was on the throne when the great Vaishuava reformer Chaitanya visited Orissa.

Govinda Vidyâdhara murdered the last king of the Gangetic House and ascended the throne, but the conflict with the Mahommedans began in his reign, 1534 to 1541 A.D Four kings successively ascended the throne, Chakra Pratâpa (1541 to 1549), Narasinga Jana (1549 to 1550), Raghurâma Chotra (1550 to 1551), and Mukunda Deva (1551 to 1559). It was in this last reign that the famous Mahommedan general Kalapahar invaded the province, defeated and slew the king in a battle near Jajpur, plundered the city of Jagannâtha, and overthrew the Hindu monarchy.

CHAPTER IV.

KASHMIR AND SOUTHERN INDIA.

WE have in a previous chapter brought down the history of Kashmir to the time of Mâtrigupta, the friend and contemporary of Vikramâditya the Great. We note down the names of Mâtrigupta's successors to the middle of the 12th century, when Kalhana's history comes to a close.* There is a continuation of Kalhana's history by other writers.

We have only to premise that from the time of Durlabha Vardhana, (the seventh king in succession from Mâtrigupta), Kalhana's dates are perfectly reliable. Durlabha Vardhana began his reign in 598 A.D. according to Kalhana. Six kings ruled between Mâtrigupta and Durlabha Vardhana, and if we give an average of 15 years to each of these six reigns, Mâtrigupta's reign falls at the commencement of the sixth century A. D.

But Kalhana was misled by the Saka Era, and believed Vikramâditya and Mâtrigupta to have reigned about the beginning of that era. He had therefore to spin out the six reigns (between Mâtrigupta and Durlabha Vardhana) into five centuries. And this he does by alloting 300 years to one reign, *viz.*, that of Ranâditya. Hence Kalhana's dates previous to Durlabha Vardhana's time are worthless.

		A.D.
Mâtrigupta abdicated	...	550
Pravara Sena ..		
Yudhisthira ...		
Narendrâditya ...	550 to	598
Ranâditya ...		
Vikramâditya ...		
Bâlâditya		
Durlabha Vardhana (Kalhana's date)	...	598
Durlabhaka „	„ ...	634
Chandrâpîra „	„ ...	684
Târâpîra „	„ ...	693
Lalitâditya „	„ ...	697
Kuvalayâpîra „	„ ...	733
Vajrâditya „	„ ...	734

		A.D.
Prithivyâpîra (Kalhana's date)		741
Sangrâmapîra „	„ ...	745
Jayâpîra „	„ ...	745
Lalitâpîra „	„ ...	776
Sangrâmatîra „	„ ...	788
Chippata Jayâpîra „	„ ...	795
Ajitâpîra „	„ ...	813
Anangapîra „	„ ...	849
Utpalâpîra „	„ ...	852
Avantivarman „	„ ...	855
Sankaravarman „	„ ...	883
Gopâlavarman „	„ ...	902
Sankata „	„ ...	904
Sugandhâ „	„ ...	904
Pârtha „	„ ...	906

* We rely, as before, on Mr. Jogesh Chunder Dutt's translation.

	A.D.
Nirjitavarman	921
Chakravarman	922
Suravarman	933
Pârtha (2nd time) ...	934
Chakravarman (2nd and 3rd time	935
Ummattâvanti	937
Suravarma	939
Yasaskara	939
Varnata	948
Sangrâma	948
Parvagupta	948
Kshemagupta	905
Abhimanyu	958
Nandigupta	972
Tribhuvanagupta ..	973
Bhîmagupta	975

	A.D.
Diddâ	980
Sangrâma	1003
Harirâja	1028
Ananta Deva	1028
Ranâditya	1063
Utkarsa	1089
Harsha	1089
Uchchala	1101
Rodda	1111
Salhana	1111
Sussala	1112
Bhikshâchara	1120
Sassala	1121
Senha Deva	1127
Kalhana's account closes at the 22nd year of this reign.	

Thanks to Kalhana and his translator, the English reader is furnished with some interesting facts of the history of Kashmir. The episode of Mâtrigupta is one of the most interesting on record. He is said to have been a courtier and a poet of the court of Vikramâditya the Great, and that great emperor bestowed on him the kingdom of Kashmir as a reward for his merit. We do not know how the poet administered a kingdom; but when he heard of his patron's death, he abdicated in grief and retired as a religious mendicant to Benares.

Pravara Sena, nephew of the previous king, succeeded Mâtrigupta, and the poet before his departure extolled in verses a wonderful bridge which the new king made on the Vitastâ. Pravara Sena became a powerful king, extended his conquest as far as Saurâshtra, and it is said defeated Sîlâditya I, the successor of Vikramâditya, and brought away from Ujjayinî the throne which Vikramâditya had probably taken away as a trophy. Here we have a confirmation of the statement of Houen Tsang that Sîlâditya I. succeeded Vikramâditya the Great.

The next great king was the renowned Lalitâditya, whose long reign of 36 years began in 697 A. D. He extended his conquests far and wide, and subdued Yasovarman the king of Kanouj, and Bhavabhûti the

most renowned dramatist of India after Kâlidâsa followed the conqueror from Kanouj. Lalitâditya then proceeded with his conquests further east and south, and is said to have subdued Kalinga, Gaur and even Karnâta, and then "crossed the sea, passing from one island to another." We do not know how much of this is fact, and how much is due to the poet's imagination. He returned towards his country, crossing the Vindhya, and coming through Avanti. He built numerous edifices, and is said to have lost his life in attempting to cross the Himalayas to conquer the unknown North.

Lalitâditya was the contemporary, not only of Bhavabhûti the poet, but of Muhammad Kasin the Mahommedan conqueror of Sind. We are told that Lalitâditya defeated the Turashkas and also "the wily king of Sindhu." This may have been the successor of Kasim who held Sind down to 750 A.D.

Bajrâditya who reigned from 734 to 741 A.D., "had many females in his zenana, sold many people to the Mlechchas, and introduced their evil habits."

The powerful Jayâpîrâ reigned 31 years, from 745 to 776 A. D., and employed learned men to collect together Patanjali's Great Commentary on Pânini. He is also said to have gone to Paundravardhana, the possession of Jayanta king of Gaur in disguise, and to have married the princess Kalyânadevî, daughter of Jayanta. A restless conqueror, he penetrated into Nepal, and was beaten and imprisoned, but escaped. Jayâpîra trusted his Kâyastha ministers and financiers, and the Brâhman historian narrates that a Brâhman's curse killed him!

Avantivarman commenced a new dynasty in 855 A. D., and reigned till 883 A. D. Great floods caused much injury in his reign, and we are told that Suyyu, a benefactor of his country, cleared a passage for the water of the Vitastâ, and also opened out canals to take out the superfluous water. The Sindhu flowed to the left, the

Vitastâ to the right, and were made to meet at Vainyasvâmin. After thus diverting the course of the rivers, he raised a great embankment as a protection against the waters of the Mahâpadma lake, and joined the lake also with the Vitastâ.

Avantivarman was the first *Vaishnava* king that we read of. His successor Sankaravarman was a great conqueror, and extended his conquests to Gujrat, but disgusted the Brâhmans of his country by trusting to his Kâyastha financiers. Surendravatî and two other queens perished with him *on the pyre*, 902 A. D. This is one of the earliest instances of that barbarous rite.

Sugandhâ, a dissolute queen, reigned for two years, 904 to 906 A. D., by the help of the Tantrîs and the Ekângas, probably two religious sects. But she was soon deposed, and the Tantrîs set up one one king after another, according as they were bribed and courted. We now read of a succession of worthless and dissolute kings, of whom Kshemagupta (950 to 958 A. D.,) was about the most shameless and dissolute. His son Abhimanyu, a blameless prince, reigned for fourteen years, after which his mother Diddâ (the widow of Kshemagupta), commenced her long reign of twenty-three years (980 to 1003 A D.,) after successively murdering three infant kings. When these scenes were disgracing the court of Kashmir, a great enemy was nigh. Mahmud of Guzni had commenced his invasions before Diddâ's reign had come to a close.

Her successor Kshemapati sent succour to the Shah king against the Turashka invader Hammira (Mahmud ?) but in vain. The terrible invader defeated the army, consisting of Kashmirians and Rajputs, and annexed the "Shahirâjya." Another expedition was sent out, but the army fled back to their country before the conquering Moslems.

Ananta, after a long reign of thirty-five years, abdicated in favour of his son Ranâditya, a prince of dissolute habits. He, too, had a long reign of twenty-six years, and died in 1089 A.D. His son Utkarsha

succeeded him, but was soon deposed by his abler brother, Harsha. There was a great deal of civil war in this reign, which ended in the defeat of the king. He retired as a hermit, but was traced out and killed.

The secluded position of Kashmir enabled the kingdom to maintain its independence for nearly four centuries after the reign of Harsha, but there is little in its annals to interest the reader. The country was at last invaded and conquered by the Mahommedans in the reign of the Emperor Akbar.

We now turn to the history of Southern India.

We have seen that Southern India was conquered by the Aryans in the Rationalistic Age after the tenth century B. C.; that the great Andhara kingdom was founded in the Deccan in that age, and that some of the Sûtra schools of learning and laws were founded there. After the Christian Era, the Andhras extended their power over Magadha and Northern India, and for centuries held the supreme power in India. When the Andhras and the Guptas fell, the Valabhis became the masters of Gujrat and Western India, and they were succeeded by the Rajputs.

In the meantime the CHALUKYAS, a Rajput tribe, became a great power in the Deccan when the Valabhis rose in Gujrat, and held sway over the whole of the country between the Nurbudda and the Krishna rivers. The rule of the Chalukyas in the Deccan commenced about the close of the 5th century A.D., and continued to the close of the 12th century, *i. e.*, to the time when Northern India was conquered by the Mahommedans. The western branch of the Chalukyas held sway in the Konkan and the Mahâ'râshtra country and had their capital at Kalyan; while the eastern branch of the same race ruled over Eastern Deccan, and had their capital at Rajamandri, near the mouths of the Godâvari river. Sir Walter Elliot published lists of the kings of the two houses in 1858, and the lists have since been copied by other writers.

CHALUKYA DYNASTIES.

Western Branch. Capital—Kalyan.	
1. Jaya Sinha Vijayâditya I.	470 A. D.
2. Râja Sinha, Vishnu Vardhana.	
3. Vijayâ ditya II.	
4. Pulakesin I.	
5. Kritti Varma I.	
6. Mangalisa ...	567
7. Satyâsraya Pulakesin II. (Contemporary of Sîlâditya II. and of Houen Tsang).	609
8. Amara.	
9. Aditya.	
10. Vikramâditya I.	
11. Vinayâditya ..	680
12. Vijayâditya III	695
13. Vikramâditya II	733
14. Kritti Varma II.	
15. Kritti Varma III	799
16. Tailapa I.	
17. Bhîma Râja.	
18. Kritti Varma IV.	
19. Vijayâditya IV.	
20. Vikramâditya III or Tailapa II (Restored the monarchy after usurpation by Ratta Kula)	973
21. Satyâsraya II	997
22. Vikramâditya IV	1008 (?)
23. Jaya Sinha ...	1018 (?)
24. Somesvara I ..	1040 (?)
25. Somesvara II	1099
26. Vikramâditya V	1076
27. Somesvara III	1127
28. Jagadeka ...	1138
29. Tailapa III ...	1150
30. Somesvara IV	1182

(Dethroned by Bijala of the Kala Churya line. The southern part of the dominions fell under the Bellala dynasty of Mysore).

Eastern Branch. Capital—Rajamandri.	
1. Vishnu Vardhana II.	605
2. Jaya Sinha I.	
3. Indra Râja.	
4. Vishnu Vardhana III.	
5. Manga Yuva Râja.	
6. Jaya Sinha II.	} Brothers
7. Kokkili.	
8. Vishnu Vardhana IV.	
9. Vijayâditya I.	
10. Vishnu Vardhana V.	
11. Narendra Mrigarâja.	
12. Vishnu Vardhana VI.	
13. Vijayâditya II. (conquered Kalinga).	
14. Chalukya Bhîma I.	
15. Vijayâditya III.	
16. Amma Râja.	
17. Vijayâditya IV.	
18. Talapa (usurper).	
19. Vijayâditya V.	
20. Yuddha Malla.	
21. Râja Bhima II.	
22. Amma Râja II.	
23. Dhanârnava (interregnum of twenty-seven years).	
24. Kritti Varma.	
25. Vimalâditya.	
26. Râja Narendra.	
27. Rajendra Chola.	
28. Vikrama Deva Chola.	
29. Raja Raja Chola (Viceroy for one year).	
30. Vîra Deva Chola	1079 to 1135

(After this the country fell under the sway of the Kakatya dynasty of Warangal).

A list of kings conveys no idea of a people's history to the reader, and unfortunately, we are able to supply little more about the Chalukyas than the foregoing lists. The founder of the earlier or western branch is said to have been related to the founder of the Valabhi kings, Bhatarka Senâpati. The fourth king Pulakesin I, was the same who, a hundred years before Houen Tsang's time, harried the monastery at Amarâvatî and

abolished Buddhism in those parts. He also probably conquered Chola, burnt Conjeveram, and expelled the Pahavas, who were the dominant race in the Deccan before the Chalukyas rose in power. The seventh king, Pulakesin II, was the great rival whom Sîlâditya II of Kanouj could never defeat, and we have already quoted a spirited account of the Maharattas under this great and warlike king from Houen Tsang's travels. The dynasty seems to have flourished till about 750 A. D. After this the power of the family was alienated for a time until the time of Tailapa II, who restored the monarchy in 973 A.D. The dynasty enjoyed two centuries more of prosperity, after which it came to an end.

The Chalukyas, like all the Rajput dynasties in Northern India, were staunch Hindus and were inimical to Buddhism, and we shall, in a future chapter, give some account of the works of Hindu architecture which India owes to this dynasty.

We cannot conclude this brief notice of the Chalukya houses without quoting Sir Walter Elliot's observations on the great power they exercised at one time: "The two families ruled over the whole of the tableland between the Narmadâ and the Krishnâ, together with the coast of the Bay of Bengal, from Ganjam to Nellore, for about five centuries. The power of the Kalyan dynasty was subverted for a time in the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century, and the emigrant prince or his son succeeded by marriage in 931 A. D. to the throne of Auhalwara Pattan in Gujrat, which his descendants occupied with great glory till 1145 A.D. But in 973 A.D., the dynasty of Kalyan was restored in the person of Tailapa Deva and ruled with great splendour till its extinction in 1189 A.D. by Bijjala Deva, the founder of the Kala Churya dynasty. The junior branch extended their territories northwards from Vengi to the frontiers of Cuttack, and ultimately fixed their capital at Râja Mahendri, the modern Rajamundri. More than one revolution appears to have occurred in the course of their history

but the old family always contrived to regain its power until the kingdom passed by marriage to Rajendra Chola the then dominant sovereign of Southern India, in whose person the power of the Cholas reached its zenith."

To turn now to the south of the Krishnâ river, we come to the ancient Dravidian country stretching southwards to Cape Comorin. The ancient Dravidians appear to have had a rude kind of civilization of their own before Aryan civilization was imported into their land in what we have called the Rationalistic Period. There can be no doubt that a flourishing kingdom, known as PANDYA, was established in the extreme south, some centuries before the Christian Era. Strabo speaks of an ambassador from King Pandion to Augustus, and it is conjectured that the ambassador was from the Pandya country. At the time of the "Piriplus" the Pandya kingdom included the Malabar coast, and from the frequent mention of this country by classical writers, we know that Pandya was sufficiently civilized in the centuries immediately after the Christian Era to carry on a brisk trade with the western nations. The seat of Government was twice changed, and was at last fixed at Madura, where it was in Ptolemy's time, and remained in subsequent ages.

The Pandya kingdom was situated in the extreme south of India, including, roughly, the modern districts of Tinnivelly and Madura. To the north of this arose, before the Christian Era, another civilized kingdom, that of CHOLA, stretching along the Kâverî river and to the north of it. The capital of this country, Kânchî, has a name and a repute for learning in classical Sanscrit literature, and was a flourishing town when Houen Tsang visited India; and there must have been constant communications between this seat of learning and Ujjayinî and Kanouj in the north. In the eighth and succeeding centuries, the power of the Chola kings extended over a great part of Karnâtâ and Telingana.

A third ancient kingdom called CHERA included Travancore, Malabar, and Kaimbatur It is mentioned by

Ptolemy, and must have existed in the commencement of the Christian Era. Kerala also, including Malabar and Canara, was an adjoining kingdom, and was probably often under the rule, or under the protection of the Pandyan kings.

It has been discovered that the second edict of Asoka speaks of the Choda, Pada, and Kerala Putra countries; and Dr. Kern believes that these names represent the Chola, the Pandya, and the Chera (or Kerala) kingdoms. It will thus appear that this triarchy of ancient Hindu kingdoms in the extreme south of India had already acquired a name before the third century B.C.

The possessions of this ancient triarchy of Southern India varied according to the powers of particular kings and dynasties. The Chola or Kânchî kings were the most famed and the most powerful, and were often at war with the eastern branch of the Chalukya house. The reader will find in the list of the Eastern Chalukya kings the names Rajendra Chola and his three successors who were then the masters of Southern India. The whole of the Carnatic from the most ancient times owned the sway of the Cholas, the Pandyas, and the Cheras (and Keralas).

Towards the close of the tenth century A.D. a great Rajput house rose in Mysore, named the BELLALAS. In the eleventh century they subjugated the whole of the Carnatic, and, as we have seen before, annexed the southern dominions of the western Chalukyan house. The powerful house remained supreme in the Carnatic and Malabar until it was subverted by the Mahommedans in 1310 A. D.

The KAKATI family of Warangal rose to power about the close of the eleventh century, and, as we have seen before, they annexed the southern dominions of the eastern Chalukyan house in the twelfth century. The family rose to great power under Pratâpa Rudra in 1162 and in the next century, when they were said to be the masters of all Southern India. In 1323 their capital was taken, and their importance reduced by Juna Khan, afterwards Muhammad Toghlak, Emperor of Delhi.

Warangal was, however, retaken by the Hindus in 1344 A. D., but was finally subverted by the Bahmani dynasty.

We have to speak of one more Hindu kingdom in the south, although its history falls within the Mahommedan period. After the fall of the Bellala kings of the Carnatic, a new family set itself up in the place of the Bellalas and founded its capital at VIJAYANAGARA about 1344 A.D. The founding of Vijayanagara is ascribed to two princes—Bukkaraya and Harihara—with the aid of a learned Brahman, Mâdhava Vidyâranya. The earliest copperplate grant of Bukkaraya is dated 1370 A.D. Mâdhava, otherwise called Sâyana, was his prime minister, and is the most learned and elaborate commentator that India has ever produced. The founding of a great Hindu kingdom in the fourteenth century was attended with a temporary revival of Hindu learning, and to Sâyana we owe the series of commentaries on the Vedas, philosophical systems, law and grammar, which are to this day considered authoritative in all parts of India.

For over two hundred years the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara prospered. It held its place among the Mahommedan kingdoms which arose in the Deccan, formed treaties and alliances, and won or lost territories by war. A closer intimacy sprang up between Hindus and Mahommedans than before, the Bahmani kings employed Rajput troops; and Deo Raj of Vijayanagara recruited Mahommedan troops, assigned lands to their chiefs, and build a mosque in his capital for them.

A fanatical spirit was, however, developed in the course of centuries, and the Mahommedan chiefs of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda, (states formed out of the old Bahmani kingdom), combined against the Hindu kingdom. A great battle was fought on the Krishnâ river near Telicota in 1565 A. D., and the Mahommedans were victorious. The old and brave Raja was barbarously put to death in cold blood, and his head was kept in Bijapur for centuries as a trophy.

The monarchy of Vijayanagara was thus destroyed; it was the last great Hindu kingdom in India. But

the Mahommedans did not complete the conquest of Southern India; and the Carnatic, Travancore, and other places were occupied by petty chiefs, princes, zemindars, and polygars who lived often in their hill forts, and came to notice in the time of the British wars in the Carnatic.

The brother of the last king of Vijayanagara settled at Chandragiri; and a descendant of his first granted the settlement of Fort St. George (Madras) to the English in 1640 A. D., *i.e.*, within a century after the fall of the old kingdom of Vijayanagara. This petty transaction is a curious and interesting link connecting the past with the present!

CHAPTER V.

RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS LITERATURE.

THE form of Hinduism which prevailed in India previous to the spread of Buddhism is generally known as the Vedic religion, while the form of Hinduism which succeeded Buddhism is generally known as the Pauranik religion. There are two cardinal distinctions between the Vedic and the Pauranik religion,—one in doctrine, and the other in observance.

The Vedic religion was to the very last a religion of elemental gods, of Indra, Agni, Sûrya, Varuna, the Maruts, the Asvins, and others; and although the composer of the Upanishads rose to the conception of a Supreme and Universal Being, nevertheless sacrifices were still offered, by princes and the people alike, to the ancient elemental gods of the Rig Veda. On the other hand, the Pauranik religion classed all these elemental gods as minor deities, and recognized, far above and beyond them, the Supreme Being in his triple form,—Brahmâ the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Siva the Destroyer. The recognition of this Supreme Trinity is the distinctive feature of Pauranik Hinduism in doctrine, and it is impossible not to suspect that this idea of a Trinity is borrowed from the Buddhist Trinity.

The distinctive feature of Pauranik Hinduism in the matter of observance is image-worship. Vedic religion was a religion of sacrifice to the fire. From the most ancient times, whatever was offered to the gods, was offered to the fire; and down to the last days of the Rationalistic Period, kings, priests, as well as humble householders, offered sacrifices to the fire, and knew of no image worship. Buddhism degenerated into idol worship in the centuries after the Christian era. It is impossible not to suspect that modern Hinduism borrowed its image-worship from Buddhism. It is certain that when the Code of Manu was compiled in the Buddhist

Age, image-worship was gaining ground, and was condemned by that conservative lawgiver. The practice, however, steadily gained ground until it became the essence of modern Hindu rites and celebrations. Sacrifice to the fire is now almost a thing of the past.

We have said that the cardinal doctrine of Pauranik Hinduism is the doctrine of the Hindu Trinity. A three-fold division of the divine powers is as old as the Rig Veda, and the Rishis of the Veda classed the gods as those of the sky, the earth, and the waters respectively.* But the Pauranik division has a deeper significance. It assumes the unity of the Divine Power, but looks on the Power in its three-fold function of Creation, Preservation, and Destruction.

With that conservative feeling, however, which has always marked each new development of the Hindu religion, the Pauranik writers avoided the *appearance* of an innovation, and selected the names of the Trinity from the ancient names in the Vedic Pantheon. Brahmâ, or rather Brahmanaspati was the god of prayer in the Rig Veda; and when the composers of the Upanishads conceived the idea of a Universal Being they called that being Brahman. That name, therefore, was an appropriate one for the Creative function of the Divine Power. Vishnu was a name of the sun in the Rig Veda, the cherisher of all living beings, and his name therefore fitted the higher modern conception of the Preserving Divine Power. Rudra was a name of thunder or thunder cloud in the Rig Veda, and a happier name could not be selected for the Destroying Divine Power. And when these different functions of the Divine Power were thus separately named, they very soon assumed distinct individualities and characters. The Trinity as Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer was unknown to Manu in the 1st century before or after Christ; but the idea had become a national property by the time of Kâlidâsa in the 6th century A. D.

When the popular imagination had thus conceived

* Rig Veda I, 139, 11; also I, 34, 11; I, 45, 2, &c.

separate deities out of these functions of the Divine Power, the deities had to be mated with goddesses. Sarasvatî was mated with Brahmâ, and the reason which underlies this union possibly is, that Brahmâ in the Rig Veda was the god of prayers, and Sarasvatî was the goddess of hymns. Vishnu was mated with a new goddess, Lakshmî, of whom we find no trace in ancient Sanscrit literature; but there are some reasons for supposing that as Sîtâ, the field furrow of the Rig Veda, assumed a distinctly human form and became the heroine of a national epic in India, Lakshmî stepped into her place as the goddess of crops and wealth, and was a fit spouse for the preserving deity. And, lastly, Umâ in the Kena Upanishad is a mysterious female, who explains to Indra the nature of Brahman. In the Satapatha Brâhmana (II, 6, 2, 9), Ambikâ is the sister of Rudra. And in the Mundaka Upanishad, Kâlî, Karâlî, &c., are the names of the seven tongues of the fire, Rudra being fire or lightning. All these scattered hints are gathered together by the Pauranik writers, and Umâ and Ambikâ, Durgâ and Kâlî, are the names of the consort of the dread destroyer,—Rudra, Siva, or Mahâdeva.

But when we have spoken of the three supreme gods and their wives, we have said but little of modern Hinduism. A world of legends connect themselves with the incarnations of one of the Trinity,—Vishnu or the preserver. Râma, the mythical hero of the Râmâyana, was considered an incarnation of Vishnu; and Krishna, the son of Devakî, who was a pupil of the teacher Ghora Angirasa in the Chhândogya Upanishad (III, 17, 6), assumed a divine character, and was considered another incarnation of Vishnu. And as Krishna became more and more a popular deity, room was found for him by modern editors in the ancient epic, the Mahâbhârata, and new stories of his sports with the milkmaids of Vrindâvana were multiplied in the Purânas.

Krishna, as we have seen before, is an ancient name in Sanskrit sacred literature. But his recent appearance

as a Supreme Deity, and the stories about his birth, and about Kansa and the massacre of the innocents, and the resemblance between the Bible and the Bhagavat Gîtâ have led many European scholars to suppose that the Hindus have borrowed Christian legends and ideas and applied them to Krishna. An interesting controversy was maintained for some years in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*. Dr. Lorisner, writing in 1869, asserted the indebtedness of the Hindus; Mr. Telang of Bombay, and Professor Windisch of Heidelberg denied the indebtedness; Professor Bhandarkar pointed out references to the deification of Krishna in the Mahâbhâsya, a work of the 2nd century B. C.; and Professor Weber, while admitting the reciprocal action and mutual influence of Gnostic and Indian conceptions in the first centuries of the Christian era, considers Dr. Lorisner's attempt to be "overdone."

We need not speak of the other incarnations of Vishnu. The very idea of divine incarnation is modern, and was unknown to Vedic Hinduism or even to Manu. Vedic gods are described as descending to earth and sharing libations offered to them, and departed spirits and manes are similarly described as sharing the offerings made to them. But the idea of a deity being born as man, and living among men, like Râma and Krishna, belongs to modern Hinduism. It is impossible not to suspect that the idea is borrowed from the Jâtaka stories of the Buddhists.

Siva is not as popular a deity as Vishnu, but Siva's consort, Durgâ or Kâli, Sakti or Umâ, shares with Krishna the honor of being the most popular deity with modern Hindu worshippers. Strange stories have been blended together in the Pauranik legends about Siva's consort. In the Satapatha Brâhmana (II, 4, 4, 6), we are told of a sacrifice being performed by Daksha Pârvati; but the story that Sati (Siva's consort and Daksha's daughter) gave up her life at the sacrifice, is a Pauranik addition. Again in the Kena Upanishad we find mention of Umâ Haimavatî who explains to Indra the nature of Brahman; and this character of Umâ Haimavatî

suggested the later Pauranik legend, that Satî was reborn as Umâ, the daughter of the Himâlaya mountains. How that mountain maiden attended on Siva during his meditation, how aided by the god of love she failed to make any impression on the divine anchorite, and how she at last won him by her penances and devotion,—these are all lovely creations of the Pauranik fancy which have been embalmed in the immortal work of Kâlidâsa, known as the Birth of Kumâra

Such are the leading myths connected with the deities of the Hindu Trinity. The ancient elemental gods of the Rig Veda occupy a far lower rank in the modern Hindu pantheon. Nevertheless, there are glowing accounts in the Purânas of Indra's heaven thronged by the bright Vedic gods, Agni, Vâyu, &c., by their celestial troops, chariots, and elephants, by graceful Apsarâs, and by musical Gandharvas. But even these Vedic gods have changed their character. Indra is no longer the soma-drinking martial god who recovers the celestial cows from the fort of Pani, and helps Aryans in their wars against aborigines. Times have changed, and ideas change with times and circumstances. Pauranik Indra is a gorgeous king of a luxurious and somewhat voluptuous celestial court, where dance and music occupy most of his time. His queen, Sachî or Indrânî, is a noble and spirited conception, and is honored by all the gods. The Apsarases of the Veda have attained lovely individualities, and Rambhâ, Tilottamâ, and the Pauranik Urvasî are the courtezans of heaven, and regale the leisure hours of Indra by their dance and their amours. Indra is said to have attained his proud position by his austere penances, and is in constant fear lest any mortals on earth attain the same rank by the same means. Not unoften, therefore, are the heavenly nymphs sent down by Indra to earth to disturb severe penances, and beguile the heart of anchorites by their irresistible charms. The Asuras are another source of his apprehension, and though expelled from heaven, they often return in force and reconquer it by sheer fighting. On such

occasion Indra and his followers have to ask the succour of some of the superior deities, Brahmâ, Vishnu or Siva. These deities never condescend to directly help the minor gods against the Asuras; but they console the beaten gods, and suggest to them plans for recovering their position. On one such occasion the gods devised a marriage between Siva and the mountain maid Umâ, and Kumara, Skanda or Kârtikeya, the issue of the union, led back the expelled gods to victory and to heaven.

Both Kumâra and his brother Ganesa, with his elephant head, are unknown to ancient Hindu religion, and are Pauranik creations.

While the popular mind is thus engaged with the endless legends connected with these Pauranik gods,—whose number, we are told, is 330 millions, (an obvious exaggeration of the 33 Vedic gods),—the wise and the learned are constantly reminded of the cardinal principle of the Upanishads, that there is but One Deity, and that gods and Asuras and men, yea, the whole universe, are but emanations from that Universal Soul, and will return to that Universal Soul.

Virtuous deeds lead to residence in heaven for long or short periods, and evil deeds lead to tortures in hell, also for stated periods; and then the soul returns again to animate new bodies in succeeding births. The doctrine of transmigration is as firmly ingrained in the Hindu mind as the doctrine of resurrection is in the Christian mind, and the lowest Hindu sees a possible relation or kinsman in a new born babe or even in a bird or animal. It is only by pious contemplation and learning, by sinlessness and freedom from all earthly feelings and passions, that the soul can at last shake off earthly trammels, and mingle with the Universal Soul which is the Hindu's final salvation. We see how this idea, started in the Upanishads, was modified into the Buddhist doctrine of Nirvâna, and was then accepted back again as the cardinal principle of Vedantism and modern or Pauranik Hinduism. The truly learned and wise therefore are recommended not to win a place in Indra's heaven by meritorious acts,

but to seek final absorption into the Universal Soul by effecting freedom in this world from worldly feelings and passions.

Later developments of Hinduism have proceeded on the same recognition of One Deity, and some name from the modern Hindu pantheon has been selected for the purpose. Dr. Wilson in his work on the religious sects of the Hindus, enumerates and describes 19 classes of Vaishnavas or followers of Vishnu, 11 classes of Saivas or followers of Siva, and 4 classes of Sâktas or followers of Saktî the consort of Siva, besides other miscellaneous sects.

The Vashnava religion, in many of its forms, seems only a survival of the Buddhist religion. There is the same theoretical equality of all men and of all castes, and the same prohibition against the destruction of animal life; and these principles are coupled with faith in one personal deity, Vishnu, who is often however adored by the common people as Krishna, the amorous cowherd of Gokula and Vrindâvana. The followers of Siva, and his consort Saktî, have often adopted still more corrupt doctrines and practices.

Such are the doctrines and tenets of modern Hinduism in its various phases, but the character of a nation is shaped and influenced more by rites and observances than by tenets. And as we have stated before, there has been a wide departure from the old Vedic days, in religious rites and observances.

The worship of images in temples was unknown to the Hindus before the Buddhist revolution, but seems to have come into fashion when Buddhism was the prevailing religion. We have seen before that Manu, who was a strong conservative in matters of religious rites, upheld the ancient system of offering sacrifices in the domestic or sacrificial fire, and indignantly classed temple priests with vendors of liquor and sellers of meat. Temples and images, however, had their attraction for the popular mind, and by the sixth century A. D., they were regarded with veneration, and had to a great extent supplanted the ancient form of worship.

In the literature of the 6th to 8th century A. D., we seldom read of sacrifices, except those performed by kings; while Kâlidâsa and other poets often speak of temples and the images worshipped there.*

The change was undoubtedly one in the wrong direction. The worship of images has never an ennobling influence on a people's mind; but in India the practice was accompanied by other evils. Down to the time of Manu, the Vaisyas, or the mass of the people could worship their gods in their own way, and could offer libations in their domestic hearths without the intervention of priests. When, however, the worship was transferred from the fireside to the temple, priests, as custodians of such temples, had an additional influence on the popular mind, and forged an additional link round the necks of the people. The opportunity was eagerly improved, and with the rise of the Rajput power in India, new temples multiplied in every capital town and busy mart. Pompous celebrations and gorgeous decorations arrested the imagination and fostered the superstition of the populace, poetry, arts, architecture, sculpture, and music lent their aid; and within a few centuries the nation's wealth was lavished on those gorgeous edifices and ceremonials which were the outward manifestations of the people's unlimited devotion and faith. Pilgrimages, which were rare or unknown in very ancient times, were organized on a stupendous scale; gifts in lands and money poured in from such devotees for the support of temples; and religion itself gradually transformed itself to a blind veneration of images and their luckly custodians. The great towns of India were crowded with temples; new gods and new images, some of them of a revolting character, found sanctuaries in stone edifices and in the hearts of ignorant worshippers; and a crowd of priests, who swarmed round such temples, trampled

* See his description of the temple of Siva and his consort in Ujjayinî in the *Meghadûta*. The present writer has visited the famous temple of this place, said to be the identical temple described by the poet nearly fourteen centuries ago; but on this point one may be permitted to be sceptical!

on the necks of millions, who had forgotton their ancestral worship, and mistook blind obedience and gifts to priests for religion!

We will illustrate the foregoing remarks on Pauranik Hinduism by a brief examination of the Pauranik religious literature.

DHARMA SA'STRAS.

The Dharma Sûtras of Gautama, Vasishtha, Baudhâyana, A'pastamba furnished us with the best available materials for an account of the manners and laws of the Rationalistic period. The Dharma Sâstra of Manu supplied us with equally valuable materials for an account of Hindu life in the Buddhist period. Fortunately, the series of Dharma Sâstras was continued in the Pauranik times, and they will be our guide in the following chapters, in depicting the manners and laws of the Pauranik period. In the present chapter we will make a few remarks about the works themselves.

There can be no doubt that a very large number of Dharma Sâstras were compiled in the Pauranik times. References to, or quotations from upwards of a hundred such works are met with in modern commentaries and digests. The Padma Purâna enumerates 36 works, while Yâjnavalkya gives us a shorter list of 20 works. They are—

1. Manu
2. Atri
3. Vishnu
4. Hâríta
5. Yâjnavalkya
6. Usanas
7. Angiras
8. Yama
9. A'pastamba
10. Samvarta
11. Kâtyâyana
12. Brihaspati
13. Parâsara
14. Vyâsa
15. Sankha
16. Likhita
17. Daksha
18. Gautama
19. Sâtâtapa
20. Vasishtha

Parâsara gives us a list of the same 20 works, only substituting Kasyapa for Vishnu, Garga for Vyâsa, and Prachetas for Yama. Of these 20 works, Gautama, A'pastamba and Vsishtha belong, as we have seen before, to the Rationalistic period, and Manu belongs to

the Buddhist period. The remaining 16 works are probably also based on ancient Sûtra works, but belong, in their present form, to the Pauranik period.

1. *Atri** is a short work of less than four hundred couplets written in continuous sloka metre like all works of the Pauranik Period. It insists on the necessity of perusing modern Sâstras as well as the ancient Vedas (11); recommends bathing in Falgu river and visiting Gadâdhara Deva (57); recommends the drinking of the water with which the feet of Siva and Vishnu (images) have been washed; despises all Mlechchhas (180, 183); refers to the rite of the burning of widows (209); and has all the marks of a work composed or recast about the close of the Pauranik age.

2. *Vishnu.*—Of the 16 Dharma Sâstras enumerated above, Vishnu is the only one in prose, and can therefore claim a high antiquity. Dr. Jolly points out its close resemblance with the Grihya Sûtra of the Kâthaka Kalpa Sûtra, which undoubtedly belongs to the Rationalistic Period; and he maintains with Dr. Bühler, that the bulk of the Vishnu Dharma Sâstra is really the ancient Dharma Sûtra of that Kalpa Sûtra. Nevertheless, this ancient work seems to have been repeatedly recast and modified. Dr. Bühler maintains† that the whole work was recast by an adherent of Vishnu; and that the final and introductory chapters (in verse) were composed by another and a still later writer. The period in which the work was thus repeatedly recast, is between the fourth and the eleventh century A. D.‡

As might be expected, the work has a very composite appearance. It contains chapters which are shewn to have been quoted by Vasishtha and Baudhâyana of the Rationalistic Period § while it contains other passages, which it has borrowed from Harivansa and other

* It is necessary to state that the account given in this and the next two chapters of the 16 Dharma Sâstras, is based on the cheap and unreliable edition of those works published in Calcutta.

† Introduction to Bombay Digest, p. xxii.

‡ Dr. Jolly's introduction to Institutes of Vishnu, p. xxxii.

§ *Ibid* p. xviii *et seq.*

modern works. Chapter LXV contains ancient and genuine Kâthaka mantras transferred and adapted to a Vishnuite ceremony; Chapter XCVII seeks to reconcile Sânkhya and Yoga Philosophy with the Vaishnava creed; Chapter LXXVIII enumerates the modern week days (Sunday to Saturday) which find no mention in ancient Sanscrit works; Chapter XX, 39 and XXV, 14 allude to the self-immolation of widows; Chapter LXXXIV prohibits the performance of Srâddha in the kingdom of Mlechchhas; and Chapter LXXXV refers to some fifty modern places of pilgrimage. The introductory chapter which is in continuous sloka, and in which the Earth in the shape of a beautiful woman is introduced to Vishnu reposing with his consort Lakshmî in the milky sea, is probably among the latest of the hundred chapters comprising the existing work.

It is thus that our ancient works have been altered, recast, and tampered with, to the delight of the supporters of every new creed and every modern custom, but to the despair of the historian!

3. *Hârîta.*—This is another ancient work which has been completely recast in the Pauranik Period. Hârîta is mentioned by Baudhâyana, Vasishtha, and A'pastamba who are all writers of the Rationalistic Period. Extracts from Hârîta found in the Mitâkshara and Dâyabhâga are all in aphoristic prose. But nevertheless the work of Hârîta which now exists is in continous sloka, and its contents too are modern. In the first Chapter we are told the Pauranik story that Vishnu lay with his consort Srî on the mythical snake in the midst of waters; and that a lotus grew on his navel, from which sprang Brahmâ who created the world. In Chapter II there is mention of the worship of Narasinha Deva, and in Chapter IV, of the worship of Vishnu; while the seventh or concluding chapter speaks of Yoga Sâstra.

4 *Yâjnavalkya.*—Stenzler and Lassen place Yâjnavalkya before the time of Vikramâditya, but after the rise of Buddhism. Later researches have enabled scholars to place Manu in the first or second century

before or after the Christian era; and as Yâjnavalkya comes undoubtedly after Manu,* his probable date is the fourth or fifth century after Christ. An examination of the contents of the work goes to some extent to confirm this opinion. In I, 290 *et seq*, we find allusion to the worship of Ambikâ, the mother of Vinâyaka and to the worship of Vinâyaka and Ganapati. In II, 296 there is an allusion to Buddhist nuns, and there are many allusions to Buddhist habits and doctrines. Manu allows men of the higher castes to marry Sûdra women; but Yâjnavalkya objects to that ancient custom I, 56. In many other respects, however, Yâjnavalkya is nearer to Manu than to the later Dharma Sâstras, which were undoubtedly recast late in the Pauranik Period. The work is divided into three chapters; and contains over a thousand couplets.

5. *Usanas.*—In its present form this work is a very modern compilation. It speaks of the Hindu Trinity (III, 50); alludes to the self-immolation of widows (III, 117); condemns those who make voyages by sea (IV, 33); and recommends self-immolation in fire or in water for sinners (VIII, 34). A wearisome multiplication of rules, prohibitions, and penances characterizes this modern work which is divided into nine chapters, and contains nearly six hundred couplets.

6. *Angiras.*—The work of this name which is before us is one short chapter of 73 couplets. It is a modern work and condemns the cultivation of indigo as an impure trade unfit for pure castes.

7. *Yama.*—Yama is mentioned by Vasishtha of the Rationalistic Period; but the Yamasmritis which exist in the present day are modern works, and could not have been meant by Vasishtha. We have a short work of 78 couplets before us. Along with Angiras it alludes to washermen, workers in leather, dancers, Barudas, Kaivartas, Medas, and Bhils as impure castes.

8. *Samvarta.*—A modern metrical work of over two hundred couplets, and little importance. Along

* See reasons given in Weber's *Indian Literature*, p. 281.

with Âpastamba it considers washermen, dancers, and workers in leather as impure.

9. *Kâtyâyana* undertakes to throw light,—like a lamp,—on such rules and rites as were left obscure by Gobhila, whose Grihya Sûtra has been noticed by us in our account of the Rationalistic Period. Kâtyâyana's Dharma Sâstra, however, belongs to the Pauranik Period, and is divided into 29 chapters with nearly five hundred couplets. In I, 11 to 14, we are told of the worship of Ganesa, and of the mothers,—Gaurî, Padmâ, Sachî, Sâvitrî, Javâ, Vijayâ, &c.; and we are also told that the worship should be paid to their images or their likenesses painted on white canvas In XII, 2 (which is in prose) there is mention of the Hindu Trinity; in XIX, 7 Umâ is named and in XX, 10, there is an allusion to Râma having performed sacrifice with a golden image of Sîtâ when the real Sîtâ was banished.

10. *Brihaspati.*—We have a small fragment of Brihaspati very different from the genuine Brihaspati transed by Dr Jolly. The fragment dwells on the merit of the gift of lands to Brâhmans, and tries to impress on its readers the terrible effects of a Brâhman's wrath. It is more terrible than the weapons of kings! A Brâhman deals destruction by his wrath, as Vishnu deals destruction with his disk! (49) Such priestly pretensions indicate sufficiently the modern date of the work.

11. *Parâsara* is admittedly one of the latest of the Dharma Sâstras of the Pauranik Age. The compiler himself informs us (I, 23 that Manu was for the Satya Yuga, Gautama for Tretâ Yuga, Sankha and Likhita were for Dvâpara Yuga, and Parâsara is for the present Kali Yuga. We have an allusion to the Hindu Trinity (I, 19,) and an allusion to the self-immolation of widows (IV, 28 and 29). Nevertheless widow-marriage was prevalent even in this late age, and Parâsata allows a woman to marry again if her husband is not heard of or is dead, if he has become an ascetic or an outcast, or is impotent (IV, 26). The work is divided into twelve chapters, and has nearly six hundred couplets.

12. *Vyâsa*—This is one of the most recent of the

Dharma Sâstras, and was probably compiled in its present shape after the Mahommedan conquest. It mentions the Hindu Trinity of course (III, 24) and commends the self-immolation of widows (II, 53); and the degradation of the different guilds and professions which composed the bulk of the nation is more complete in Vyâsa than in most other works as we will see further on. Vyâsa is a short work divided into 4 chapters, and comprising over two hundred couplets.

13. *Sankha* like Vishnu, is an ancient work, but recast in verse in the Pauranik Period, although two passages in prose are still imbedded in it. Dr. Bühler supposes that the prose portion consists of genuine Sûtras taken from the original edition of Sankha which belonged to the Rationalistic Period and was entirely in aphorisms. Mr. Râjakumâra Sarvâdhikârî * differs from this opinion, and maintains that the prose passages in the existing edition of Sankha are not in the genuine and abbreviated Sûtra style. We are inclined to agree with Mr. Sarvâdhikârî; at any rate the passages in prose are too short to lead to any definite opinion on the subject. Mr. Sarvâdhikârî further points out that there are passages from Sankha quoted in modern commentaries which are not found in the edition of the work now before us. There can be little doubt therefore, that this edition is a comparatively modern one. In III, 7, we find mention of temples and of the image of Siva. In IV, 9, we find a prohibition against men of the upper castes marrying Sûdra women—a practice which is allowed by Manu. In VII, 20, the author speaks of Vâsudeva a name of Vishnu. In XIV, 1 to 3 the author enumerates 16 holy places; and in XIV, 4, there is a prohibition against performing Srâddha or even journeys in Mlechcha countries. But even in this recent work, widow marriage is allowed, XV, 13. The work is divided into 18 chapters, and contains over three hundred couplets.

14. *Likhita* is a short work in 92 couplets and

* *Hindu Law of Inheritance. Tagore Law Lectures*, 1880.

alludes to temples of gods (4), and to living in Benares (11), and offering cakes at Gayâ.

15. *Daksha* is also a comparatively modern work in seven chapters, and gives a pleasing picture of the domestic life and the duties of men and women. The picture is somewhat marred, however, by disparaging remarks about women's greed, and still more by an allusion to the barbarous rite of the self-immolation of widows (IV, 20).

16. *Sâtâtapa* in its present shape, is like Vyâsa one of the most recent of the 17 Dharma Sâstras enumerated, and alludes to Rudra with his three eyes (I, 19); to the worship of Vishnu (I, 22); to the image of Brahmâ with his four faces (II, 5); and also to the image of Yama mounted on a buffaloe and with a staff in his hand (II, 18). Vishnu claims worship here under the names of Srivatsalânchhana; Vâsudeva and Jagannâtha; his image of gold is to be covered with garments, and after worship is to be given away to Brâhmans (II, 22 to 25). Sarasvatî, who is now the consort of Brahmâ, also claims worship (II, 28); and we are told that the Harivansa and the Mahâbhârata should be heard (II, 30 and 37) to wipe away sins. Further on we hear of the image of Ganesa (II, 44), of the two Asvins (IV, 14), of Kuvera (V, 3), of Prachetas (V, 10), and of Indra (V, 17); all these golden images are to be made and worshipped only to be given away to Brâhmans; and, indeed, the object of this work seems to be to recommend profuse gifts to Brâhmans. There is no sin, no incurable disease, no domestic calamity and no loss or injury to property, which cannot be washed away by such gifts. The cupidity of hereditary priests which Vasishtha had condemned in the strongest terms fifteen centuries before, reached its climax, at the close of the Pauranik Period, with the growing power of priests and the decline of the nation.

It is noteworthy that among the multiplicity of gods mentioned in the Dharma Sâstras, one rarely finds mention of Krishna by name. The consort of Siva, too, in the names and forms best known in these days,

Saktî and Durgâ and Kâlî is also almost unknown to the Dharma Sâstras.

PURANAS.

Amara Sinha, the lexicographer of the court of Vikramâditya, describes a Purâna as Panchalakshana, or having five characteristic topics; and scholiasts agree that these five topics are—I, Primary creation or cosmogony; II, Secondary creation or destruction and renovation of worlds, including chronology; III, Genealogy of gods and patriarchs; IV, Reigns of Manu or periods called Manvantaras; V, History of the Solar and Lunar races and their modern descendants. The Purânas which now exist, and which were composed or recast after the time of Amara, very imperfectly conform to this definition.

The Purânas are divided into three classes, namely, those sacred to Vishnu, Siva and Brahmâ respectively. Their names and the number of stanzas which they are supposed to contain, aggregating to 4,00,000 are given below.—

VAISHNAVA.	SAIVA.	BRA'HMA.
Vishnu, 23,000.	Matsya, 14,000.	Brahmânda, 12,000.
Nâradîya, 25,000.	Kûrma, 17,000.	Brahma Vaivarta, 18,000.
Bhâgavata, 18.000.	Linga, 11,000.	Mârkandeya, 9,000.
Garûda, 19,000.	Vâyu, 24,000.	Bhavishya, 14,500.
Padma, 55,000.	Skanda, 81,100.	Vâmana, 10,000.
Varâha, 24,000.	Agni, 15,400.	Brahma, 10,000.

It is impossible to make room in the present work for the barest outline of the contents of these voluminous books, the work of generations of priests labouring for centuries together to recast ancient mythology, history and traditions, and also to spread modern cults and sectarian beliefs in flowing modern Sanscrit verse. We will only mention in a few words, the salient features of each work.*

1. *Brahma Purâna.*—The early chapters give a description of the creation and an account of the solar and lunar dynasties to the time of Krishna. A brief des-

* The reader will find a fuller account of the contents of the Purânas in Wilson's Preface to his Vishnu Purâna, pages xxvii to lxxxvi, from which our account is mainly taken.

cription of the universe succeeds, after which we have an account of Orissa with its holy temples and sacred groves dedicated to the Sun, to Siva and to Jagannâtha. To this succeeds a life of Krishna which is word for word the same as in the Vishnu Purâna, and the work ends with an account of the Yoga.

2. *Padma Purâna.*—This most voluminous of all the Purânas (excepting Skanda only) is divided into five books, namely,—(1) Srishti or Creation, (2) Bhûmî or Earth, (3) Svarga or Heaven, (4) Pâtâla or the Lower Regions, and (5) Uttara Khanda or Supplementary Chapter. The Srishti Khanda narrates the cosmogony and the genealogy of patriarchal families and also regal dynasties, and then comes to an account of the holiness of lake Pushkara in Ajmir as a place of pilgrimage. The Bhûmî Khanda deals in 127 chapters with legends mostly relating to Tîrthas, which include persons entitled to honour and also holy places of pilgrimage. This is followed by a description of the earth. The Svarga Khanda places Vaikuntha, the sphere of Vishnu, above all the heavens. It contains also rules of conduct for the several castes and the different stages of life, and also various legends, mostly modern. The Pâtâla Khanda takes us to the snake-world. There Sesha (serpent) narrates the story of Râma, and this is followed by an account of Krishna's juvenilities and the merits of worshipping Vishnu. The Uttara Khanda, which is probably later than the other portions of the Purâna, is intensely Vaishnava in its tone; the nature of Bhakti or faith in Vishnu, the use of the Vaishnava marks on the body, the legends of Vishnu's incarnations, and the construction of images of Vishnu are all explained by Siva to his consort Pârvatî, and they both finish by adoring Vishnu! We are also told that of the Hindu Trinity, Vishnu alone is entitled to respect! There can be no doubt much of this sectarian controversy has been added after the Moslem conquest of India. There is mention, even in the earlier books of this Purâna, of Mlechchhas flourishing in India, while to the last portions of the work Dr. Wilson

gives the 15th or 16th century A.D., as the probable date.

3. *Vishnu Purâna* divided into six books. The first book speaks of the creation of Vishnu and Lakshmî, and many legends, including those of Dhruva and Prahlâda. The second book describes the earth with its seven islands and seven seas, and also describes Bhâratavarsha and the nether regions, the planetary system, the sun, the moon, &c. The third book speaks of the Veda and its division into four Vedas, by Krishna Dvaiyâyana Vyâsa in the Dvâpara Yuga. It also names the 18 Purânas, details the duties of the four castes and the four orders of life, and dwells on domestic and social ceremonies and srâddhas. The last chapter condemns the Buddhists and Jainas. The fourth book gives us a history of the Solar and Lunar dynasties, and concludes with lists of the kings of Magadha, which we have quoted in Book IV, Chapter III. The fifth book is specially devoted to an account of Krishna, his boyish tricks, his sports which Gopîs, and his various deeds in life. The sixth and last book again inculcates devotion to Vishnu as sufficient to earn salvation for all castes and persons, and ends with chapters on Yoga and final emancipation.

4. *Vâyu Purâna*, otherwise called the Siva or Saiva Purâna, is divided into four books. The first speaks of creation and the first evolutions of beings. The second continues the subject of creation and describes the various kalpas, gives us genealogies of the patriarchs, a description of the universe, and the incidents of the Manvantaras, mixed up with legends and praises of Siva. The third book describes the different classes of creatures, and furnishes us with accounts of the Solar and Lunar dynasties and other kings. The fourth and last book, speaks of the efficacy of the Yoga and the glory of Siva, with whom the Yogin is to be finally united.

5. *Bhâgavata Purâna*, better known as Srimat Bhâgavata, is considered the holiest of the Purânas, at least in the estimation of the Vaishnava sects. The work begins as usual with cosmogony. Vâsudeva is the supreme and active creator, the creation, the world is Mâyâ or

illusion. We are also told that all castes, and even Mlechchhas, may learn to have faith in Vâsudeva—a purely Vaishnava doctrine. In the third book we have an account of the creation of Brahmâ, of the Varâha incarnation of Vishnu, and of his incarnation as Kapila, the author of Sânkhya philosophy! The traditions of Dhruva, Vena, Prithu, and Bhârata are given in the fourth and fifth books; a variety of legends, intended to inculcate the worship of Vishnu, fill the sixth; the legend of Prahlâda is given in the seventh; while numerous other legends are narrated in the eighth. The ninth book narrates the Solar and Lunar dynasties; while the tenth book, which is the characteristic part of the work, is entirely appropriated to the life of Krishna. The eleventh book describes the destruction of the Yâdavas and the death of Krishna; and the twelfth and last book, gives lists of later kings like what we have in the Vishnu Purâna.

6. *Nârada Purâna.*—This work contains a variety of prayers to Vishnu, and legends inculcating devotion to Hari. Another work, called Brihat Nâradîya Purâna, contains similar prayers to Vishnu, injunctions to observe various rites, and to keep holy seasons in honour of him, as well as various legends. Both these works are very recent, and Dr. Wilson conjectures they are not the original works mentioned in the list of 18 Purânas.

7. *Mârkandeya Purâna* occupies itself mainly with a narration of legends. Legends of Vritra's death, of Baladeva's penance, of Harischandra, and of the quarrel between Vasishtha and Visvâmitra are followed by a discussion about birth, death, sin, and hell. Then follows a description of creation and of the Manvantaras. An account of the future Manvantara leads to a narrative of the actions of the goddess Durgâ, which is the special boast of this Purâna, and is the text-book of the worship of Chandî or Durgâ. It is the famous Chandî Pâtha; and this portion of the work is read to the present day in Hindu households, as well as in temples of Durgâ.

8. *Agni Purâna.*—The early chapters describe the incarnations of Vishnu. This is followed by accounts of religious ceremonies, many of which belong to the Tântrika ritual, and some to mystical forms of Saiva worship. Interspersed with these are chapters descriptive of the earth and the universe. These are followed by chapters on the duties of kings, on the art of war and on laws, after which we have an account of the Vedas and Purânas. The genealogical lists are meagre. Medicine, rhetoric, prosody, and grammar, conclude the work.

9. *Bhavishya Purâna*, with its continuation the *Bhavishyottara Purâna.*—The first treats of creation, explains the Sanskâras and the duties of the different castes and orders of life, and describes various rites. All this, which occupies about one-third of the work, is followed by conversations between Krishna, his son Sâmba, Vasishtha, Nârada, and Vyâsa, on the power and glory of the sun. "There is some curious matter in the last chapters relating to the Magas, silent worshippers of the sun, from Sâkadvîpa; as if the compiler had adopted the Persian term Magh, and connected the fire-worshippers of Iran with those of India."* The Bhavishyottara is like the Bhavishya, a sort of manual of religious offices.

10. *Brahma Vaivarta Purâna.*—It is divided into four books, describing the acts of Brahmâ, Devî, Ganesa, and Krishna, respectively. The original character of the work has, however, been much altered, the present work is decidedly sectarial, and prominence is given to Krishna over all other deities. The great mass of the existing work is taken up with descriptions of Vrindâvana with endless prayers to Krishna, and with tiresome descriptions of the loves of Râdhâ and the Gopîs.

11. *Linga Purâna.*—The work begins with an account of creation, and Siva is the creator. The appearance of the great fiery Linga takes place in the interval of a creation, and Brahmâ and Vishnu are

* Wilson. Preface to Vishnu Purâna, lxiv.

humbled. The Vedas proceed from the Linga, by which Brahmâ and Vishnu become enlightened and acknowledge the superior glory of Siva. Another creation follows, Siva repeats the story of his 28 incarnations (intended no doubt as a counterpart of the 24 incarnations of Vishnu* in the Bhâgavata Purâna), and this is followed by a description of the universe and of the regal dynasties to the time of Krishna. Legends, rites, and prayers to Siva succeed. It is noticeable that even in the Linga Purâna, "there is nothing like the phallic orgies of antiquity; it is all mystical and spiritual." †

12. *Varâha Purâna.*—The work is almost wholly occupied with forms of prayer and rules for devotional observances addressed to Vishnu, interspersed with legendary illustrations. A considerable portion of the work is taken up with accounts of various Tîrthas or places of Vaishnava pilgrimage.

13. *Skanda Purâna.*—This work, the most voluminous of all the Purânas, is not a work in a collective form, but exists in fragments, the aggregate of which exceeds the limit of 81,100 stanzas of which the Purâna is said to consist. The Kâsî Khanda is a minute description of the temples of Siva in Benares, mixed with directions for worship and a variety of legends. The Utkala Khanda gives an account of the holiness of Orissa and of Jagannâtha, and is no doubt a later appendage by Vaishnava writers, who thus added an account of a Vaishnava Tîrtha to an eminently Saiva Purâna. Besides the different Khandas, there are several Sanhitâs and numerous Mâhâtmyas included in this very composite Purâna.

14. *Vâmana Purâna.*—Contains an account of the dwarf-incarnation of Vishnu. The worship of Linga is also treated of. but the main object of the work is to celebrate the sanctity of holy places in India, and the

* The idea of Vishnu's 24 incarnations was probably originally borrowed from the story of the 24 Buddhas who were born before Gautama Buddha.

† Wilson. Preface to Vishnu Purâna, lxix.

Purâna therefore is little else than a succession of Mâhâtmyas. Legends of Daksha's sacrifice, of the burning of Kâmadeva, of the marriage of Siva and Umâ, and the birth of Kârtikeya, of the greatness of Bali and his subjugation by Krishna as a dwarf—all come in apparently as reasons for particular sites and Tîrthas being considered holy.

15. *Kûrma Purâna.*—The name of this, as of the preceding Purâna, is that of an incarnation of Vishnu, but nevertheless Kûrma is classed with Saiva Purânas, and the greater portion of it inculcates the worship of Siva and Durgâ. The first part of the Purâna deals with creation, the incarnations of Vishnu, the solar and lunar dynasties up to the time of Krishna, the universe and the Manvantaras, and with these are mixed up hymns to Mahasvara and various Saiva legends. The second part deals with the knowledge of Siva through contemplation and through Vedic rites.

16. *Matsya Purâna.*—The work opens with an account of the Matsya or fish-incarnation of Vishnu. The story is, no doubt, a development of the simpler legend in the Satapatha Brâhmana,* which bears so curious a resemblance to the story of Noah and the Deluge in the Old Testament. In the Purâna it is Vishnu who, in the shape of a fish, preserves Manu with the seeds of all things in an ark from the waters of an inundation. While the ark floats fastened to the fish, Manu enters into conversation with him, and his questions and Vishnu's replies form the main substance of the Purâna. The creation, the royal dynasties, and the duties of the different orders, are successively dealt with. Legends about Siva's marriage with Umâ and the birth of Kârtekeya follow, and these are mixed up with Vaishnava legends. Some Mâhâtmyas are introduced, including the Narmadâ-Mâhâtmya, and there are chapters on law and morals, on the making of images, on future kings, and on gifts.

17. *Garûda Purâna.*—It contains a brief notice of

* See Book II, Chapter VIII.

the creation, but is mainly occupied with religious observances, holiday prayers from the Tântrika ritual, astrology, palmistry, medicine, &c. The last portion of the work is taken up with directions for the performance of obsequial rites. There is no account in the existing work of the birth of Garûda, and it is possible that the original Garûda Purâna has been lost to us.

18. *Brahmânda Purâna.*—This work like the Skanda is no longer to be found as a collective work, but exists in fragments; and later writers have taken advantage of this, to attach various independent treatises from time to time to the non-existent original. A very curious work, called the A'dhyâtma Ramâyâna, is considered to be a part of the Brahmânda Purâna.

The above rapid review of the contents of the 18 voluminous Purânas sufficiently indicates the nature of the works. The 18 works were originally composed or recast in the Pauranik Period, and existed when Alberuni visited India in the eleventh century; but there can be no doubt, that they have been considerably modified and enlarged since, specially by Saiva and Vaishnava writers, who were anxious to establish the supremacy of their respective creeds. Siva was the first popular god of the Pauranik Period, as we find in the annals of Orissa and some other provinces, as well as in the classic literature of the Pauranik Age. Krishna, who is almost unknown to Kâlidâsa, Bhâravi, Bânabhatta Bhavabhûti, and other classic authors, became the popular god of the Hindus at a later date; Mâgha and Jayadeva celebrated his deeds in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and all through the Musalman rule, Krishna was no doubt the most favorite deity of the Hindus. Much of the Purânas dwelling on the sports and loves of Krishna, as well as all the portions dealing with the worship of Siva or Saktî according to the Tântrika ritual, appear to be productions of centuries subsequent to the Mahommedan conquest. It is because the Purânas have been so much changed and recast after the Moslem conquest, that they are

unsafe and unreliable as a picture of Hindu life and manners before the conquest.

Beside these 18 Purânas an equal number of Upa-Purânas are mentioned, but the lists given by different authorities vary. The Upa-Purânas are certainly more recent than the Purânas, but the nature of the contents is much the same. The best known among the Upa-Purânas is the Kâlikâ, dedicated to the worship of Siva's wife, and essentially a Sâkta work. It describes the sacrifice of Daksha and the death of Satî, and proceeds to narrate that Siva carried his wife's corpse about the world, that the different portions of the corpse were scattered in different parts of India, that these places accordingly became sacred. Lingas erected in these spots draw hundreds of thousands of pilgrims year after year to the present day. Such are the myths believed, and such are the religious rites practised by the descendants of those who sang the hymns of the Veda, and started the deep and earnest enquiries of the Upanishads!

TANTRAS.

But Hindu literature in the period of the Mahommedan rule, presents us even with a stranger aberration of human fancy and human credulity. The Yoga system of philosophy degenerated into various strange practices, by which supernatural powers, it was believed, could be obtained. We have evidence of this even in Bhavabhûti who lived in the 8th century A. D.; but later on, the system was developed into monstrous forms. The works known as the Tantras—creations of the last period of Hindu degeneracy under a foreign rule—give us elaborate accounts of dark, cruel and obscene practices for the acquisition of supernal powers. And by an audacious myth, these miserable products of a "mind diseased," were ascribed to the deity Siva himself! The number of Tantras is said to be 64; we have seen most of them which have been published in Calcutta.

Ignorance is credulous, and feebleness hankers after power. And when a superstitious ignorance, and a

senile feebleness had reached the last stage of degeneracy after centuries of foreign subjection, men sought by unwholesome practices and unholy rites to acquire that power, which Providence has rendered attainable only by a free and open and healthy exercise of our faculties, —moral, intellectual and physical. To the historian, the Tantra literature represents, not a special phase of Hindu thought, but a diseased form of the human mind, which is possible only when the national life has departed, when all political consciousness has vanished, and the lamp of knowledge is extinct.

CHAPTER VI.

CASTE.

WE have seen in the last Book, that the great Aryan population of India (except priests and kings) was still a united body in the Buddhist Period, and had not yet been disunited into the profession castes of modern times. The tendency to disintegration was greater in the Pauranik Period, and we have frequent allusions to different professions distinctly marked off from each other. But nevertheless an impartial examination of the evidence available will convince a candid reader that the profession castes of modern times were not completely formed even in the Pauranik Period, and that the body of the people was still one united caste,—the Vaisya,—engaged in various professions. The complete disintegration of the nation into numerous and distinct profession castes, was subsequent to the Moslem conquest of India and the national death of the Hindus.

All the Dharma Sâstras of the Pauranik Period refer to the four great castes, *viz.*, the Brâhmans the Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and the Sûdras. The first three castes were still entitled to the performance of religious rites and to the study of the Vedas. Their respective duties were to teach the Veda, to practise arms and to tend cattle; and their modes of livelihood were for a Brâhman to sacrifice for others and to receive alms; for a Kshatriya to protect the people; and for a Vaisya, tillage, keeping cows, traffic, money lending and growing seeds. (*Vishnu II*). To these duties of the Vaisya, Parâsara adds working in iron and in jewellery (I, 60), and the enumeration of these duties would shew that goldsmiths and blacksmiths had not yet differentiated into separate castes, but still belonged to the common Vaisya community.

The Sûdra was not entitled to the study of the Veda,

to religious learning, or to the performance of elaborate religious rites. It would appear, however, from some passages in the Dharma Śâstras, that he was entitled to some Sanskâras, and to some religious rites and penances. Vyûsa tells us (I, 6) that the Sûdra was entitled to some religious rites; and Sankha similarly informs us (II, 3) that the Sûdra was also entitled to some Sanskâras. It would appear from these reluctant concessions, that the great Sûdra community,—the aboriginal inhabitants of India who had been Hinduized for thousands of years,—had before the Pauranik time won for themselves a position and influence which could not be gainsaid. By trade and agriculture and by following different arts and industries, they had amassed wealth, and made themselves useful members of the society in which they lived; and we even hear of Sûdra kings and Sûdra chiefs. And although the Aryan Hindus, still ungenerously called the Sûdras the slaves of the other castes, and excluded them from all religious learning and most of the religious rites, yet numerous passages interspersed in the Dharma Sâstras shew that, for all practical purposes, the Sûdras had become Hindus, and practised some at least of the Hindu rites.

The duty of the Sûdra was to serve the other castes, and his mode of livelihood was to follow different branches of art. (*Visnu II*). He could also trade (*Yâjnavalkya I*, 120) and no doubt followed various other professions. Parâsara informs us (I, 62) that the Sûdra could sell salt or sugar, or the various preparations of milk.

Yâjnavalkya tells us the old story of the production of mixed castes, by the union of men and women of different parent castes. His 13 mixed castes are here enumerated.

Father.	*Mother.*	*Caste formed.*
Brâhman	Kshatriya	Mûrdhâbhishikta
Do.	Vaisya	Ambashta
Do.	Sûdra	Nishâda or Pârasava
Kshatriya	Vaisya	Mâhishya
Do.	Sûdra	Ugra

Father.	*Mother.*	*Caste formed.*
Vaisya	Sûdra	Karana
Kshatriya	Brâhman	Sûtra
Vaisya	Do.	Vaidehaka
Sûdra	Do.	Chandâla
Vaisya	Kshatriya	Mâgadha
Sûdra	Do.	Kshattri
Do	Vaisya	Ayogava
Mâhisya	Karana	Rathakâra

Yâjnavalkya I, 91 to 95.

It is scarcely necessary to point out once again that these so-called mixed castes are not the modern profession castes of India, but are, most of them, names of aboriginal tribes who were gradually assuming Hindu rites and civilization, without, however, being completely merged in the recognized Sûdra caste. It would almost seem, that Yâjnavalkya had some notion of these tribes being gradually fused with the Hindus, for immediately after the enumeration given above, he informs us, that inferior castes can rise in the seventh or even in the fifth Yuga according to works (I, 96).

The so-called "mixed castes" then do not reveal to us the origin of the profession castes of modern India. How have these modern castes originated? The Pauranik Dharma Sâstras will throw some light on the subject.

Kâyasthas find no mention in Manu, because the practice of appointing scribes for every law court and public office, did not generally prevail in the Buddhist Period. In the Pauranik Period the scribes were already a numerous and influential body, attended judges in court, attested documents, and performed all the clerical work connected with the administration of law. Not unoften, they were engaged in more ambitious duties, and were appointed by kings to administer finances, raise taxes, keep the accounts of the State, and perform all the duties which devolve on a finance minister of the modern day. We read in a dramatic work called the Mrichchhakati (toy cart), that a Kâyastha or record-keeper attended the judge in court; and Kalhana in his history of Kashmir, frequently speaks of Kâyasthas as accountants and tax gatherers

and financiers under kings. They soon incurred the wrath of the priests, for they raised their taxes from all and exempted none; and we accordingly find, that no epithets are too strong or too vile to be applied to their profession! Passing over such pardonable ebullition of the priestly tax payer's anger, we are grateful to learn from passages in the Dharma Sâstra of the Pauranik Period, how the profession arose in India, and what its original duties were. It is probable that the class was recruited mainly from the Kshatriyas; Brâhmans would scarcely condescend to take up such appointments, Vaisyas and Sûdras would not get them.* After the Moslem conquest, the profession was formed into an inviolable and distinct caste.

Yâjnavalkya tells us (I, 336), that the king should protect his people from deceivers, thieves, violent men, robbers and others, and specially from Kâyasthas. If we take the word in its modern sense of caste, the passage has no sense, and the necessity for protection from a particular caste is not obvious. If, on the other hand, we take the word to mean rapacious tax gatherers, we can well understand the feeling of the writer who classed them with thieves and robbers. Such compliments are paid to tax gatherers to the present day.

Our next quotation will be from Vishnu. In his celebrated chapter on documents, he classifies them under three heads, *viz.*, (1) those attested by the king,

* Here and elsewhere we have stated that Kâyasthas are descended from the ancient Kshatriyas. A controversy is going on since many years past, and reasons have been advanced to prove that Kâyasthas are descended from Kshatriyas. We cannot enter into the merits of this controversy, and we are unable to give its substance here. We have proved that Kâyasthas are not Sûdras, nor the product of a hybrid mixture of castes; that they are the sons of the ancient Aryan population of India, and have formed a separate caste, because they have embraced a separate profession. Among the ancient Aryan castes, the Kshatriyas were in the best position to fill public offices as record-keepers and financiers, and the Kâyasthas were therefore mainly recruited from the Kshatriya stock, and poor relations of kings gladly accepted the posts of accountants and record-keepers in the royal courts. We are informed that to the present day the period of impurity for Kâyasthas in Northern India, on the death of relations, is the same as is prescribed for Kshatriyas.

answering to the registered documents of the present day; (2) those attested by other witnesses; and (3) those not attested at all. And the writer goes on to say, that "A document is said to be attested by the king, when it has been prepared in the king's office by the Kâyastha appointed by the king, and marked by the hand (or signature) of the head of the office." Here, again the word Kâyastha has little sense, if it means a particular caste. Dr. Jolly translates it simply as "scribe," and he is right. Kâyasthas meant in the Pauranik Period, what we now mean by "Muharrars" and nothing more.

One more passage we will refer to, *viz.*, Vyâsa I, 10 to 12, in which the indignant writer classes Kâyasthas with Kols and Kirâtas, Chandâlas and beef-eaters, and tells us that, "one should bathe after speaking to them, and one should look at the sun (for purification of the eyes) after looking at them." Vyâsa's work in its present shape was composed, as we have seen before, after the Mahomedan conquest; and the modern reader will, we hope, pardon this outburst of priestly jealousy in a degenerate age against a class of brother Aryans, growing in intelligence, influence, and power!

We next come to the Vaidyas or physicians to whom the Dharma Sâstras are scarcely more complimentary than to the Kâyasthas. If scribes have been classed with Chandâlas and beef-eaters, physicians have been classed by Manu with meat-sellers and liquor-vendors, and Yâjnavalkya classes them with thieves, prostitutes and others, whose food cannot be taken (I, 162). A physician, prescribing wrongly to animals, to ordinary men, and to royal personages is liable to different grades of punishment. (*Yâjnavalkya* II, 245.) A goat herd, a painter, a physician and an astronomer, are not entitled to respect even if they be as wise as Brihaspati (*Atri*, 377). A physician prescribing ignorantly is liable to punishment (*Vishnu* V, 171*). Usanas, in Chapter VI, speaks of the impurity which is caused by the death of men

* V. 175 in Dr. Jolly's translation.

of different castes; but adds that mechanics, artisans, physicians, (Vaidya), slaves, kings and public servants do not undergo any period of impurity (VI, 55). The passage is important, as it distinctly shews that physicians formed a profession in those days like mechanics and artisans, and not a caste. Vaidyas in the present day have formed a caste in Bengal, and have their prescribed period of impurity on the death of a relation. Parâsara (III, 27) lays down the same rule of exemption from impurity for mechanics, artisans, physicians, (Vaidya), slaves, barbers, Srotriyas and kings, shewing that barbers too did not form a separate caste. Daksha (III, 16) deprecates gifts to ignorant physicians, (Kuvaidya). In all these passages Vaidyas are spoken of simply as a profession; in no single passage that we have met with, have they been distinctly spoken of as a caste. Upholders of the modern caste system seek to identify Vaidyas with the Ambashthas of the ancient Sûtra writers, and of Manu and Yâjnavalkya. The Ambashthas are described by Vasishtha as a mixed caste, a cross between Brâhmans and Kshatryas (see p. 265), and by Manu and Yâjnavalkya as a cross between Brâhmans and Vaisyas (see *ante* pp. 562 & 674), and Manu further adds that the Ambashthas practised medicine (X, 47). On this slender ground the modern Vaidyas are all identified with this mixed caste,—as if the Aryan Hindus did not practise the healing art until amorous Brâhman youths pursued and embraced girls of a humbler class,—as if the science of medicine was unknown among Aryan Hindus until the production of a hybrid mixed caste! The modern reader will brush aside such idle myths, and will unhesitatingly recognize the fact, that the modern Vaidyas are descended from the ancient Aryan *people*,—the Vaisyas, (see p. 268, *note*), and have formed a separate caste because they have followed a separate profession. And as in the case of Kâyasthas, so in the case of Vaidyas, it is possible that descendants of royal races, like the Sena kings of Bengal, have become merged in the modern profession caste.

We now pass on to other professions which have also been formed into castes since the Mahomedan conquest.

We have seen before that Parâsara lays down that the occupations of blacksmiths and jewellers, as well as trade, agriculture and the tending of cattle were the legitimate duties of Vaisyas (I, 60). The modern castes of Vaniks, goldsmiths and blacksmiths do not appear therefore to have been distinctly formed in Parâsara's time. We find a more remarkable passage further on in the same work which deserves to be quoted :

20. "Among Sûdras, the Dâsa (slave) the Nâpita (barber), the Gopâla (cowherd), the Kulamitra (friend of the family), the Ardhasîrin and he who devotes himself,—are persons whose food can be taken.

21. "He who is begotten by a Brâhman on a Sûdra's daughter, and receives Sanskâra is a Dâsa (slave) ; if he does not receive Sanskâra, he is a Nâpita (barber).

22. "He who is begotten by a Kshatriya on a Sûdra's daughter is to be known as a Gopâla (cowherd) ; Brâhmans should feel no hesitation in taking their food

23. "He who is begotten by a Brâhman on the daughter of a Vaisya, and receives Sanskâra, is to be known as Ardhaka (Ardhasîrin) ; Brâhmans should feel no hesitation in taking their food." (*Parâsara*) XI.

We have seen in the last chapter that Parâsara's work is one of the very latest Dharma Sâstras. The above passage indicates how, in this late period, cowherds and barbers were drifting into separate caste guilds. They were still Sûdras, and Parâsara reckons them "*among Sûdras*," but nevertheless they had so far differentiated themselves from the great body of Sûdras, that Parâsara had to apply to them the same theory of the origin of castes which had been applied by the Sûtra writers and by Manu and Yâjnavalkya to Ambashthas, Ugras, Nishâdas, and others. This ingenious and ancient theory of the origin of castes was not applied to Goalas and Napits before the close of the Pauranik Period, and we may therefore conclude

that Napits and Goalas had not formed separate castes before that time. Again, this theory was not applied to Kâyasthas and Vaidyas by any writer even in the Pauranik Period; and we may therefore hold that scribes and physicians had not yet separated themselves from the great body of the Kshatriyas aud Vaisyas before the Mahommedan conquest.

Vyâsa's work is even later than Parâsara's, and Vyâsa also tells us that no fault is incurred from food taken from Nâpita, Kulamitra, Ardhasîrin, Dâsa and Gopâla "*even though they be Sûdras.*" (III, 50)

While thus at the very close of the Pauranik Period we find some of the lower professions separating themselves into castes, we find in all the Dharma Sâstras of the period a contempt for all trades, professions and industries which is painful to observe. Yâjnavalkya's work is one of the earliest of the Dharma Sâstras, and indeed belongs, as we have stated before, to the 4th or 5th century A. D., and is therefore nearer in point of time to Manu than to Parâsara and Vyâsa. But nevertheless, we find in Yâjnavalkya, (as indeed we found in Manu himself), an undeserved contempt for all honest trades and professions. In a passage which we have referred to before Yâjnavalkya (I, 160 to 165) condemns a large class of professions as impure, and lays down that the food of the people of these professions cannot be touched. It is with pain that the historian of the Hindus finds in this passage all mechanical arts, trades and industries classed with prostitution and crime. For the list includes misers, men in fetters, thieves, eunuchs, actors, *workers in leather* (Vainas), men who are cursed, Vârdhushîs, prostitutes, men who initiate indiscriminately, *physicians* (Chikitsaka), diseased men, ill tempered men, faithless women, drunkards, envious men, cruel and violent men, outcasts, Vrâtyas conceited men, impure-eaters, unprotected women, *goldsmiths*, henpecked husbands, indiscriminate priests, *sellers of arms*, *blacksmiths*, *weavers*, eaters of dogs, cruel men, king's officers, *dyers* ungrateful men, men who kill animals, *washermen*, *liquor-vendors*, cuckolds, backbiters, liars,

oil manufacturers, flatterers and vendors of the Soma wine. How many honest trades do we find in this list of despised professions! How could mechanical arts and industries flourish in a land where sellers of arms, goldsmiths and blacksmiths, weavers and dyers, washermen and oil manufacturers were condmened as impure? And who,—we ask again,*—are reserved for honour in this common degradation of all national arts and industries? Priests alone!

We stop, however, to point out to the reader that the above list is not an enumeration of castes, but of professions which were considered impure. Prostitutes, thieves and backbiters could not be castes, and goldsmiths and blacksmiths too, who are classed with them, could not be meant as castes. There is no passage in Yâjnavalkya indicating that these professions were distinct castes; and as we have seen before, they are not included in his list of 13 mixed castes.

We will quote a few more passages shewing how honest trades and mechanical arts were held in contempt. Usanas (IV, 22 to 35) gives a long list of persons who should be avoided at the performance of Srâddhas, and in this list we find those who sell the Vedas, those who marry widows and those who go to sea. In the same list we find mention of the new sects of Kâpâlikas and Pâsupatas, and of different classes of Jains; and we also find mention of *money lenders*, *musicians* and *astronomers*. Sankha (XVII, 36 to 39) prohibits Brâhmans from taking the food of actors, prisoners, thieves, *blacksmiths*, *workers in leather*, *goldsmiths*, *carpenters*, misers, cruel men, false men, prostitutes, and others. Angiras, (I, 12 to 24) strongly condems the cultivation and trade in indigo.

While mechanics and artisans and traders were thus generally held in disrespect, there were certain professions, and also certain classes apparently of the aboriginal races, which were held as specially vile and impure. Atri tells us (195) that the dyer, the worker in leather, the actor, the Baruda, the Kaibarta, the Meda and the

* See *ante*, p. 560.

Bhilla are recognized as low-born (Antyaja). The first three, we need hardly say, were professions, and the last four were aboriginal races who were gradually becoming Hinduized. Angiras (3) and Yama (54) have the same couplet, word for word, shewing that these professions and aboriginal races were generally considered as the most degraded in the Pauranik Period. Samvarta recommends the same penance to a Brâhman having intercourse with an actress, a Sailûshî woman, a dyer woman, a Vaina woman, and a woman of the class working in leather (151). Besides these, a Chandâla, a Svapâka and a Pukkasa are held as degraded in the Dharma Sâstras.

Thus, while the aboriginal races were still regarded by the Hindus with undeserved and unmitigated contempt, and even while respectable and honest professions and industries followed by Vaisyas were unhonoured and degraded, the exaltation and glorification of the priestly class knew no bounds! A few old verses to the effect that unlearned Brâhmans should not be honoured or fed still continued to be quoted, but these were completely lost in the extravagant laudation of the priestly caste which fills the later Dharma Sâstras. A volume of moderate size could be filled with such fulsome and often grotesque adulation; but we can only make room for a few flowers of rhetoric from this literary parterre!

The vast and limitless distance between Brâhmans and Sûdras is insisted on in the later Dharma Sâstras with all the emphasis that language can supply. Terrible are the effects of ordinary social intercourse with Sûdras; language or the knowledge of the writer fails to describe these effects! "I do not know," says Parâsara, "what different births are undergone by the twice-born who is nourished by the Sûdra's food. He becomes a vulture in twelve repeated births, (then) a pig in ten repeated births, (then) a dog in seven repeated births,—so said Manu. And if a Brâhman sacrifices for a Sûdra, that Brâhman becomes a Sûdra and the Sûdra becomes a Brâhman.' (*Parâsara* XII, 33 to 35).

History, at least in modern times, does not record another instance of civilized men holding their brethren of the same country and nation in such utter and undisguised abhorrence. Surely the noble lessons of Gautama Buddha must have been completely erased from the memory of the great Hindu nation when Hindus could speak thus of their brethren who had lived with them, fought by them, spoken with them the same tongue, and followed with them the same customs and laws for three thousand years! The caste system in India has much to answer for; but its worst and most lamentable result is this permanent breach and disunion where there should have been fusion and union, this weakness and death where there should have been national strength and life.

While the poor Sûdra is despised, degraded, and reviled, the Brâhman's glory and prowess know no bounds. Offend not Brâhmans, but beware of their wrath. "Kings punish with their weapons, but Brâhmans punish with their wrath; a weapon kills one man, but a Brâhman's wrath destroys a family. Vishnu strikes with his disc, but Brâhmans strike with their wrath; that wrath is more deadly than the disc, wherefore offend not a Brâhman." (*Brihaspati* 49, 50.)

"8. Death does not approach that man who offers to Brâhmans water to wash their feet, a place to rest their feet, and light and food and shelter.

"9. As long as the ground of one's house remains moist with the water with which Brâhmans have washed their feet, so long his ancestors drink nectar from holy cups.

"10. The merit that is reaped by the gift of a reddish cow at the full moon of Kârtika, the same merit is reaped, O chief among Rishis! by washing the feet of Brâhmans!

"11. When a Brâhman is welcomed, the god Agni is pleased; when a seat is offered to a Brâhman, Indra is pleased; when his feet are washed, the deceased ancestors are pleased; and when food is offered to him, Prajâpati is pleased.

"12. The Ganges and cows are holier than one's parents; but there *is nothing holier than a Brâhman, and there will be nothing holier.*" (*Vyâsa* IV.)

It is needless to extract other passages. "Charity to Brâhmans," says Professor Krishna Kamala Bhattâchârya,* one of the profoundest Sanscrit scholars in Bengal, "is a constant theme of a goodly portion of our religious writings," and "*much of what is now practised as part of Hindu religion but furnishes occasions for making gifts to the priestly class.*" Such degeneracy of a noble and ancient religion is manifest in every modern rite that we perform, every modern religious work that we take up. Sâtâtapa, for instance, enumerates a long list of diseases and sins, calamities and misfortunes, and prescribes gifts to Brâhmans as a remedy for all! He prescribes the worship of various golden images of various deities in order that those images may be given to Brâhmans. Elsewhere in the Dharma Sâstras we are told that the food-grains in a householder's house become instinct with joy, when a Brâhman approaches, at the prospect of being given away to such Brâhman!

There is much in this style in the Pauranik Sâstras which will fill a modern Hindu with indignation and shame. But these passages have a sad lesson to teach. They teach us that a hereditary priesthood, however learned and pious and even sell-denying, unconsciously and even unwillingly come to imbibe all the vices of monopolists, and become grasping and covetous, jealous and exclusive. They teach us that a nation in surrendering its conscience and religious liberty, surrenders also its national unity and life. They teach us that all trades and professions, all useful arts and honest industries, become degraded, when the artisans and mechanics and labourers, *i.e.*, the nation at large, bow down before hereditary priests and wash their feet. They speak more eloquently than the impassioned strictures of a Luther or the keen sarcasms of

*Joint Hindu Family. Tagore Law Lectures, 1884-85, pp. 95 & 96.

a Voltaire against the domination of priests and the slavery of nations. And they tell us that if the great Hindu nation,—the sons of Vaisyas and Kshatriyas alike,—have in the modern day been deprived of their ancient heritage of religious learning, and reduced to the common level of Sûdras, it is because they chose to surrender their consciences, and then their religious and social liberty, to the custody of hereditary priests!

And the Dharma Sâstras do not speak in vain. Young India takes note of the past and shapes his future accordingly. Already, under the blessings of a healthy education, Sûdras and Brâhmans and the sons of Kshatriyas and Vaisyas have learnt to work on a common platform for a common native land. They have also learnt to mix socially; they attend the same schools, they travel in the same railway carriage or steamer, they often take their meals together, and they attend the same offices and follow the same professions in life. These are hopeful signs, for united work breeds mutual understanding and real union. More than this, Brâhmans themselves have been the foremost in this century to efface unhealthy distinctions, and have nobly striven to reunite and to save; and the names of Ram Mohan Roy and of Dayanand Sarasvati will live in the grateful recollections of the Hindus in centuries to come, when the tribe of captious and pigmy opponents to progress will be forgotten.

The distinctions of centuries and thousands of years cannot be effaced in a day, and young Hindus are acting wisely in shaping their progress to the gradual march of events. But the day is not far distant when men, who work together in friendliess and with a brotherly feeling towards each other, will learn to mix more closely and to celebrate inter-caste marriages; and the Hindus of a future date will also learn to perform their social and religious ceremonies, and to express their gratitude and devotion and love towards the Great Deity whom they worship, without the help of *hereditary priests*.

CHAPTER VII.

DOMESTIC AND SOCIAL LIFE—THE POSITION OF WOMEN.

THE rules of domestic and social life which we find in the later Dharma Sâstras are based on those which we have reviewed before in our account of the Rationalistic and Buddhists Periods, and often the same verses which we found in the ancient Sûtras and in Manu are quoted in the Pauranik works. Nevertheless, here and there we find alterations, restrictions, or additions, which shew us how the ancient institutions were undergoing a gradual change.

The permission given to the twice-born castes to marry Sûdra women became restricted as the gulf between the Sûdras and the upper castes became wider in later times. Yâjnavalkya distinctly declares, "It has been said that twice-born men may marry Sûdra women. This is not my opinion, since one procreates himself on his wife. A Brâhman may have three wives (*i.e.*, of Brâhman, Kshatriya, and Vaisya castes), a Kshatriya two wives (*i.e.*, of Kshatriya and Vaisya castes), and a Vaisya one wife (of Vaisya caste); Sûdras should have wives of their caste only." I, 56 & 57. Vishnu allows the twice-born to have Sûdra wives (XXIV, 1 to 3), but contradicts himself later on, and prohibits such unions (XXVI, 4), shewing how later interpolators have been busy in making the ancient work consistent with modern customs. Later writers like Sankha (IV, 6 to 9) and Vyâsa (II, 11) prohibit the marriage of twice-born men with Sûdra women.

The ancient eight forms of marriage were also falling into disuse. We have seen that even in the Rationalistic Period, Vasishtha and A'pastamba refused to recognize two of these forms as marriage, and this feeling became stronger with the lapse of time. Yâjnavalkya

(I, 58 to 61) like Manu names all the ancient eight forms of marriage, but distinctly declares that the first four only, *viz.*, the *Brâhma*, the *Daiva*, the *A'rsha*, and the *Prâjâpatya* are meritorious and purify ancestors and descendants. Similarly, Vishnu mentions all the eight forms, but adds that the first four only are allowed to Brâhmans and purify ancestors and descendants (XXIV, 18 to 32). Sankha recommends the first four forms for Brâhmans (IV, 3); the *Râkshasa* and *Gândharva* forms of marriage are allowed to the warrior-caste alone. Hârîta recommends the *Brâhma* rite alone for pious Brâhmans, "although other forms of marriage are also prescribed according to the custom of different castes." (IV, 2 & 3.)

The practice of the early marriage of girls which was coming into vogue since the Rationalistic Period is insisted upon by the writers of the Pauranik Period. Yâjnavalkya tells us that the guardian of a girl becomes guilty of causing miscarriage if he has not given her away when her menses appear (I, 64). Parâsara has the revolting couplets which are so often quoted in modern times in support of early marriages.

"6. A girl is (as pure as) Gaurî at eight years, at nine she is Rohinî, at ten she is simply a maiden, after that she is menstruant.

"7. The father of a girl who does not give her away on her reaching the twelfth year * * * * * * * *

"8. The mother, the father, and the elder brother of a girl go to hell on seeing her menstruant while yet unmarried.

"9. The Brâhman who, perplexed by ignorance, marries such a girl, is the husband of a foul woman; no one should speak or sit with him." *Parâsara VII.*

This is sufficiently strong and filthy language, (we have omitted a few words), and shews the narrow and degenerate spirit of the times when it was indited. These injunctions were a favorite with the writers of the age, and Yama (22 to 24) and Samvarta (66 & 67) quote them, or portions of them, word for word, while

Vyâsa (II, 7) has an imprecation similar to Yâjnavalkya's.

While the marriage of girls at a tender age became the custom of the times, the ancient custom of the marriage of widows had not yet fallen into disuse. The practice was looked upon with disfavour from the time of Manu, but even to the very close of the Pauranik Period it was not altogether prohibited. On the contrary, we find frequent references to the marriage of widows and to children born of such marriage, in nearly all the Pauranik Dharma Sâstras. Yâjnavalkya tells us that "a woman who is married a second time, whether she be then a virgin or not, is called a remarried woman" (I, 67). Vishnu tells us that "a woman who being still a virgin is married for the second time is called a remarried woman (Punarbhû)," and the sons of such remarried widows were recognized (XV, 7 & 8). Parâsara, one of the very latest of the Pauranik writers, allows the second marriage of a woman if her husband be lost or dead, or has become an ascetic, or if he is impotent, or has lost caste (IV, 26). Sankha also refers to remarried widows (XV, 13).

The religious injunction to leave male issue had induced the early Hindus to recognize irregular methods of raising issue even before the Rationalistic Age. We have seen that in that age there was a reaction against that loose custom, and that A'pastamba condemned it altogether.

Yâjnavalkya (II, 131 to 135) and Vishnu (XV, 1 to 27) enumerate the twelve kinds of sons mentioned in our account of the Rationalistic Period, but they are not acknowledged by the later Dharma Sâstras generally. Parâsara, for instance, acknowledges only four kinds of sons, *viz.*, *Aurasa*, *Kshetraja*, *Dattaka*, and *Kritrima* (IV, 19). In modern times only the legitimate son (Aurasa) and the adopted son (Dattaka) are recognized by Hindus.

Pleasing pictures of domestic life are preserved to us in the Dharma Sâstras, shewing that Hindus have ever appreciated and cultivated domestic virtues

through all times and through all vicissitudes of their national fortunes. As we read Vyâsa's account of the duties of a wife as narrated in his second chapter, we can almost fancy it is the picture of a duteous and gentle Hindu wife of modern times, trying to discharge her household duties, and seeking to please all of her husband's family. She will rise before her lord at early dawn, clean the house, sweep and clean the room of worship, clean all the utensils and implements of religious worship and put them in order, wash all the utensils of cooking and wipe the hearth, and having thus performed all the preliminary work of the day, will come and do obeisance to her father-in-law, mother-in-law and others.

Having then cooked the food, she will feed the children and then her husband, and will then take her meals with the permission of her lord. In the evening her work commences again, and after her husband has gone to bed and fallen asleep, she will lay herself beside him. She is enjoined to abstain from quarreling and avoid harsh language; to avoid extravagance, anger, duplicity, pride, scepticism, &c.; and she is instructed to serve her husband to the best of her ability. Those who know the domestic life of modern Hindus are aware that these injunctions have not been given to Hindu wives in vain, and that in obedience and gentleness and a regard for their husbands, Hindu women will not compare unfavourably with women in any country in the civilized world.

We miss, however, in the Pauranik Dharma Sâstras similar injunctions to men to treat their wives with the honor and respect due to equals. On the contrary, the feeling that women were the subjects of men, and belonged to men, and had no independent aim or existence, seemed to grow with the growing degeneracy of the times; and this feeling ultimately culminated in the prohibition of widow marriage, and in the barbarous and inhuman custom of the burning of widows. How sadly different were these degenerate customs from those of the chivalric age of the Kurus and the Pan-

châlas and the Kosalas, when a Maitreyî and a Gârgî were honoured, and a Sîtâ was conceived, and when Hindus "could understand and appreciate true womanhood."*

We have stated before that the burning of widows was unknown to the Hindus before the Pauranik times. It was originally a Scythian custom, and was probably introduced in India by the Scythian invaders who poured into India in the Buddhist Age, and formed ruling Hindu races later on. The later Dharma Sâstras all belaud the barbarous custom, which was unknown to Manu or even to Yâjnavalkya. Vishnu, Atri, Usanas, Parâsara, Vyâsa, and Daksha allude to this custom, and the passages which allude to it have been indicated in Chapter VI of this Book.

While the duties of a woman are thus strictly laid down even to her immolation on her husband's funeral pyre, the duties of a man consist mostly in the performance of numerous religious rites and in hospitality and gifts. Daksha in his second chapter recommends the pious Hindu to bathe early in the morning, and assigns different duties to the eight different portions of the day. In the first part of the day (say from 6 to 7½ A.M) he is to utter his prayers, and worship his gods; while those who keep the sacrificial fire (a custom which was falling into disuse) should offer sacrifices also. In the second part of the day (say 7½ to 9 A.M) he is to study the Vedas. In the third part (9 to 10½ A.M.) he is to look after household affairs and the maintenance of his family and dependants. From 10½ to 12 noon, he is to perform his ablutions, utter the Gâyatrî or prayer to the sun. After mid-day (12 to 1½ P. M.) he will perform the *Mahâyajnas, i.e.*, make offerings to the gods, to departed ancestors, to men, to spirits, and to all living creatures, and then take his meals. A little rest is prescribed after meals in the sixth portion of the day (1½ to 3 P.M.) and then (3 to 4½ P M) he will read Purânas and Itihâsa legends, and thus spend his time in quiet

* Oldenberg's *Buddha*.

and pious recreation. In the eighth and last portion of the day (4½ to 6 P.M.) he will look again into his worldly affairs, and at sunset he will utter his prayers again, and if he keeps a sacrificial fire, will perform sacrifice. After this he is to take his evening meals, look after domestic affairs, read a little of the Vedas, and then retire to rest. Such is the picture of the life of a pious and contemplative and quiet Hindu of the olden times, to whom the hurry and turmoil and incessant work of modern European life would have been an enigma and a mystery!

The custom of keeping a sacrificial fire in every household and performing Yajnas or sacrifices was falling into disuse, as we have stated before; but the five Mahâyajnas or daily offerings still continued to be practised by pious Hindus. (*Yâjnavalkya* I, 102; *Kâtyâyana* XIII, 2; *Sankha* III, 2; *Samvarta*, 44 &c., &c.) Charity to all living creatures and abnegation of self were the very ideal of a pious Hindu life, and the Dharma Sâstras insist upon this as strongly as the earlier Sûtra works.

Apart again from the Yajnas or sacrifices, there were certain domestic ceremonies or *sanskâras* which Hindus have always loved to perform from the ancient Epic or Rationalistic Age* even to the present age. It would be scarcely an exaggeration to state that these Sanskâras, more than anything else, differentiate the Hindus from the followers of other creeds or customs. From ancient times they have insisted on these ceremonies for all Hindus, and have described those who did not perform Sanskâras, as Vrâtyas or sceptics. For Hinduism has been and is a religion regulating life, more than defining intellectual beliefs. The greatest license has been allowed in the matter of intellectual convictions; and Hindus, differing in every possible way in their beliefs and convictions, have been recognized as orthodox, if they lived a Hindu life, and performed the *Annaprâsana* the *Upanayana*, the Hindu cremation and other Hindu domestic rites.

* See Book III, Chapter VIII.

Accordingly, we find frequent mention of the Sanskâras in the Pauranik Dharma Sâstras. Even Vyâsa's work, one of the latest of the existing Dharma Sâstras, does not fail to enumerate 16 domestic ceremonies for the twice-born. The reader will no doubt compare this Pauranik list with interest with the 19 domestic ceremonies of the Rationalistic Age of which a list has been given before.*

Vyâsa's list of Domestic Ceremonies.

1. Garbhâdhâna.
2. Pumsavana.
3. Sîmantonnayana.
4. Jâtakarman.
5. Nâmakriyâ.
6. Nishkramana.
7. Annaprâsana.
8. Chudâkarana.
9. Karnavedha.
10. Upanayana.
11. Study of Veda.
12. Kesânta.
13. Snâna.
14. Marriage.
15. Lighting the marital fire.
16. Lighting the three fires.

Vyâsa adds that "the first nine up to Karnavedha (piercing of the ear) are also allowable to women, but without mantras. Marriage is to be performed for women with mantras. Sûdras are allowed ten Sanskâras (*i.e.*, the first nine and marriage), but without mantras." *Vyâsa* I, 13 to 16.

As might be expected, we have in the Dharma Sâstras frequent mention of temples and temple priests and places of pilgrimage, indicating the direction in which Hinduism was inclining. There is mention of temples in Parâsara VIII, 37; Sankha III, 7; Likhita 4; Yama 33; and various other places. Sankha in Chapter XIV mentions 16 places of pilgrimage as stated before, while Vishnu in Chap. LXXXV mentions over 50 such places from Hurdwar to the Nilgiri Hills. The Pauranik Trinity of Brahmâ, Vishnu, and Siva, was universally acknowledged, and various other gods had found a place in the Pauranik pantheon, as we have seen in Chapter VI. It is needless to add that a belief in the transmigration of souls and in different heavens and hells formed an important part of the religious beliefs of the Hindus as it does to the present day.

References to agriculture, commerce, and to the arts

* See Book III, Chapter VII.

and even the vices of towns give us some idea of the state of society in the Pauranik times. We find a humane rule laid down that a pair of bullocks should not be worked in the plough for more than one prahara, *i.e.*, three hours. (*Atri* 219). Yâjnavalkya speaks of woollen and cotton fabrics, of skilfully woven fabrics and fabrics covered with wool, as also of silken stuffs and fabrics made of fibres (II, 182, 183). The cultivation and manufacture of indigo have already been alluded to before. The modern reader will learn with still greater interest the rules under which companies were formed to carry on commercial transactions. The passage is worth quoting.

"262. The profits and losses of merchants, who work in concert for profit, shall be determined according to their shares, or according to agreement previously made.

"263. The loss which is incurred by violating a rule (of the company), or by acting without the permission (of the company), or by negligence, shall be made good by the party who incurred the loss. The party who saves an amount from loss is entitled to one-tenth of the amount saved." *Yâjnavalkya* II.

There is also mention of laws against merchants combining to unduly enhance the value of commodities, or to unduly lower the prices of imports. When commodities are sold immediately after purchase (*i.e.*, when interest of the capital does not enter into the calculation), merchants are told to be satisfied with a profit of ten per cent. on imports and of five per cent. on home manufactures (II, 254, 255, 257). These artificial rules seem crude in these days of free-trade and free competition; but the modern reader cannot forget that laws still more crude regulated trade in Europe a century or two ago. And lastly, we are told that the king shall fix the prices of commodities on principles stated above (II, 256), but it is needless to state that this rule could never practically be enforced.

The king provided gambling houses in towns and appointed guards in such places. (*Yâjnavalkya* II, 205

and 206.) We shall find evidence in the dramatic literature of the period that the courtezans of the age were not the degraded creatures of modern times, but possessed some virtues, and received some consideration from the citizens, as among the ancient Greeks. Liquor shops also existed in towns, but were frequented only by the low. Drinking among respectable men was always considered a great sin.

The education of boys was conducted on the same principles as in the preceding ages. The young student was made over to his guru, assumed the girdle and the staff, begged from door to door to obtain supplies for his teacher, served him menially and looked after his family and cattle, and earned from day to day the religious learning of the ancient Hindus. (*Yâjnavalkya* I, 14 to 50; *Vishnu* XXVIII to XXX, &c.) Rules are laid down for the most minute acts and movements of the student during this stage, and the elaboration of the rules is indeed carried to a degree which provokes a smile in the modern reader. But it is not merely for the training of students and for the performance of religious ceremonies that such absurdly detailed rules were laid down. Similar rules were recorded for the guidance of every man in every action of his daily life. It would appear that the writers of the Dharma Sâstras revelled in the power which they obtained over the actions of the people; they multiplied rules and regulations beyond the conception of ordinary mortals; and they condescended to give no reasons for the rules, their *ipse dixit* was law! Nations were treated worse than children; they must ask no reason, exercise no discretion of their own, shew no signs of independent judgment, but act just as they were told to act, for thus it was laid down in texts! The texts were followed even when they were silly or harmful, so long as the Hindus remained steeped in ignorance under the Musalman rule. The texts are now unfotunately disobeyed, even when they are rational and beneficial, for modern Hindus demand a reason and not the *ipse dixit* of men however ancient and holy.

It is impossible to convey by quotations any idea how rules were multiplied; for such passages are numerous and fill all the Dharma Sâstras. One passage is just as good as another, and we quote a passage at random. Daksha tells us that one should wash his hands and feet after returning from a bath in some tank or river. The matter is very simple, and Hindus of all nations might be trusted to use their discretion in this matter. But no:—the legislator must lay down laws even in such a matter as this. And the laws are grotesque enough.

"14. After washing the feet and hands, one should carefully examine the water and drink it three times; then he should wipe his mouth twice with the root of the thumb, somewhat bent.

"15. Having thus wiped the mouth three times, he should wipe his feet and touch the different parts of his body.

"16 He should then touch his nose with the forefinger joined to the thumb; and then he should repeatedly rub his eyes and ears with the thumb joined with the middle finger.

"17. Then with his thumb and little finger he should touch his navel, and with the palm of his hand he should touch his chest. Then with all the fingers he should touch the head, and then with the ends of his fingers he should touch his arms."

Rules multiplied in this manner defeat their own object. They seek to bind down the people in all their acts and movements; but they end by being disregarded even in their most essential points. Such has been the natural fate of the Dharma Sâstras in modern times.

It is scarcely necessary to dwell long on the subject of criminal and civil laws and administration, for the rules we find in the Pauranik Institutes are more or less based on the earlier Institutes which we have reviewed in the foregoing Books. The king should reside in a stronghold and appoint governors of districts, governors of a hundred villages, governors of ten villages, and governors of single villages; and it was the duty of these governors to suppress crime and administer

the law, (*Vishnu* III, 6 to 15). The king should also appoint revenue officers for working mines, levying taxes, tolls and ferry dues, and for his elephants and forests, (*Vihsnu* III, 16,. A sixth part of the produce of land, two per cent. on cattle, gold and clothes, and a sixth part of flesh, honey, clarified butter, herbs, perfumes, flowers, roots, fruits, liquids, and condiments, wood, leaves, skins, earthen pots, stone vessels, and bamboo work could be levied as tax. Ten per cent. on home manufactures and five per cent. on imports went to the royal exchequer. Artisans, manual labourers and Sûdras were to work one day in the month for the king. (*Vishnu*, III, 22 to 32). Parâsara speaks of religious taxes also, and says that the king was entitled to one-sixth of the produce, the gods to $\frac{1}{3}$, part, and Brâhmans to $\frac{1}{50}$ (II, 14). Brâhmans were free from all taxes!

The laws of conquest were humane, and annexation was not recommended. "The king, having conquered the capital of his foe, should invest there a prince of the royal race of that country with the royal dignity." (*Vishnu* III, 47.)

The laws of inheritance are mainly the same as in the earlier Institutes. (*Yâjnavalkya* II, 116 to 135; *Vishnu* XVII & XVIII, &c.) The rate of interest is also the same, *viz.*, one-eightieth per month on good security, *i.e.*, fifteen per cent. per annum. Exorbitant interest was charged when there was risk. Ten per cent. per month was the rate from merchants going abroad, and twenty per cent. per month from *merchants going to sea.* (*Yâjnavalkya* II, 38 & 39.)

For criminal trials, ordeals by fire, by water, and by poison are spoken of (*Yâjnavalkya* II, 106 to 115; *Vishnu* XI, XII & XIII); although these barbarous methods were falling into disuse. All cases, and specially civil cases, were decided by oral and documentary evidence, and Vishnu has two chapters (VII & VIII) on the nature of documents and the competence of persons to appear as witnesses. Witnesses were solemnly exhorted to speak the truth, and truth was held in high esteem. "Truth," says Vishnu,

"makes the sun spread his rays, Truth makes the moon shine, Truth makes the wind blow, Truth makes the earth bear, Truth makes the water flow, Truth makes the fire burn, Truth makes the atmosphere and the gods and offerings exist. If Truth and a thousand horse-sacrifices are weighed against each other, Truth ranks higher than a thousand horse-sacrifices." (VIII, 27 to 36.) The punishments for various crimes are similar to those in the older Institutes. Yâjnavalkya lays down that murderers and thieves of cattle should be impaled, pick-pockets should suffer mutilation, and minor thefts were dealt with otherwise (II, 276 to 278). Murderesses and women who destroyed causeways (so as to inundate a village) were to be drowned (II, 281). Women who attempted to poison or set fire to houses or killed their husbands or children, should be mutilated and trampled to death by cattle (II, 282). Adultery was punished according to the caste of the women dishonored; and Yâjnavalkya lays down the iniquitous law that adultery with a woman of a lower caste is not punishable! (II, 291.) Similarly a fine is considered a sufficient punishment for deflowering a Buddhist nun! (II, 296.) Vishnu lays down that one who forges royal edicts or private documents should be put to death, and poisoners, incendiaries, robbers, and killers of women, children or men, and all great offenders should be executed (V, 1, 9, 10 & 11).

Brâhmans were not to be executed for any offence, however heinous! (*Vishnu* V, 2.) Laws of excessive severity and cruelty are laid down for Sûdras. If one strikes one of a superior caste, he should be mutilated; if he abuses such a person his tongue should be cut out; if he pretends to instruct such a person, hot oil should be dropped into his mouth. (*Vishnu* V, 19, 23 & 24.) If one who should not be touched defiles a twice-born man by touching him, he should be put to death. (*Vishnu* V, 104.) The presence of these laws in the Institutes is an indelible stain, which the caste-system has thrown on Hindu legal literature and on the Hindu nation.

CHAPTER VIII.

HINDU AND JAINA ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE.

WE have in a previous chapter spoken of Buddhist architecture in India. The history of Buddhist architecture closes with the fifth century. There are few specimens of any importance after 500 A.D. On the other hand, Hindu temple architecture, judging from existing specimens, begins at this date and continues down to the 17th and 18th centuries after the Christian Era. These facts, which are recorded in imperishable stone all over India, confirm and justify the division which we have made between the Buddhist Period and the later Hindu or Pauranik Period.

Another fact deserves our consideration. Hindu temple architecture commences, as we have said, with the 6th century A.D.; nevertheless, except in Orissa, the specimens of Hindu temples of the sixth, seventh, eighth, and even ninth centuries are rare. From the latter end of the ninth century Hindu temples multiply all over India, and they increase in dimensions and grandeur as they deteriorate in taste through subsequent centuries.

Here also architecture only confirms historic facts. Temple worship and temple building were not a part of the Hindu religion before the Buddhist revolution. Down to the fifth century after Christ, Buddhism was still the prevailing religion; and although Pauranik Hinduism gradually became the dominant faith from the sixth century, the innovation of temples could make head but slowly, and specimens of superb temples of the sixth and seventh centuries are rare in Northern India. Then followed the period of political convulsions, the ruin of ancient dynasties, the disappearance of ancient races. When the Rajput and other

cognate races at last became the masters of Northern India in the ninth century, a complete change had come over the ideas of the nation. Temple worship was proudly asserted by priests and encouraged by kings. And Rajput chiefs and kings proved their devotion to Hinduism by those beautiful and magnificient edifices which struck the early Musalman conquerors of India. Hindu architecture was checked, and almost disappeared in Northern India after the Mahommedan conquest; but the extreme south of India was never brought under the Moslem sway, and religious edifices of considerable dimensions and grandeur continued to be constructed there till the last century.

Jainaism flourished in Rajputana and elsewhere after the tenth century A.D., and the specimens of Jaina architecture date from that time. In Northern India the Jainas borrowed the Northern Hindu style, while in Southern India they borrowed the Dravidian style.

NORTHERN INDIAN STYLE.

The earliest specimens of Hindu temple architecture then date from 500 A.D., and these specimens are to be found in their purity as well as in the greatest profusion in Orissa. The student who has paid a visit to the town of Bhuvanesvara in Orissa* knows more of Hindu temple architecture in its purity than pages of description are likely to teach him.

The North Indian style has some distinct and well-defined features which are noticeable in all the earlier structures all over Northern India. The outline of the high tower or Vimâna is curvilinear, and it is surmounted by what is called an *Amalaka*, from the name of a fruit which it is supposed to resemble. No trace of division into storeys is observable, and there are no pillars

* Bhuvanesvara is within one night's journey from Cuttack. The present writer visited the place, 1882.

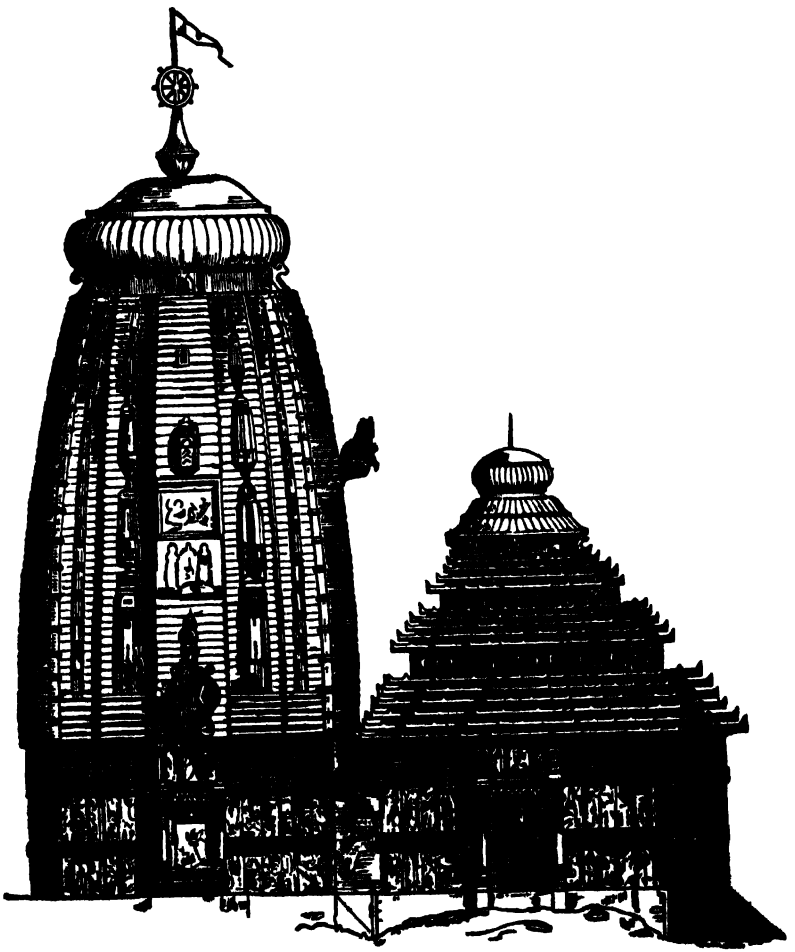
or pilasters anywhere. The porch, on the other hand, has a conical top with a series of cornices. The outline sketch given in p. 701 will illustrate our remarks. Dr. Fergusson points out that the modern temples of Benares (and nó Benares temple is over two centuries old) retain, in spite of modifications, the same characteristic features as the Vimânas of Orissa built twelve centuries ago.*

Several hundreds of temples are said to have been built in Bhuvanesvara, and numerous specimens still remain, and strike the beholder with astonishment. The most celebrated of them is what is called the Great Temple of Bhuvanesvara, and was built between 617 and 657 A.D. The original structure consisting of the Vimâna and the porch was 160 feet in length; the Nâta Mandir and the Bhoga Mandir having been added in the 12th century. The interior of the Vimâna is a square of 66 feet, and the tower rises to 180 feet. The whole edifice is of stone, and the exterior is covered with the most elaborate carving and sculpture work. Every individual stone has a pattern carved on it, and this wonderful carving is estimated to have cost three times as much as the erection of the building itself. "Most people would be of opinion that a building four times as large would produce a greater and more imposing effect; but this is not the way a Hindu ever looked at the matter. Infinite labour bestowed on every detail was the mode in which he thought he could render his temple most worthy of the Deity; and whether he was right or wrong, the effect of the whole is certainly marvellously beautiful. * * The sculpture is of a very high order and great beauty of design."—*Fergusson*, p. 422.

The far famed "Black Pagoda" of Kanarak, of which the porch alone now remains, is supposed to have been built in 1241 A.D.; but Dr. Fergusson maintains, with

* It is scarcely necessary to inform our readers that all the facts embodied in this chapter are from Dr. Fergusson's excellent and exhaustive work on the *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*.

good reason, that it was built in 850 or 873 A.D. The floor is 40 feet square; the roof slopes inwards till it



Black Pagoda of Kanarak restored.

contracts to about 20 feet where it was ceiled with one flat stone roof supported by wrought-iron beams, 21 or 23 feet long, shewing a knowledge of forging iron which has been lost to the Hindus since. The exterior is carved

"with infinite beauty and variety on all their twelve faces, and the antefixœ at the angles and bricks are used with an elegance and judgment—a true Yavana could hardly have surpassed."—*Fergusson*, p. 428.

Next we come to the great temple of Jagannâtha at Puri, built after the Vaishnava faith had supplanted the Saiva religion as the prevailing creed of Orissa. It is not merely the change in creed, but the degeneracy in the spirit of Hinduism that is stamped on this later edifice of 1174 A.D. "It is not, however, only in the detail, but the outline, the proportions, and every arrangement of the temple shew that the art in this province at least had received a fatal downward impetus from which it never recovered."—*Fergusson*, p. 430.

The Vimâna of this temple is 85 feet across the centre and rises to a height of 192 feet; with the porch the total length is 155 feet, while with the Nâta Mandir and the Bhoga Mandir it is like the Great Temple of Bhuvanesvara 300 feet in length.

The province of Bundelcund is rich in ancient Hindu temples, richer than any other province in Northern India, except Orissa. Khajuraho in Bundelcund boasts of a group of some thirty great temples, nearly all of which belong to the century from 950 to 1050 A.D.; the first century, as our readers will remember, of Rajput supremacy, succeeding to the dark age of political convulsions. An excellent woodcut given in Dr. Fergusson's work of one of these temples shews the modification which the Orissa style had undergone. The one tall Vimâna is surrounded by a number of smaller Vimânas adjoining to it on all sides. The basement is high, and is surrounded by three rows of sculptured figures. General Cunningham counted 872 statues, mixed up with a profusion of vegetable forms and conventional details. The height of the temple is 116 feet, *i.e.*, 88 feet above its floor, and the outward appearance is elaborately ornate and rich.

In Bhopal territory there is a perfect example of a temple of the 11th century. It was built by a king of Malwa in 1060 A.D. The Vimâna is ornamented by four flat bands of great beauty and elegance, and the *Amalaka* surmounting it is also exquisite in design. The carving on the temple is marked throughout by precision and delicacy.

Pass we on to Rajputana. Among the celebrated ruins of Chittore, we have seen the structures built by the great Kumbhu and his queen. Kumbhu was a great conqueror, and was a Jaina by faith, and erected the Jaina temple at Sadri and the marble pillar of victory at Chittore. His queen, Meera Bye, seems to have been an orthodox Hindu, and built two temples (1418-1468 A.D.) which are now in ruins, and overgrown with trees. The style both of the Vimâna and of the porch is, of course, that of the Orissa temples. There is a colonnade round the temple, with four little pavilions at the four corners, and this is repeated in the portico.

There are specimens of ancient temples in the Mahârâshtra country, but neither so rich nor so numerous as in Orissa. The interest of the Mahratta temples consists in the fact, that here the Orissa or North Indian style struggles with the Dravidian or South Indian style for supremacy. The Mahrattas are a people of the Dravidian race, but their early contact with the Aryans and assumption of Aryan civilization, incline them to adopt the Aryan or North Indian style. Hence, traces of both styles are observable in their structures.

While specimens of early temple architecture are thus numerous in Orissa, in Bundelcund, in Malwa, in Mahârâshtra, and in Rajputana,—why are they so rare in the very home of the Indo-Aryans,—in the basin of the Ganges and the Jumna? The reply is obvious. Temple architecture did not properly commence (except in Orissa) as we have seen before, earlier than the tenth and eleventh centuries. In the

twelfth century the Mahommedans conquered the basin of the Ganges and the Jumna, and not only demolished many of the old existing temples to raise mosques and minars with the stone, but effectually stopped the further progress of temple architecture. A vigorous progress in arts is not possible when political life is extinct; and such feeble attempts as might otherwise have been witnessed were, probably, stopped by the bigoted conquerors. Hindu independence still lingered in Rajputana, Mahârâshtra, Malwa, Bundelcund, and Orissa, and hence in those provinces we find older temples left uninjured, and later temples erected.

A great temple was built at Vrindâvana by Man Sing under the tolerant emperor Akbar; but it is said the lofty spire of the heathen temple offended the eyes of the very devout Aurungzebe, and the temple was knocked down. Every visitor to Vrindâvana has seen what remains of this temple, which has, to some extent, been resorted by the British Government.

Temple architecture still adhered, though with considerable modifications, to the old Orissa style, but adopted new designs from the Saracenic style. We see this in the modern temples of Benares, in the temple of Visvesvara for instance. The original Vimâna of the Orissa temple is attenuated, and multiplied so as to form a number of small Vimânas round the central one, and the porch instead of having the conical roof of Orissa has a dome of the Saracenic style, very elegant, but not in keeping with the style of the temple. In Bengal a new element of beauty was borrowed from the gracefully bent roofs of the ordinary thatched huts of the people. Temples built of stone are almost unknown in Bengal, but brick temples dedicated to Siva are built with their cornices gracefully bent in imitation of thatched roofs, and the walls are sometimes covered with elaborate designs in terra-cotta. The pointed arches in these

temples are borrowed from the Saracenic style, and altogether the modern Bengal temples of Siva are about as wide a departure from the original North Indian style as could well be imagined.

Jaina architecture in Northern India adopted the Orissa type of Vimâna, but in course of time resorted to the graceful Saracenic dome also. The practice of grouping temples is more largely resorted to by Jainas than by the followers of any other religion. Rich individuals, belonging to the middle classes, contribute temple after temple from century to century; and while each individual temple lacks the grandeur of Hindu temples built by royal command, the collection of temples in course of time converts a hill side or a sacred spot into a "city of temples." Such are the temples of Palitana in Guzrat, some of which are as old as the 11th century, and the latest of which have been constructed in the present century. The shrines in hundreds cover the summits of two extensive hills and the valley lying between, and the general effect of the entire collection of edifices is superb.

Girnar is a celebrated spot in Indian history. Asoka the Great carved a copy of his edicts there, and kings of the Shah and the Gupta lines recorded their inscriptions. Groups of Jaina temples have been erected here by the Jainas since the tenth century, one of them by the brothers Tejpala and Bastupala, builders of one of the two famous temples of Abu. Not far from the hill of Girnar was the ancient temple of Somanâtha destroyed by Mahmud of Guzni. Dr. Fergusson thinks it was a Jaina, not a Hindu temple; and the kings who repaired it after its destruction by Mahmud were certainly Jainas.

But the pride of Jaina architecture are the two unrivalled temples at Abu.* Alone among the temples

* Abu is not far from the nearest railway station. The present writer visited the spot in 1883, proceeding by a winding path up the hill,

of India they are built entirely of white marble, which must have been quarried and taken from a distance of over 300 miles. One of these temples was built by Vimala Shah about 1032 A. D., and the other, as stated above, by the brothers Tejapala and Bastupala between 1197 and 1247 A. D. The porch is supported on elegant pillars exquisitely carved, and the inside of the dome is ornamented with elegant and exquisite designs unequalled in India.

SOUTHERN INDIAN STYLE.

We now turn to Southern Indian or Dravidian style, which is entirely distinct from the Northern style. Roughly speaking the structures of the Peninsula south of the Krishna river are built in this style. No connection between the Buddhist style and the style of the structural edifices in Northern India has been traced. The style of the earliest temples in Orissa shews no traces of the Buddhist style. The oldest of those temples are perfect structural edifices, perfect in their design and execution,—and the history of the style can be traced no further back.

The Dravidian or Southern style, however, is shewn to have grown out of the Buddhist style of excavation. The earliest existing specimens of Dravidian temples were excavated, not built. And in their latest developments, the Dravidian built edifices still bore marks of their origin.

Ellora is far to the north of the river Krishna. There can be little doubt, however, judging from the design and construction, that the edifices at Ellora belong to the Dravidian type. The temple of Kailâsa was erected in the eighth or ninth century A.D., and the Dravidians of the south, the Cheras or the Cholas are supposed to have extended their conquests northward

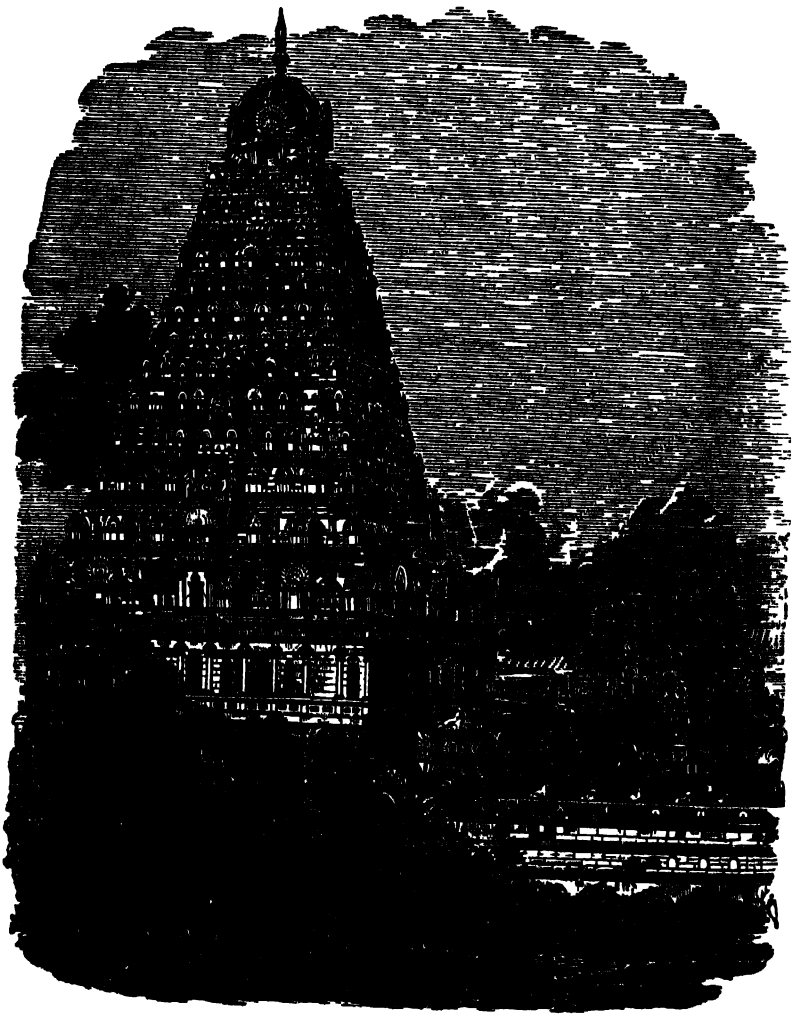
16 miles in length. But another road less than half as long was under construction.

about this period, during the eclipse of the power of the Chalukyas. This explains the existence of this remarkable specimen of the Dravidian style so far north of the Krishna river.

An extensive pit, 270 ft. by 150 ft., is excavated in the solid rock. In the centre of this rectangle stands the temple, with a Vimâna 80 to 90 ft. high, a large porch supported by 16 columns, a detached porch connected by a bridge, and a Gopura or gateway. There are besides two dîpadâns or lamp posts and cells all round. It is a model of a complete structural temple, but carved out of solid rock; and the monolethic character of these vast edifices gives to them an air of solidity, strength and grandeur which strikes all beholders. The cells all round are in imitation of Buddhist edifices, but each of the seven cells is devoted to a separate Hindu deity. The arrangement shews the Hindu style emerging out of the older Buddhist style.

When we turn from the rock cut temples to the structural temples of Southern India, we are struck with the very recent dates which must be assigned to all the greatest and best among them. Temple architecture in the southern style was carried on with remarkable vigour and assiduity in the south of the Krishna river, during the long centuries when Northern India and even the Deccan were under Musalman rule. And the temple builders of the south did not rest from their labours until the English and the French were struggling for mastery in the Carnatic in the last century! One of the oldest of the great structural temples in the south is the Great Pagoda of Tanjore; but no earlier date than the 14th century A.D., can be claimed for it, and it is supposed to have been built by a king of Conjeveram,—the classic Kânchî. The perpendicular base is two storeys in height, and above this the construction tapers like a pyramid, rising in thirteen storeys to the summit, which is crowned by a dome said to consist of one single

massive stone. The total height is 190 ft. and the



Great Pagoda of Tanjore.

appearance of this magnificent structure is elegant and graceful. Sufficiently removed in style from the rock cut temples of Ellora, it nevertheless bears traces of the same design.

One of the most venerated and most ancient of the temples of Southern India is that of Chillambaram on the sea coast, a little to the north of the mouth of the Kaveri river. It was certainly commenced in the 10th or 11th century A.D., but the most imposing edifices of the temple have been built in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries. To these centuries must be assigned the great Gopuras or gateways, the temple of Pârvatî, and the magnificent hall of 1,000 columns. The porch of the temple of Pârvatî is remarkably elegant. The pillars of the hall, of 1,000 columns, are arranged 24 in front and 41 in depth, and this "forest of granite pillars, each of a single stone, and all more or less carved and ornamented," produces a grandeur of effect.

The magnificent temple at Seringham, close to Tanjore, was built in the last century; and indeed the progress of the building was stopped by its being occupied and fortified by the French in their ten years' struggle with the English for the possession of Trichinopoly. The fourteen or fifteen elaborately carved and ornamented gateways produce an imposing effect when viewed from a distance. But there is no central and superior structure rising above the rest, and this is a want common to nearly all the great temples of Southern India. They are all more or less collections of structures, bewildering in their richness and beauty, but the eye does not rest on any central imposing structure as in the temples of Northern India.

Madura boasts of a great temple commenced, it is said, in the 16th century, but the temple itself was built by Trimulla Nayak in 1622 to 1657 A.D. It is a great rectangle, about 750 ft. by 840 ft., possessing nine Gopuras and a hall of 1,000 columns, whose sculptures and elaborate designs excel those of most other edifices of the class. Besides the temple, Madura also has a far-famed Choultrie, also built by the same Nayak, for the reception of the presiding deity on the occasion of his visit of ten days to the king. It is a

great hall, 333 ft. by 105 ft., consisting of four ranges of columns, all of which are different, and most elaborately carved.

In one of that chain of islands which seem to connect India with Ceylon, stands the celebrated temple of Ramesseram, exhibiting all the beauties of the Dravidian style in their greatest perfection. Like the structures of Madura, this temple (with the exception of a humble and ancient Vimâna) was built in the 17th century. Externally the temple is enclosed by a wall, 868 ft. by 672 ft. and 20 ft. high, with four great Gopuras on the four sides,—one of which alone has been finished. The glory of the temple, however, is in its corridors, extending to a total length of nearly 4,000 ft. The breadth varies from 20 to 30 ft., and the height is 30 ft. "No engraving . . . can convey the impression produced by such a display of labour when extended to an uninterrupted length of 700 ft. None of our cathedrals are more than 500 ft., and even the nave of St. Peter's is only 600 ft. from the door to the apse. Here, the side corridors are 700 ft. long and open into transverse galleries as rich in detail as themselves. These with the varied devices and modes of lighting produce an effect that is not equalled certainly anywhere in India. Here we have corridors extending to 4,000 ft., carved on both sides, and in the hardest granite. It is the immensity of the labour here displayed that impresses us much more than its quality, and that combined with a certain picturesqueness and mystery, produce an effect which is not surpassed by any other temple in India, and by very few elsewhere."—*Fergusson*, p. 358.

The classic town of Conjeveram or Kânchî possesses temples as picturesque and nearly as vast as any that is found elsewhere. In Great Conjeveram there is the Great Temple with some large Gopuras and a hall of 1,000 columns, fine Mantapas, and large tanks with flights of stairs.

Our readers will remember that the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara was the last great Hindu kingdom

in Southern India, and maintained its independence for over two centuries, from 1344 to 1565 A.D. Architecture flourished together with learning and the study of the Vedas; and there is hardly a town in all India in which ruins exist in such profusion as in this last seat of Hindu learning and glory.

The temple of Vitopa has an elegant and tasteful porch, wholly in granite, and carved with a boldness and power nowhere surpassed in buildings of this class. Numerous other edifices and temples of great beauty and extent attest to the power and activity of the Vijayanagara kings.

The master works of these kings, however, are not in the town, but in a place called Tarputry, about 100 miles to the south-east of Vijayanagara. Two Gopuras, belonging to a now deserted temple, stand there, one of them quite finished, and the other not carried beyond the perpendicular part. "The whole of the perpendicular part is covered with the most elaborate sculpture, cut with exquisite sharpness and precision in a fine close-grained hornblende stone, and produces an effect richer, and on the whole, perhaps, in better taste than anywhere else in this style."—*Fergusson*, p. 375.

Turning now to the architecture of the Southern Jainas, we find, as we have stated before, that they generally adopted the Dravidian style, as the Northern Jainas adopted the Orissa style. On the Chandragiri hill, there is a group of 15 temples. Inside each temple is a court surrounded by cloisters, at the back of which rises the Vimâna over the cell containing the principal image of the Tirthankara.

Descending from the Ghats into Canara, we find a different class of Jaina temples constructed on an entirely new style resembling the Nepalese style. Many of the temples are constructed entirely in wood, and the stone temples here are also close imitations of the wooden style.

Besides the temples, the Southern Jainas have, in some places, erected colossal statues such as are wholly

unknown to the Northern Jaina architecture. They are said to be statues of a Gomata Raja, and it is supposed that some vague recollections of Guatama Buddha, as a prince or Raja, have given rise to the construction of these images. One of them at Sravana Belgula attracted the attention of the Duke of Wellington, then Sir A. Wellesly, when he commanded a division at the seige of Seringapatam. It is a statue 70 ft. 3 in. height, hewn, it is supposed, of a solid hill which formerly stood there. "Nothing grander or more imposing exists anywhere out of Egypt, and even there no known statue surpasses it in height."—*Fergusson*, p. 268.

There are two other statues of this nature known, one at Karkala, 41 ft. 5 in. in height, and theother at Yannur, 35 ft. high.

DECCAN STYLE.

We have spoken of two distinct styles of Hindu architecture, one, the Orissa or Northern Indian style, prevailing in the country north of the Vindhya mountains, and the other, the Dravidian or Southern Indian style, prevailing in the country south of the Krishna river. There is a third style, however, which Dr. Fergusson calls the Chalukyan style, and which prevails between the Vindhya range and the Krishna river, *i.e.*, in the country now known as the Deccan. The style has not been thoroughly studied yet, as the Nizam's dominions are, comparatively speaking, yet unexplored; and it is probable, too, that few ancient Hindu monuments have there survived the uninterrupted reign of Musalmans during several centuries. The best examples of that style yet known are preserved in the province of Mysore, which, though south of the Krishna, developed the Chalukyan style.

The peculiar feature of this style is that the temples have a polygonical or star-shaped base; the walls rise perpendicular to some height, and then the roof is pyramidical, tapering to a point.

Our readers will remember that the Bellalas ruled supreme in Mysore and the Carnatic from about 1000 A.D. to 1310 A.D., and three remarkable groups of temples were erected by this great dynasty. The first one at Somnathpur was built by Vinâditya Bellala who ascended the throne in 1043 A.D. The height of this temple is only 30 ft., but it is characterized by a remarkable elegance of outline and elaboration of detail. The second at Baillur was erected by Vishnu Vardhana about 1114 A.D., and consists of a principal temple surrounded by four or five others and numerous subordinate buildings, enclosed by a high wall with two fine Gopuras. The richness and variety of pattern displayed in the 28 windows are remarkable; and the richly carved base on which they rest is still more so. The third and last group of temples of the Bellala kings is at Hullabid. A temple, here called Kaet Isvara (see illustration, p. 714), was probably erected by Vijaya, the fifth king of the dynasty. "From the basement to the summit it is covered with sculptures of the very best class of Indian art, and these so arranged as not materially to interfere with the outlines of the building, while they impart to it an amount of richness only to be found among specimens of Hindu art. If it were possible to illustrate this temple in anything like completeness, there is probably nothing in India which would convey a better idea of what its architects were capable of accomplishing."—*Fergusson*, p. 397.

The temple of Kaet Isvara is, however, surpassed in magnificence by its neighbour, the great double temple at Hullabid. Had this double temple been completed, it is one of the buildings on which, as Dr. Fergusson puts it, the advocate of Hindu architecture would desire to take his stand. Unfortunately the work was never completed, having been stopped by the Mahomedan conquest in 1310 A.D., after it had been in progress for 86 years.

"It is of course impossible to illustrate completely so complicated and so varied a design. . . . The building



KAET ISVARA TEMPLE.

stands on a terrace ranging from 5 ft. to 6 ft. in height and paved with large slabs. On this stands a frieze of elephants following all the sinuosities of the plan, and extending to some 710 ft. in length, and containing not less than 2,000 elephants, most of them with the riders and trappings sculptured as only an oriental can represent the wisest of brutes. Above these there is a frieze of "Shardulas," or conventional lions, the emblems of the Hoisala Bellalas who built the temple. Then comes a scroll of infinite beauty and variety of design, over these a frieze of horsemen and another scroll, over which is a bas-relief of scenes from the Ramayana, representing the conquest of Ceylon and all the varied incidents of the epic. This, like the other, is the 700 ft. long. Then come celestial beasts and celestial birds, and all along the east front a frieze of groups from human life, and then a cornice with a rail divided into panels, each containing two figures. Over these are windows of pierced slabs, like those of Baillur, though not so rich or varied. ... In the centre, in place of the windows, is first a scroll, and then a frieze of gods and heavenly Apsaras, dancing girls, and other objects of Hindu mythology. This frieze, which is about 5 ft. 6 inches in height, is continued all round the western front of the building, and extends to some 400 ft. in length. Siva with his consort Parvati seated on his knee, is repeated at least fourteen times. Vishnu in his nine Avatars, even oftener. Brahma occurs three or four times, and every god of the Hindu pantheon finds his place. Some of these are carved with a minute elaboration of detail which can only be reproduced by photography, and may probably be considered as one of the most marvellous exhibitions of human labour to be found even in the patient East."—*Fergusson*, p. 401.

We have made this long extract from Dr. Fergusson's work to give our readers an idea of the sculptures and elaborate carving of which we have spoken so often in describing almost every temple and Vimâna, porch and Gopura. A Hindu temple is nothing if not profusely ornate and elaborately carved, and that wonderful and

endless carving and sculpture work cover every religious edifice in India, from Orissa and Rajputana to Mysore, and Ramesseram. We will now conclude this chapter with some thoughful observations which the elaborate carving of the Hullabid temple suggests to our author, whom we have so often quoted in this chapter.

"If it were possible to illustrate the Hullabid temple to such an extent as to render its peculiarities familiar, there would be few things more interesting or more instructive than to institute a comparison between it and the Parthenon at Athens. Not that the two buildings are at all like one another; on the contrary, they form the two opposite poles, the alpha and omega of architectural design; but they are the best examples of their class, and between these two extremes lies the whole range of the art.

"The Parthenon is the best example we know of pure refined intellectual power applied to the production of an architectural design. Every part and every effect is calculated with mathematical exactness, and executed with a mechanical precision that never was equalled. . . . The sculpture is exquisitely designed to aid the perfection of the masonry, severe and god-like, but with no condescension to the lower feelings of humanity.

"The Hullabid temple is the opposite of all this. It is regular, but with a studied variety of outline in plan and even greater variety in detail. All the pillars of the Parthenon are identical, while no two facets of the Indian temple are the same; every convolution of every scroll is different. No two canopies in the whole building are alike, and every part exhibits a joyous exuberance of fancy, scorning every mechanical restraint. All that is wild in human faith or warm in human feeling is found pourtrayed on these walls; but of pure intellect there is little, less than there is of human feeling in the Parthenon. . . .

"For our purpose the great value of the study of these Indian examples is that it widens so immensely

our basis for architectural criticism. It is only by becoming familiar with forms so utterly dissimilar from those we have hitherto been conversant with, that we perceive how narrow is the purview that is content with one form or one passing fashion. By rising to this wider range, we shall perceive that architecture is as many-sided as human nature itself,„ and learn how few feelings and how few aspirations of the human heart and brain there are that cannot be expressed by its means."—*Fergusson*, p. 403.

These thoughtful and philosophical observations on architecture naturally suggest some reflections to the student of history. Why is it that the architecture of India displays what Dr. Fergusson calls a lack of "pure intellect?" Why is it again that the same architecture displays such a joyous exuberance of fancy and "pure feeling"—such an uncontrollable desire to represent on religious edifices the teeming millions of living creatures with all their humble feelings and hopes and fears, their every-day occupation, their wars and triumphs, their toil and their sorrows, and even their sins?

The first question is easily answered. There was no lack of "pure intellect" in the land of Kapila and A'ryabhatta, but there was a disinclination, unfortunately, among the upper classes to apply themselves to vocations requiring manual exertion. There is no doubt this was in the first instance owing to the enervating climate of a tropical country; and all who could, avoided physical exertion and toil, and had recourse to contemplation and intellectual pursuits. And when the caste-system was once formed, this disinclination to physical exertion became a part of the social rules for the upper castes. It was impossible that the thinking population, the Kshatriyas and the Brâhmans, should apply themselves to carving and sculpture, and intellect of the higher order was thus divorced for ever from these fine arts. The artisan classes possessed that wonderful skill in decorative art which characterizes the Hindus in all branches of industry, and they acquired that facility in workmanship which the experience of

centuries teaches. No labour was too gigantic for them to attempt ; no design was too minute or elaborate for them to accomplish. But nevertheless to the very close of the Hindu period they remained artisans, generations of skilled workers, and nothing more. The wonderful edifices with which they have covered India under the bidding of the priest or the king are remarkable, more for the gigantic labour and the minute and endless elaboration which they display, than for any lofty intellectual conception, any design of a creative mind. And among the thousands of graceful, pleasing, and natural figures and faces of men and women, which simple observation of nature taught the artisans to copy in stone in every temple and porch, we shall in vain seek for that high order of intellectual conception which marks the marbles of Greece and Rome. A Phœdias and a Michael Angelo were impossible in India.

For a reply to the second enquiry, we must seek for deeper causes. Not only in the temples of Greece, but in the churches of mediæval and modern Europe religious designs and subjects have been thought appropriate for religious edifices. Painted windows representing scenes from the life of Christ and other holy subjects beautify the churches of Protestant nations, and marble images of the Virgin and the Child, of saints and of holy persons, decorate and fill Catholic cathedrals. In India the countless temples of gods are sculptured, not only with the images of gods and goddesses, but with a representation of the whole universe, animate and inanimate ; of men and women in their daily occupations, their wars, triumphs, and processions ; of aerial and imaginary beings, Gandharvas and Apsarâs and dancing girls ; of horses, snakes, birds, elephants and lions ; of trees and creepers of various kinds ; of all that the sculptor could think of and his art could depict.

To the Hindu the problem suggests its own solution. The idea of religion in Europe is connected with the glory of God and the teachings of Christ, with sermons in churches and the keeping of the sabbath. To the Hindu his whole life, in all its minute acts, is a part of

his religion. Not only moral precepts, but the rules of social and domestic life, of eating and drinking and behaviour to fellow-men and fellow-creatures, are a part of his religion. It is his religion which teaches the warrior to fight, the learned man to prosecute his studies and contemplation, the artisan to ply his trade, and all men to regulate their conduct towards each other. The very conception of *Brahman* in the Upanishads, and in all later religious writings, is the all-embracing universe; all is an emanation from Him; all returns to Him. The very signification of the word *Dharma* in the ancient Dharma Sâstras is not religion in the modern sense of the word, but the totality of human duties and of human life in all its occupations, pursuits, and daily actions. Dharma regulates studies, occupations, and trades. Dharma regulates eating and drinking and the enjoyments of life. Dharma lays down civil and criminal law and the rules of inheritance. Dharma rules men and the animal and vegetable kingdoms below, and saints and gods above. So comprehensive is this term that it denotes even the qualities of inanimate objects; it is the Dharma of the fire to burn, of trees to grow, of water to seek the lowest level. And though the modern Hindu is far removed in ideas from his ancestors, yet even to this day the whole life of an orthodox and religious Hindu is controlled by rules and sanctions which he calls his Dharma, rules regulating every act and every word in political, social, and domestic life. The distinction between the sacred and the secular is foreign to the spirit of Hinduism. Every rule of conduct is a part of Dharma.

Such being the absorbing notion of religion among the Hindus, they endeavoured to represent this idea in their architecture and sculpture. Nothing was excluded from the sacred precincts of temples, not even the humblest occupation of the daily labourer, not even sorrows, sufferings, and sins. The universe has emanated from the deities to whom the architects dedicated their temples, and as far as their humble skill and untiring industry permitted, they sought to represent the universe on those temples. The proud and the

lowly, the rational and the irrational, the animate and the inanimate, yea, the whole world with its joys and sorrows, are comprehended in the notion of Hindu religion; and the Hindu sought to realize that all-embracing notion, and to depict the universe on the imperishable monuments of his industry and his faith!

CHAPTER IX.

ASTRONOMY AND MATHEMATICS.

COLEBROOKE was the first European writer who thoroughly enquired into the subject of Hindu Astronomy and Mathematics; and no more careful or impartial writer has written since on the subject, though it has been repeatedly discussed by later scholars. We make no apology therefore in quoting some remarks which Colebrooke recorded, over seventy years ago, on Hindu Algebra.

"The Hindus had certainly made distinguished progress in the science so early as the century immediately following that in which the Grecians taught the rudiments of it. The Hindus had the benefit of a good arithmetical notation; the Greeks, the disadvantage of a bad one. Nearly allied as algebra is to arithmetic, the invention of the algebraic calculus was more easy and natural where arithmetic was best handled. No such marked identity of the Hindu and Diophantine systems is observed, as to demonstrate communication. They are sufficiently distinct to justify the presumption that both might be invented independently of each other.

"If, however, it be insisted that a hint or suggestion, the seed of their knowledge, may have reached the Hindu mathematicians immediately from the Greeks of Alexandria, or mediately through those of Bactria, it must, at the same time, be confessed, that a slender germ grew and fructified rapidly, and soon attained an approved state of maturity in Indian soil."*

Equally worthy of our consideration are the same author's remarks on Hindu Astronomy. "The Hindus had undoubtedly made some progress at an early period in the astronomy cultivated by them for the

* *Algebra, &c., from the Sanscrit.* London 1817. p. xxii.

regulation of time. Their calendar, both civil and religious, was governed chiefly, not exclusively, by the moon and sun; and the motions of these luminaries were carefully observed by them: and with such success that their determination of the moon's synodical revolution, which was what they were principally concerned with, is a much more correct one than the Greeks ever achieved. They had a division of the ecliptic into twenty-seven or twenty-eight parts,* suggested evidently by the moon's period in days; and seemingly their own: it was certainly borrowed by the Arabians. Being led to the observation of the fixed stars, they obtained a knowledge of the position of the most remarkable; and noticed, for religious purposes, and from superstitious notions, the heliacal rising with other phenomena of a few. The adoration of the sun, of the planets, and of the stars, in common with the worship of the elements has a principal place in their religious observances, enjoined by the *Vedas*: and they were led constantly by piety to watch the heavenly bodies. They were particularly conversant with the most splendid of the primary planets; the period of Jupiter being introduced by them in conjunction with those of the sun and moon, into the regulation of their calendar, sacred and civil, in the form of the celebrated cycle of sixty years."†

While Hindu astronomy is as old as the Vedas, there can be little doubt that, after the Christian Era, the science received much development from Greek sources. We have seen in Chapter XIII of the last Book that the *Siddhântas* of the Buddhist Age were greatly indebted to Greek astronomy.

The Solar Zodiac, for instance, adopted by the Hindus, was undoubtedly of Greek origin. This Hindu "division of the zodiac into twelve signs, represented by the same figures of animals, and named by words of the same import with the zodiacal signs of the Greeks,"

* This Lunar Zodiac was fixed, as we have seen before, in the Epic Period, about 1200 B. C.

† *Hindu Algebra, &c.* p. xxii, *et seq.*

leaves little doubt that the Hindus, after the Christian Era, "received hints from the astronomical schools of the Greeks."*

A'ryabhatta is the first Hindu writer on algebra and astronomy in the Pauranik Age. He was born, as he tells us himself, in A. D. 476. He wrote the A'ryabhattîya consisting of the Gîtikâpâda, the Ganitapâda, the Kâlakriyâpâda, and the Golapâda.

The work has now been edited by Dr. Kern, and in this work the astronomer boldly maintains the theory of the revolution of the earth on its own axis, and the true cause of solar and lunar eclipses. "As a person in a vessel, while moving forward," says A'ryabhatta, "sees an immovable object moving backward; in the same manner do the stars, though immovable, seem to move daily." A'ryabhatta's explanation of the eclipses seems to have been generally accepted by his contemporaries, for we find Kâlidâsa in his Raghuvansa (XIV, 40) weaving the astronomical discovery into one of his apt similes, and stating, "what in reality is only the shadow of the earth is regarded by the people as an impurity of the pure moon." In his Golapâda, A'ryabhatta gives us the names of the twelve divisions of the solar zodiac. A'ryabhatta's calculation of the earth's circumference (3300 Yojanas of four Krosas each) is not wide of the mark.

A'ryabhatta was born in Pâtaliputra, the ancient capital of Asoka the Great, and wrote early in the sixth century A.D. The revival of learning in that century was not confined to Ujjayinî, although that city carried away the palm under the auspices of the illustrious Vikramâditya.

A'ryabhatta's successor, Varâhamihira, was a true born son of Avantî. He was born in Avantî, and was the son of A'ditya Dâsa, himself an astronomer. The Ujjayinî list compiled by Dr. Hunter as well as Alberuni give A.D. 505 as Varâhamihira's date, and

* *Hindu Algebra*, &c., p. xxiv.

it is probable that this was the date of his birth. We have already stated before that he was one of the 'nine gems" of Vikrama's court, and it has been ascertained by Dr. Bhao Daji that the astronomer died in 587 A.D.

He compiled in his famous Panchasiddhântikâ five older Siddhântas, *viz.*, Paulisa, Romaka, Vasishtha, Saura, and Paitâmaha. We have spoken of these Siddhântas in the last Book.

Varâhamihira is also the author of Brihat Sanhitâ, which has been edited by Dr. Kern. It is a work consisting of no less than 106 chapters dealing with various subjects. The first twenty chapters relate to the sun, moon, earth, and planets; chapters 21 to 39 deal with rain, winds, earthquakes, meteors, rainbow, dust-storms, thunderbolts, &c.; chapters 40 to 42 treat of plants and vegetables, and commodities which are available in different seasons; chapters 43 to 60 speak of various miscellaneous matters, including portents, house building, gardening, temples, images, &c.; chapters 61 to 78 deal with various animals, and with men and women; chapters 79 to 85 treat of precious stones, furniture, &c.; chapters 86 to 96 treat of various omens; and chapters 97 to 106, of various matters, including marriages, the divisions of the zodiac, &c.

The above enumeration of contents carries no adequate idea of the encyclopædic nature of this great work. The amount of general information which it contains, apart from its merit as an astronomical work, is of the utmost value to the historian. Thus, chapter 14 is a complete geography of India of the sixth century, and mentions the names of numerous provinces and towns. Chapters 41 and 42 contain an enumeration of a vast number of commodities, vegetable and manufactured, which is of the utmost value for a detailed examination of the civilization of the age. So chapters 61 to 67 speak of various animals, and chapters 79 to 85 of various articles from a diamond to a toothbrush! Chapter 58 is of special interest to us, because it lays down rules for the construc-

tion of various images, *viz.* Râma, Bali, Vishnu with 8 or 4 or 2 hands, Baladeva, a goddess between Krishna and Baladeva, Sâmba, Brahmâ with four faces, Indra, Siva and his consort, Buddha, the god of the Arhats (Buddhist saints), the Sun, the Linga, Yama, Varuna, Kuvera, and Ganesa with his elephant head. And in chapter 60 we are told that Bhâgavatas worship Vishnu, the Magas worship the Sun, and the twice-born, smeared with ashes, worship Siva; the Mâtris are worshipped by those who know them, and Brâhmans worship Brahmâ. The Sâkyas and the naked Jains worship the all-benevolent and calm-souled god (Buddha). "Each sect should worship, according to its peculiar rules, the deity whom it worships." These passages attest the toleration of the 6th century A.D.; a Hindu after the time of Sankarâchârya would not thus enumerate the "all-benevolent" and "calm-souled" Buddha in the list of deities.

In the following century Brahmagupta wrote (in 628 A. D.) his Brahma Sphuta Siddhânta. The work comprises twenty-one chapters. The first ten contain an astronomical system, describing the true places of the planets, the calculation of lunar and solar eclipses, the position of the moon's cusps, the conjunctions of planets and stars, &c. The next ten chapters are supplementary; and the last chapter explains the astronomical system in a treatise on spherics. The twelfth and eighteenth chapters have been translated by Colebrooke.

After Brahmagupta came the long period of the dark ages and political convulsions. When these ended in the establishment of Rajput power in India, another great mathematician arose. The renowned Bhâskarâchârya was born, as he tells us, in 1114 A. D., and completed his great work known as the Siddhânta Siromani in 1150 A. D. The preliminary portions of this work are the Vîjaganita (algebra) and the Lîlâvatî (arithmetic), and have been translated by Colebrooke; and the Golâdhyâya portion, on spherical trigonometry, has been translated by Wilkinson and revised

by the renowned mathematician, Pundit Bapudeva Sâstri.

There are solutions of remarkable problems in Bhâskarâchârya which were not achieved in Europe till the 17th and 18th centuries.* The science of algebra indeed received a remarkable degree of development in India; the application of algebra to astronomical investigations and to geometrical demonstrations is a peculiar invention of the Hindus; and their manner of conducting it has received the admiration of modern European mathematicians.

Arabian writers translated Hindu works on algebra in the eighth century A.D., and Leonardo, of Pisa, first introduced the science to modern Europe. In trigonometry, too, the Hindus seem to have been the earliest teachers in the world; and in arithmetic they invented that system of decimal notation which the Arabians borrowed from them and taught in Europe, and which is now the property of the human race.

While such was the progress made in India in astronomy, algebra, arithmetic, and trigonometry, the science of geometry was lost! The Hindus had discovered the first elementary laws of geometry in the eighth century before Christ, and imparted it to the Greeks; but as the construction of altars according to geometrical rules fell into disuse, geometry was neglected, and geometrical problems were solved by algebra.

* A striking history has been told of the problem, to find x so that $ax^2 + b$ shall be a square number. Fremat made some progress towards solving this ancient problem, and sent it as a defiance to the English algebraists in the 17th century. Euler finally solved it, and arrived exactly at the point attained by Bhâskara in 1150! A particular solution of another problem given by Bhâskara is exactly the same as was discovered in Europe by Lord Brounker in 1657; and the general solution of the same problem given by Brahmagupta in the 7th century A.D. was unsuccessfully attempted by Euler, and was only accomplished by De la Grange in 1767 A.D. The favourite process of the Hindus, known as the *Kuttaka*, was not known in Europe till published by Bachet de Mezeriac in 1624 A.D.

CHAPTER X.

MEDICINE.

THE Hindu medical science unfortunately received less attention from the earlier antiquarians than the other Indian sciences, and the facts collected even up to the present date are not nearly exhaustive. As early as 1823, Professor H. H. Wilson published, in the *Oriental Magazine*, a brief notice of Hindu medicines and medical works. The indefatigable traveller and devoted scholar Csoma de Koros gave a sketch of Hindu medical opinions as translated into the Thibetan language in the Journal of the Asiatic Society for January 1835. Heyne and Ainslie also collected much information on the subject of Hindu medicines. And in 1837, Dr. Royle, of the King's College, London, combined all the information available from the above works with many original researches of his own, in his celebrated essay on the "Antiquity of Hindu Medicine." Our distinguished countryman Madhusudan Gupta, who first broke through modern prejudices against dissection, and was Lecturer of Anatomy to the Medical College of Calcutta, edited the ancient work on Hindu Surgery known as Susruta, and proved that the ancients had no silly prejudices against the pursuit of science in a scientific way. Dr. Wise, late of the Bengal Medical Service, published in 1845 a commentary on the ancient Hindu system of medicine; and later on he treated the subject ably and fully in his "Review of the History of Medicine" pubed in London in 1867. The subject has received more attention from our countryman since this date, and the patriotic physician, Abinas Chandra Kaviratna, is now editing valuable editions of Charaka and Susruta with commentaries.

In Europe the antiquity of Hindu medicine is not yet generally known and recognized, and the habit of tracing the origin of all Aryan culture to the Greeks still

impedes an impartial inquiry. As Dr. Wise justly remarks, "facts regarding the ancient history of medicine have been sought for only in the classical authors of Greece and Rome; and have been arranged to suit a traditional theory which repudiated all systems which did not proceed from a Grecian source. We are familiar from our youth with classical history, and love to recall events illustrated by the torch of genius and depicted on our memories; and it requires a thorough examination of a subject, a careful weighing of new evidence, and a degree of ingenuousness not always to be found, to alter early impressions. Still candour and truth require us to examine the value of new facts in history as they are discovered, so as to arrive at just conclusions."*

The Greeks themselves did not lay claim to the honour (which is now often claimed for them by modern writers) of originating ancient culture generally, or the science of medicine in particular. Nearchus (*apud* Arrian) informs us that "the Grecian physicians found no remedy against the bite of snakes, but the Indians cured those who happened to incur that misfortune." Arrian himself tells us that the Greeks "when indisposed, applied to their sophists (Brâhmans) who, by wonderful, and even more than human means, cured whatever would admit of cure." Dioscorides who lived in the first century A.D. is the most copious author on the Materia Medica of the ancients, and Dr. Royle has in an exhaustive inquiry shewn how much of his Materia Medica was taken from the more ancient Materia Medica of the Hindus.† The same evidence holds good with regard to Theophrasus who lived in the third century B.C., while even the physician Ctesias who lived in the fifth century B.C wrote an account of India, which Dr. H. H. Wilson has shewn,‡ contains notices of the natural products of India. But the chain of evidence is complete when Hippocrates, called the "Father of Medicine" because he first cultivated the subject as a science in Europe, is shewn to

*Review of the History of Medicine, Introduction.

†Antiquity of Hindu Medicine, p. 82 to 104.

‡In a paper read to the Ashmolean Society of Oxford.

have borrowed his Materia Medica from the Hindus. We refer our readers for this evidence to Dr. Royle's excellent essay. "It is to the Hindus," says Dr Wise, "we owe the first system of medicine."

Unfortunately, of the earliest system of Hindu medicine which was cultivated from the time of the Kurus and the Panchâlas, (B.C 1400—1200) to the philosophical age when all Hindu learning was raised to science, (B. C. 800 to 400), very little has been left to us. Ancient medical science is generally spoken of in later treatises as the *A'yurveda*. The word probably never meant any particular treatise or work, but was a collective name for ancient medical science, as the *Dhanurveda* is a collective name for the ancient science of archery and arms. The ancient A'yurveda or medical science is said to have been divided into the following sections or branches, which we take from Dr. Wilson's analysis:—

(1) *Salya*, the art of extracting extraneous substances, like arrows, wood, earth, &c., with the treatment of the inflammation and suppuration thereby induced; and by analogy, the cure of all phlegmonoid tumours and abscesses.

(2) *Salakya*, the treatment of external organic affections, or diseases of the eyes, ears, nose, &c. The word is derived from Salaka, a thin sharp instrument which must have been in use from ancient times.

(3) *Kâyâ Chikitsâ*, the treatment of the body answering to the modern science of medicine, while the two preceding sections constitute surgery.

(4) *Bhûtavidyâ*, or the restoration of the faculties from a disorganized state supposed to be induced by demoniacal possession.

(5) *Kumâra bhritya*, *i.e.*, the care of infancy, comprehending the management of infants and the treatment of disorders in mothers and nurses.

(6) *Augda*, the administration of antidotes.

(7) *Rasâyana*, or chemistry.

(8) *Bajîkarana*, professing to promote the increase of the human race.

Medical science like all other sciences made considerable progress in course of time, and exhaustive and scientific works were written after the Christian era. But nevertheless, with that loyalty to the past which has ever characterized Hindu writers, the authors of these later works alluded reverently to the earlier science under the collective name of A'yurveda, the gift of the gods, and professed only to explain that ancient knowledge and wisdom to the less favoured men of later ages. Among these later and more scientific works, those of Charaka and Susruta are the best known ; and their works are now the most ancient works extant. The dates of Charaka and Susruta have not been ascertained. The fame of their works had travelled into foreign countries, and the Arabs were acquainted with the translations of the works at the time of Haroun-al-Rashid in the eighth century A.D. One of the earliest of the Arab authors, Serapion, mentions Charaka by name as *Xarch.* Another Arab writer, Avicenna, quotes him as *Scirak.* While Rhazes who was prior to Avicenna calls him *Scarac.** Charaka must have lived some centuries before his work was so well known and so often quoted in foreign countries. It is probable that Charaka and Susruta lived early in the Pauranik period (about the 6th century A.D.), and that their works mark the revival of the Hindu medical science which was contemporaneous with the revival of other sciences at this very period.

Charaka's work is divided into eight books, which are enumerated below :—

(1) *Sūtra Sthâna,* explaining the origin of medicine, the duty of the physician, the use of medicine, the cure of disease, materia medica, diet, &c.

(2) *Nidâna Sthâna,* containing a description of diseases as fever, discharges of blood, tumours, diabetes, leprosy, consumption, mania and epilepsy.

(3) *Vimâna Sthâna,* treating of epidemics, the nature of food, the symptoms and diagnosis of disease, the use of medicines, and the peculiarities of the fluids of the body.

* Royle, p. 37.

(4) *Sarîra Sthâna*, treating of the nature of the soul, conception, the varieties of species, the qualities of elements, a description of the body, and the connexion of the body and soul.

(5) *Indriya Sthâna*, describing the organs of sense and their diseases, the colour of the body, defects of speech, diseases of the body and of organs, loss of strength and death.

(6) *Chikitsâ Sthâna*, considering the treament of disease and the means of improving the health and enjoying long life. It also treats of fever, dropsy, swelling, piles, diarrhœa, jaundice, asthma, cough, dysentery, vomiting, erysipelas, thirst, and the effects of poisons. It speaks of remedying the effects of drinking, of inflammation, diseases of vital parts, abscesses, rheumatism and paralysis.

(7) *Kalpa Sthâna*, treating of emetics and purgatives, and of antidotes and medical charms

(8) *Siddhi Sthâna*, treating of evacuating medicines, of injections for the urethra, vagina and rectum, of abscesses, of the use of clysters, of the vital parts, &c.

The whole work is in the form of instruction imparted by the Rishi A'treya to Agnivâsa We are told in the introduction that Brahmâ first imparted the A'yurveda to Prajâpati, that Prajâpati imparted it to the two Asvins, and the Asvins imparted it to Indra. Bhâradvâja learnt it from Indra, and imparted it to six Rishis, of whom Agnivâsa was one.

Susruta is probably a later work than Charaka, and a similar story is told that Indra imparted the knowledge to Dhanvantari, the medical practitioner of the gods, and Dhanvantari imparted it to eight Rishis, among whom Susruta was chosen to record the instructions correctly.

The divisions of Susruta's work are very similar to those of Charaka. Charaka, however, treats mainly of medicines, while Susruta treats mainly of surgery in his six divisions, which are enumerated below :—

(1) *Sûtra Sthâna* treats of medicines, of the elements of the body and various forms of disease, of the selec-

tion of surgical instruments and medicines, and of the practice to be followed after surgical operations. Then follows the description of the humours and the surgical diseases, the removal of extraneous substances, and the treatment of wounds and ulcers. Various other matters are touched upon.

(2) *Nidâna Sthâna* treats of the symptoms and diagnoses of diseases. The causes of rheumatism, piles, stone, fistula in ano, leprosy, diabetes, and ascites are spoken of. The symptoms of unnatural presentations in midwifery, internal abscesses, erysipelas, scrofula, hydrocele, and diseases of the organs of generation and of the mouth are considered

(3) *Sarîra Sthâna* or anatomy treats of the structure of the body. The soul and the elementary parts of the body, puberty, conception, and growth of the body are considered. Bleeding and the treatment of pregnancy and of infants are also considered.

(4) *Chikitsâ Sthâna* describes the symptoms and treatment of diseases, wounds, ulcers, inflammations, fractures, rheumatism, piles, stone, fistula in ano, leprosy, diabetes, and dropsy. The manner of extracting the child from the uterus in unusual positions and other matters are described. The use of clysters, of errhines, and of the smoke of medicinal substances is also described.

(5) *Kalpa Sthâna* speaks of antidotes. The means of preparing and preserving food and drink, and of distinguishing poisoned food are explained, and the different mineral, vegetable and animal poisons and their antidotes are explained.

(6) *Uttara Sthâna*, or supplemental section, treats of various local diseases, like those of the eye, ear, nose and head. The treatment of various other diseases like fever, dysentery, consumption, tumours, diseases of the heart, jaundice, discharges of blood, fainting, intoxication, cough, hiccough, asthma, hoarseness of voice, worms, stertorous vomiting, cholera, dyspepsia, dysuria, madness, demoniacal possession, epilepsy and apoplexy are described.

The above brief enumeration of the contents of Cha-

raka and Susruta will indicate the progress of the Hindu medical science and the nature of the diseases which engaged the attention of Hindu physicians in ancient days. Many of the ancient theories maintained in these works are unfounded and fanciful, and many of the views held are now shewn to be mistaken. But nevertheless the exhaustive enumeration of diseases in medical works composed thirteen centuries ago shews the progress of the science in Ancient India. And the medicines and preparations prescribed in these works are equally numerous and varied. It is not our intention to give anything like a complete account of the Hindu system of medicine and treatment of diseases; we will only here mention a few of the medicinal preparations and surgical instruments which were known to the ancient Hindus.

The Hindus were early familiar with *Rasáyana, i.e.*, chemistry, and with the preparation of various chemical compounds. Nor is this surprising, as the materials for preparing many chemical products have abounded in India. Rocksalt was found in Western India; borax was obtained from Thibet; saltpetre and sulphate of soda were easily made; alum was made in Cutch; and sal ammonia was familiar to the Hindus; with lime, charcoal and sulphur they were acquainted from times immemorial.

The alkalies and acids were early known to the Hindus, and were borrowed from them by the Arabians; and Dr. Royle describes* the Hindu way of preparing muriatic acid. The medicinal use of metals was also largely known.† We have notices of antimony and of arsenic, of medicines prepared with quicksilver, arsenic, and nine other metals. The Hindus were acquainted with the oxides of copper, iron, tin, zinc, and lead; with the sulphurets of iron, copper, antimony, mercury, and arsenic; with the sulphates of copper, zinc, and iron; with the diacetate of copper and the carbonates of lead and iron. "Though the ancient Greeks and

* Dr. Royle's *Essay*, p. 43. † *Ibid.* p. 44.

Romans used many metallic substances as external applications, it is generally supposed that the Arabs were the first to prescribe them internally. . . . But in the works of Charaka and Susruta, to which, as has been proved, the earliest of the Arabs had access, we find numerous metallic substances directed to be given internally."*

From positive directions respecting the formation of several substances, it is clear that the ancient Hindus were familiar with several chemical processes, as solution, evaporation, calcination, sublimation, and distillation.

Turning now to the subject of drugs and plants, we find that Susruta arranges them under the following heads :—tuberous and bulbous roots ; roots ; bark of roots ; bark of large trees ; trees possessing a peculiar smell ; leaves ; flowers ; fruits ; seeds; acrid and astringent vegetables ; milky plants ; gums and resins. Susruta probably contains the earliest notice respecting botanical geography, mentioning the sites and climates where the plants grow. He also prescribes the weights and measures to be used, and gives directions for expressing juice from fresh vegetables, making powder of well-dried plants, and preparing infusions and decoctions of various kinds. The vegetable resources of India are practically unlimited, and it is needless to add that Hindu physicians were acquainted with a vast variety of vegetable medicines. Most of them are assuaging and depuratory medicines, suited to the climate of the country and the unexcitable consititution of the nation. For sudden and severe cases there were drastic and mild purgatives, emetics, diaphoretics, and baths ; while acrid poisons were used with arsenic and mercurial preparations, as well as stimulants, sedatives, and narcotics. Dr. H. H. Wilson makes a valuable remark that the compounds prescribed become more and more extravagant in proportion as the work prescribing it is more modern. A similar remark could be made of

* Dr. Royle's Essay, p. 45.

poetry and sculpture too,—and of all the later manifestations of the Hindu mind!

Turning now to the subject of surgery, it will, no doubt, excite surprise (says Royle) "to find among the operations of those ancient surgeons those of lithotomy and the extraction of the fœtus ex utero; and that no less than 127 surgical instruments are described in their works." Surgery was divided into *Chhedana*, scission; *Bhedana*, excision; *Lekhana*, scarification and inoculation; *Vyâdhana*, puncturing; *Eshyam*, probing; *Aharya*, extraction of solid bodies; *Visravana*, extraction of fluids; and *Sevana*, sewing. These various operations were performed by a large variety of surgical instruments which Dr. Wilson classifies under the following heads:—*Yantras*, implements; *Sastras*, instruments; *Kshâra*, alkaline solutions or caustics; *Agni*, actual cautery; *Salaka*, pins; *Sringa*, horns; *Alabu*, gourds used for cupping; and *Jalauka*, or leeches. "Besides these, we have thread, leaves, bandages, pledgets, heated metallic plates for erubescents, and a variety of astringent or emollient applications."

We are told that the instruments should be of metal, always bright, handsome, polished, and sharp, sufficiently so "to divide a hair longitudinally." And the young practitioner is recommended to acquire proficiency in the use of such instruments by making incisions, not only on vegetable substances, but also on the fresh hides of animals and on the vessels of dead animals.

We will conclude the chapter with the suggestive remarks of Dr. Wilson, from whom we have so often quoted. The surgical operations "were evidently bold and must have been hazardous: their being attempted at all is, however, most extraordinary, unless their obliteration from the knowledge, not to say the practice, of later times, be considered as a still more remarkable circumstance. It would be an inquiry of some interest to trace the period and causes of the disappearance of surgery from amongst the Hindus."

The causes are the same which have led to the disappearance, or at least the decline of all sciences, all arts,

and all literature in India during the past thousand years. Social and religious degeneracy paved the way to ruin, and political disaster completed it. The causes have acted and reacted on each other, and the loss of political independence induced a grosser national ignorance, an unhealthier superstition, and a more hurtful system of social rules.

It will be of some interest to Hindu readers to know, when foreign scientific skill and knowledge are required in every district in India for sanitary and medical work, that twenty-two centuries ago Alexander the Great kept Hindu physicians in his camp for the treatment of diseases which Greek physicians could not heal, and that eleven centuries ago Haroun-al-Rashid of Bagdad retained two Hindu physicians, known in Arabian records as Manka and Saleh, as his own physicians.

CHAPTER XI.

DRAMA.

MORE remarkable than the progress made in science in this period is the wonderful development which poetry and the drama received in this the Augustan Era of Sanscrit Literature. Kâlidâsa and Bhavabhûti stand higher in the estimation of the Hindus and of the world than A'ryabhhatta and Charaka.

It is neither possible nor desirable to attempt within our limits to write a history of later Sanscrit literature. All that we will attempt to do will be to indicate the names of the most illustrious writers, and describe as briefly as possible their most remarkable works. This will give our readers a bird's-eye view of the literary character of the epoch; and this is all that we can venture to attempt within our limits. We will speak of dramatic literature in this chapter, and of poetry and fiction in the following chapters.

The brilliant period of which we are speaking opens with the illustrious Kâlidâsa, and that gifted son of the muses, although the author of several works of great excellence, is known to the civilized world chiefly as the author of *Sakuntalâ*. He who has read this drama in Sanscrit need not necessarily be a Hindu to hold the opinion that no sweeter or lovelier creation has emanated from the human fancy than the gentle and tender-souled forest maiden, Sakuntalâ.

King Dushyanta goes on a hunting expedition, and arrives near the hermitage of Kanva. Walking in a humble attire among the groves, he espies three damsels engaged in watering plants; needless to say that these maidens are Sakuntalâ, daughter of a nymph by a human parent, and her two companions. Sakuntalâ had been brought up by the sage Kanva from her infancy, and had attained the bloom of her youthful loveliness in these woodland retreats among her rustic companions, her plants, and her pet animals.

Dushyanta, accustomed to the artificial grace of court-beauties, is ravished at the sight of this simple child of nature, dressed in barks which almost heighten her charms, like a veil of leaves, unfolding a radiant flower. He finds a suitable occasion to appear before the maiden and her companions; some words are interchanged, and the gentle Sakuntalâ feels an emotion unknown to her simple life before.

Love tells on her gentle frame, and when he comes to meet her again "she resembles a Mâdhavî creeper whose leaves are dried by a sultry gale, yet even thus transformed she is lovely and charms my soul." The lovers meet, and a marriage ceremony, the Gândharva rite, seals their union. Dushyanta leaves, leaving a signet ring with his bride, and promising to convey her to his capital almost immediately after.

Then begins the interest of the drama. Sakuntalâ when deeply musing on her absent lord forgets to pay proper homage to an irritable sage, who utters a curse that he, of whom she thinks so abstractedly, will forget her. Pacified by the entreaties of her companions, the sage modifies his sentence and says, that he will call her back to mind on her shewing the signet ring. Dushyanta accordingly forgets his rustic love, and poor Sakuntalâ, then gone with child, pines and droops in her lonely retreat.

Her foster father Kanva comes to know all, and arranges to send the girl to her lord. Touching as this drama is throughout, there is no part of it so truly tender and touching as Sakuntalâ's parting with her companions and pets in the peaceful hermitage where she had lived so long. The heart of Kanva himself is big with grief and his eyes overflow with tears. The invisible wood nymphs bid her a sad adieu; the two gentle companions of Sakuntalâ can scarcely tear themselves from their loved and departing friend. Sakuntalâ herself is almost overpowered, as she takes her farewell from all she had so long loved and cherished so well.

Sak.: Father! when you female antelope, who now moves slowly from the weight of the young ones with which she is pregnant, shall be

delivered of them, send me, I beg, a kind message with tidings of her safety—Do not forget.

Kanva: My beloved, I will not forget it.

Sak. (advancing and then stopping): Ah! what is it that clings to the skirts of my robe and detains me? (She turns round and looks.)

Kanva: It is thy adopted child the little fawn whose mouth, when the sharp point of the kusa grass has wounded it, has been so often smeared by thy hand with the healing oil of Ingudî; who has been so often fed by thee with a handful of Syamaka grains, and now will not leave the footsteps of his protectress.

Sak.: Why dost thou weep, tender fawn, for me, who must leave our common dwelling place? As thou wast reared by me when thou hadst lost thy mother, who died soon after thy birth, so will my foster father attend thee, when we are separated, with anxious care—Return, poo thing, return. We must part. (She bursts into tears.)

Sir William Jones.

The plot thickens. Sakuntalâ's lord has forgotten her, and the ring which would alone have called her back to his mind is lost in the way. Dushyanta receives Sakuntalâ and her party politely, but declines to receive as a bride a woman whom he cannot recognize and who is with child. Poor Sakuntalâ almost sinks under this calamity, for she knows not its cause. She did not hear the curse which was uttered by the sage, nor the partial modification of it to which he consented on the entreaty of her companions. She tries in vain to bring to Dushyanta's recollection those too-well remembered events which marked their brief days in the hermitage, and at last breaks out in mortification, grief, and anger. Her companions leave her in the palace, and separate quarters are allowed to her, but she is saved further humiliation by a miracle. A celestial nymph descends in the form of light, and carries her away from the earth where her fate had been sad and bitter indeed.

An accident now brings the past to the king's recollection. A fisherman caught a fish which had swallowed the ring, which Sakuntalâ had dropped in a stream; and on sight of that gem, the past comes thronging into the king's recollection! The love he bore for Sakuntalâ flames forth tenfold, and the cruel injustice he had done to that gentle and loving and confiding soul maddens him with pain. He relinquishes his royal

duties, forgets food and sleep, and loses himself in bitter agony.

He is roused from his stupor by the god Indra's charioteer who on behalf of Indra asks the king's succour against Dânavas. The king mounts the celestial car and conquers, and is then taken to the celestial hermitage of Kasyapa, father of the gods, residing there in holy retirement with his consort Aditi.

While waiting there the king sees a powerful little boy playing with a lion's whelp.

Ah! (he thinks) what means it that my heart inclines to this boy as if he were my own son? (meditating) Alas! I have no son, and this reflection makes me once more soft hearted. *Jones.*

The reader no doubt perceives that the boy *was* the king's son. Sakuntalâ had been carried away by the pitying gods and kept here until the king's clouded recollection was clear again. And when Sakuntalâ appears, Dushyanta craves her forgiveness on his knees and is forgiven by the too loving Sakuntalâ. The reconciled pair are then taken with the boy to the divine pair Kasyapa and Aditi, and the play closes with the blessings of those holy personages.

Two other dramatic works of Kâlidâsa are left to us. *Vikramorvasî* describes the loves of the hero Purûravas and the celestial nymph Urvasî. We know that the story is as old as the Reg Veda, and is in its first conception a myth of the Sun (Purûravas = bright-rayed) pursuing the Dawn (Urvasî = wide expanding). But the origin of the story has long since been lost to the Hindus, and the Purûravas of Kâlidâsa and the Purânas is a mortal king who rescued a celestial nymph named Urvasî from demons, and felt for her a tender love which was reciprocated. So smitten was the gentle nymph with the charms of the mortal, that when she appeared in the court of Indra to enact a play, she forgot her part and betrayed the secret of her heart by uttering the name of the mortal she loved.

Urvasî played Lakshmî. Menakâ was Varunî. The latter says:—

Lakshmî, the mighty powers that rule the spheres
Are all assembled; at their head appears
The blooming Kesava; confess to whom
Inclines your heart?

Her reply should have been—
To Purushottama; (but instead of that)—
To Purûravas escaped her lips.
Wilson's translation.

For this error the gentle nymph was punished; but Indra with considerate care modified the punishment into a blessing, and directed the nymph to go and live with her beloved mortal until he beheld an offspring born by her.

Purûravas vainly tried to conceal his new love from his own queen, and vainly expressed a penitence he did not feel by falling at her feet. The queen somewhat unceremoniously replied,

You make, my lord, an awkward penitent; I cannot trust you.
Wilson.

And she left the king to the very cruel but very wise reflection:

I might have spared myself the pains. A woman is clear-sighted, and mere words touch not her heart. Passion must give them credit. The lapidary, master of his craft, with cold indifference eyes the spurious gem.
Wilson.

But the queen soon perceived that her husband's love was beyond control and her resentment was unavailing. With a Hindu wife's self-abnegation she contrived, under the guise of a religious performance, to make amends for her former behaviour, and even to permit her lord to relinquish himself to his new attachment. Clad in white with only flowers for her ornaments, she came slowly to worship her lord and king who almost felt a return of his previous fondness for her on seeing her in this attire.

In truth she pleases me. Thus chastely robed in modest white, her clustering tresses decked with sacred flowers alone, her haughty mien exchanged for pure devotion; thus arrayed she moves with heightened charms.
Wilson.

But she knew her charms were unavailing; she presented oblations to the king, bowed, fell at his feet, rose, and then called the moon and the Rohini star to

Hear and attest the sacred promise that I make my husband. Whatever speech attract my lord's regard, and shave with him the mutual bond of love, I henceforth treat with kindness and complacency.
Wilson.

Even Urvasî's companion was struck with this magnanimous self-abnegation, and remarked,—

She is a lady of an exalted spirit, a wife of duty most exemplary.
Wilson.

The loves of the king and the nymph and their temporary separation through a supernatural incident are then described with all the power of Kâlidâsa's pen.

He pined during the separation, wandered in the forest, and addressed birds and beasts and inanimate objects,—

I have sued to the starry-plumed bird,
And the *koil* of love breathing song ;
To the lord of the elephant herd,
And the bee as he murmured along ;
To the swan, and the loud waterfall,
To the *chakwa*, the rock and the roe ;
In my search have I sued to them all,
But none of them lightened my woe. *Wilson.*

He recovered her after his wanderings but was again likely to lose her. For the boy whom Urvasî had borne to her lord,—but had concealed so long,—was seen by chance by his father ; and according to Indra's orders the nymph must return to the skies as soon as her lover saw the child she bore her. But Indra again modified his commands, and Nârada descended from the skies to carry Indra's mandate to Purûravas.

And Urvasî shall be through life united
With thee in holy bonds. *Wilson.*

The third and last play extant from Kâlidâsa's pen is *Mâlavikâgnimitra*, or the loves of Mâlavikâ and Agnimitra. We have seen before that this play,—unlike the two narrated before,—is based on historical incidents.

Agnimitra and his father Pushpamitra are historical characters ; the latter was the general of the last king of the Maurya dynasty, and he put that king to death and founded the Sunga dynasty.

Mâlavikâ is a beautiful attendant of the queen Dhârinî and learns dancing and music from Gangâdâsa. The queen jealously guards her from the king Agnimitra's eyes, but has unwisely caused her picture to be painted in the Chitrasâlâ, or Picture Gallery, and a view of this

picture inspires the king with a desire to see the original. Having sent troops against the king of Vidarbha (Berar), Agnimitra is anxious to see the famed Mâlavikâ. A contrivance is hit upon ; a quarrel is fomented between Gangâdâsa and Haradatta, two teachers of music and dancing, and Gangâdâsa stakes his credit on the performance of Mâlavikâ whom he has taught. Mâlavikâ appears and sings, and the king contracts a passion for her.

The jealous queen locks up the amorous and lovely girl, but the queen's finger ring is obtained by a contrivance, and the jailor on seeing it opens the door, and Mâlavikâ is taken out and has an interview with the king. In the meantime the king of Vidarbha has been subdued, and sends among other presents two female slaves, who immediately recognize Mâlavikâ to be the sister of Mâdhavasena, a personal friend of the king Agnimitra.

Peace is concluded with the king of Vidarbha, by which one half of his kingdom, that situated to the north of the Varadâ river,—the Wardâ of modern times,—is made over to Agnimitra, who in turn makes it over to Mâlavikâ's brother. News is received that the king's son has gained a victory over the Yavanas on the banks of the Indus, and the queen is so pleased that she distributes gifts to all, and feeling perhaps that it is useless to try to stem the king's love, bestows on him the lovely Mâlavikâ. Thus the piece ends happily ; but neither in its plot nor in its poetry is it on a level with Sakuntalâ or even with Vikramorvasî.

Kâlidâsa lived in the sixth century A.D. and graced the court of Vikramâditya. A century after his time, an Emperor of India, and a worthy successor of Vikramâditya both in prowess and in letters, tried to emulate the renowned Kâlidâsa. Sîlâditya II, called also Sri Harsadeva, who reigned from 610 to 650 A. D., and who received the Chinese traveller Houen Tsang, was not only the Emperor of all northern India, but was himself a man of letters. He is reputed to be the author of *Ratnâvalî*, though it is probable the celebrated novelist of

his court, Bânabhatta, composed that play.* Kâlidâsa's fame had spread all over India by that time, and humbler poets unconsciously designed their works on the plots of the great master. This is specially apparent in the Ratnâvalî, in which plagiarisms from Kâlidâsa's plays are obvious. The story, too, of Vassa, the king of Kausambi, and Vâsavadattâ, the princess of Ujjayinî, is one which is alluded to in Kâlidâsa's Meghadûta, and also in the Brihatkathâ of Somadeva; but it is somewhat differently told in the Ratnâvalî.

The play opens with an account of the spring festival when the god of love was worshipped, and coloured water was showered by merry men and mirthful maids on each other. The worship as such has disappeared, but the custom of throwing red powder and coloured water still obtains all over India.

The queen goes to the garden to offer worship to the god of love and requests the presence of the king. A lovely attendant of the queen, Sâgarikâ by name, whom the queen had jealously guarded from the king's eyes, comes also to the garden, and she looks on the king from behind a tree and falls in love with him.

Sitting alone in the garden the love-stricken maiden draws the likeness of him who had stolen her heart, but is discovered by a fellow attendant who is equally proficient in painting, and who draws by the portrait of the king a likeness of Sâgarikâ herself. The double portrait is lost through carelessness and is picked up by the king, who falls in love with the maiden whose picture he found by his own. It is impossible not to find in this plot a counterpart of the story of Kâlidâsa's Agnimitra, who falls in love with his queen's attendant on looking at her portrait.

Like Kâlidâsa's Dushyanta, the king picks up the lotus leaves which had been applied on Sâgarikâ's feverish person, and finds in the pallid circles therein the contour of the maiden's well-proportioned bosom. Soon

* See Dr. Hall's preface to Vâsavadattâ. Bânabhatta was also the author of Harsha Charita, a life of the king in whose court he flourished.

after the lovers meet, but as usual the meeting is interrupted by the untimely approach of the queen. Once again the queen finds undeniable evidence of the king's love for Sâgarikâ; the king like Kâlidâsa's Purûravas, falls to her feet, but the queen retires with ill-suppressed resentment.

The amorous Sâgarikâ is, like Kâlidâsa's Mâlavikâ, locked up by the angry queen. A magician then comes from Ujjayinî and shews off his feats. Soon after the palace seems to be in flames and the king rushes to save Sâgarikâ who was enchained inside, and rescues her; but the flames disappear; it was only a feat of the magician! When Sâgarikâ is brought out, she is recognized to be Ratnâvalî, the princess of Ceylon, as Kâlidâsa's Mâlavikâ is recognized, late in the play, to be the sister of Agnimitra's friend. And like Mâlavikâ, Ratnâvalî is made over to the king by the queen herself.

A still more remarkable play, the *Nâgânanda*, is also attributed to Sîlâditya II, but is, probably, like Ratnâvalî, the work of some poet of his court. We call it a remarkable work, because it is probably the only Buddhist drama which has come down to us. In this Buddhist play we find Hindu gods and goddesses mixed up with Buddhist objects of veneration. It is this which gives the work its special value.

Jîmûtavâhana, prince of the Vidyâdharas, finds Malayâvatî, princess of the Siddhas, engaged in the worship of Gaurî (a Hindu goddess), and falls in love with her. He appears before her, as Dushyanta appeared before Sakuntalâ, and is received with courtesy, and the maiden, we need hardly say, falls in love with the prince. The usual symptoms of love, as in Sakuntalâ, affect Malayâvatî; she is feverish, and sandal juice is applied to her person, and she is fanned with a plantain leaf.

Jîmûtavâhana employs himself with drawing a portrait of the maiden who had stolen his heart. He asks for a piece of red arsenic to draw the portrait, and his companion picks up from the ground and brings some

pieces, from which five colours (blue, yellow, red, brown and variegated) could be obtained. From this account it would appear that the ancient Hindus, like the ancient painters of Pompei, used coloured earth and minerals for their painting.

Malayâvatî watches the young prince as he draws the picture, and thinking it was the portrait of some other maiden whom he loved, becomes jealous and faints. In the meantime Malayâvatî's father sends a message, to Jîmûtavâhana offering his daughter as his bride; but Jîmûtavâhana does not yet know that the maiden he had seen was the princess herself, and desiring to be true to the maiden he had seen, refuses the hand of the princess!

The mistakes of both the lovers are soon removed. The prince discovers that the maiden with whom he had fallen in love is the very princess whose hand is offered to her; and the princess too soon discovers that the portrait which the prince had drawn is her own portrait. The wedding follows with great pomp and ceremony.

We have an amusing account here of a parasite of the king's court Sekharaka, who had regaled himself too freely with wine during the festivities, and makes some ludicrous blunders. He declares that there are only two gods for him, Baladeva and Kâma,—the former being a Hindu god known for his drinking exploits, and the latter being the Hindu god of love; and the valiant knight goes out to meet his lady-love, a female slave with whom he is in love. Instead of meeting that sweet damsel, he meets the prince's companion, a Brâhman, who had put his garment over his head to keep out insects, and so looked like a veiled woman. Sekharaka, not very keen in his perception, embraces the Brâhman as his mistress, to the utter disgust of the latter, who stops his nose at the smell of liquor! Confusion is worse confounded when the sweet damsel herself appears on the spot; the not very discriminating lover is taxed with courting another maiden, and the Brâhman is treated to some choice

epithets as "tawny monkey," has his sacred thread torn, and offers to fall at the feet of the slave girl in order to get out of the scrape. Everything however is at last explained satisfactorily.

We are then introduced to the bride and bridegroom in the raptures of their young love, the latter politely asks for a kiss in these words:—

O lovely one! If this face of thine with its pink flush as it is lighted up by the sun's rays, and with its soft down revealed by the spreading gleam of its teeth is really a lotus, why is not a bee seen drinking the honey from it? *Boyd's Translation.*

But the lover is rudely interrupted by news about his kingdom which takes him away.

So far the story is like the story of other Hindu plays. But the last two Acts (V and VI) are essentially Buddhistic, and illustrate, of course in an extravagant form, the real virtue of self-sacrifice for the good of others.

Jîmûtavâhana goes to the Western Ghâts and sees on the sea shore a heap of bones of Nâgas killed by Garuda, the king of birds. Nâgas are snakes, but in the conception of Hindu and Buddhist poets they are formed like men, except that they are scaly and have hoods rising from their backs. A compact has been made with Garuda that a Nâga will be sent to him daily for his food, and as Jîmûtavâhana sees a Nâga tearing himself from his weeping mother and preparing himself as Garuda's food, his heart bleeds within him. He manages to offer himself up to the ferocious Garuda in place of the Nâga, and the bird flies away with him.

There is wailing and lamentation in Jîmûtavâhana's household when the Nâga runs there and reports that the prince has offered himself a sacrifice. His old parents and his newly-married wife rush to where Garuda was still eating the prince's flesh, his life all but extinct. The real Nâga also rushes in there and offers himself up to save the innocent prince, and thus proves his identity:—

Not to mention the mark of Svastika on the breast, are there not the scales on my body? Do you not count the two tongues as I speak? Nor see these three hoods of mine! *Boyd's Translation.*

Garuda then discovers his mistake and is horrified :—

Alas! Alas! His own body has been of his own accord presented for my food by this noble minded one, through pity to save the life of a Nâga who had fallen within the reach of my voracity. What a terrible sin have I committed! In a word this is a Bodhisatva* whom I have slain. *Boyd's Translation.*

Jîmûtavâhana instructs Garuda how the sin can be expiated :—

Cease for ever from destroying life; repent of thy former deeds; labour to gather together an unbroken chain of good actions by inspiring confidence in all living beings. *Boyd's Translation.*

The heroic prince expires after giving these instructions, as he had been more than half eaten up. His parents prepare to mount the funeral pyre to depart from this world. The lamenting young widow invokes Gaurî, the goddess, whom she had invoked before marriage.

All ends happily. Gaurî restores the prince to life; and Garuda prevails on Indra,—a Hindu god,—to revive to life all the Nâgas whom he had killed before. *Harm not living creatures*;—that is the moral of this Buddhist play.

Another century rolled on from the date of Sîlâditya II, and a truly great poet arose,—not a plagiarist of Kâlidâsa,—but his worthy peer in merit and in fame. Bhavabhûti, also called Srîkantha, was a Brâhman, born in Vidarbha or Berar, but soon attached himself to the learned court of Kanouj, then the literary capital of India. From his native region, "stern and wild," the poetic child had imbibed that appreciation of nature in her wild magnificence which distinguishes him from all other Sanscrit poets; from the cultured court of Kanouj, he no doubt learnt that art of poetry and the rules of drama which set off the effusions of his genius. He was not destined, however, to pass his days in Kanouj; Yasovarman, the king of Kanouj, was defeated by the powerful Lalitâditya, king of Kashmir, and the poet accompanied the conqueror to Kashmir.

* A Bodhisatva is a potential Buddha, or one who has only one more birth remaining before he becomes a perfect Buddha.

Three of Bhavabhûti's pieces have come down to us. We will begin with the *Mâlatîmâdhava*, or the loves of Mâlatî and Mâdhava.

Mâdhava is the son of Devarâta, the minister of the poet's own country, Vidarbha or Berar, and has come to Padmâvatî or Ujjayinî to complete his studies. In that town, as he walked along the streets, Mâlatî, the daughter of the minister of the place,—

From her casement has beheld the youth,—he graceful as the god of love, herself love's blooming bride,—nor seen in vain.
Wilson's Translation.

On the occasion of the annual festival of the god of love, the people flock to the shrine of love to pay their homage. Mâlatî, too, repairs to the shrine on an elephant, and meets Mâdhava, and the youth and maiden gaze on each other, and fall in love.

But the course of true love never does run smooth; and the king of Padmâvatî has promised Mâlatî's hand to a favorite, Nandana, and the king's minister, Mâlatî's father, dares not openly refuse his consent. The news is a bolt from the blue to the love-stricken maiden, and Kâmandakî, a Buddhist priestess or abbess, exclaims in pity—

What can I aid? Fate and her sire alone exact obedience from a daughter. True Sakuntalâ, of Kusika's high race, bestowed her love on a self-chosen lord—the king Dushyanta. A bright nymph of heaven espoused a mortal monarch Purûravas, and the fair princess, Vâsavadattâ, scorned the husband of her father's choice, and fled with prince Udayana. So poets tell, but these were desperate acts. *Wilson's Translation.*

It is quite apparent that the priestess, or rather the poet, refers here to his great predecessor Kâlidâsa's two works, and also to the story of Vâsavadattâ which was so popular a theme of fiction and drama in the court of Śîlâditya II.

The Buddhist priestess, however, had made up her mind to help Mâlatî and Mâdhava. They have an interview in the house of the priestess, but Mâlatî is torn away thence by the order of the queen. Mâdhava in despair determines to have recourse to mysterious rites for gaining his end, and this leads us to a scene of awful Tântrika worship. The genius of Bhavabhûti never

appears to greater advantage than when depicting a scene of magnificence or terror.

In a field in which dead bodies are burnt is situated a temple of the terrific goddess Châmundâ, and the malignant priestess Kapâla Kundalâ, with her necklace of skulls (as her name implies), is engaged in worship. There goes Mâdhava with his offering of raw flesh, to obtain from ghosts some help towards the attainment of his end. He offers the flesh to ghosts and goblins and exclaims—

> Now wake the terrors of the place, beset
> With crowding and malignant fiends; the flames
> From funeral pyres scarce lend their sullen light,
> Clogged with their fleshly prey, to dissipate
> The fearful gloom that hems them in. Pale ghosts
> Sport with foul goblins, and their dissonant mirths
> In shrill respondent shrieks is echoed round.
> Well, be it so. I seek and must address them.
> Demons of ill, and disembodied spirits,
> Who haunt this spot, I bring you flesh for sale;
> The flesh of man, untouched by trenchant steel,
> And worthy your acceptance. (*A great noise*)
> How the noise,
> High, shrill and indistinct, of chattering sprites
> Communicative, fills the charnel ground!
> Strange forms like foxes flit along the sky:
> From the red hair of their lank bodies darts
> The meteor blaze; or from their mouths that stretch
> From ear to ear, thickset with numerous fangs,
> Or eyes or beards or brows, the radiance streams.
> And now I see the goblin host: . .
>
> They mark my coming, and the half chewed morsel
> Falls to the howling wolf,—and now they fly.
> (*Pauses, and looking round.*)
> Race, dastardly as hideous! All is plunged
> In utter gloom. The river flows before me,
> The boundary of the funeral ground, that winds
> Through mouldering bones its interrupted way.
> Wild raves the torrent as it rushes past
> And rends its crumbling banks; the wailing owl
> Hoots through its skirting groves, and to the sounds
> The loud long moaning jackal yells reply.
>
> *Wilson.*

Suddenly Mâdhava hears the voice, musical and wild, of a young woman in distress,—

> Ah cruel father! She you meant an offering
> To the king's favour, now deserted dies. *Wilson.*

That voice is not unfamiliar to Mâdhava's ear; he bursts into the temple and finds Mâlatî dressed as a victim and about to be sacrificed by Aghoraghantâ, the terrible priest of Châmundâ. Some Tântrika rites require the sacrifice of a virgin,—and the sweetest and purest virgin in Padmâvatî town had been selected and kidnapped for this sacrifice. Mâlatî herself does not know how she was stolen :—

> "I reposed," she says,
> "At eve upon the terrace: when I woke
> I found myself a prisoner." *Wilson.*

Mâdhava rescues his beloved and slays the malignant priest. But the more malignant priestess Kapâla Kundalâ vows revenge.

We pass by a great many minor incidents. A friend of Mâdhava, Makaranda by name, who is in love with Nandana's sister, disguises himself as Mâlatî, and is married to the king's favorite Nandana. The amórous husband comes to court his bride, but meets with rough usage which a maiden's arm could scarcely inflict! Nandana's sister then comes to teach her sister-in-law better manners, but finds her own beloved Makaranda as the pretended bride. An elopement follows; the king sends his guards to arrest the culprits; but Mâdhava and his friend Makaranda beat back the guards, and the king generously forgives them in consideration of their valour.

Here the play might happily have ended with the marriage of the two pair of lovers with the king's sanction; but Bhavabhûti prolongs the story to bring in some powerful description of nature and of human feelings. His incidents and plot, as usual, are unnatural and extravagant, but his descriptions are matchless in power. Mâlatî is once more kidnapped by the foul priestess Kapâla Kundalâ, and Mâdhava goes in search of her among the Vindhya mountains. Saudâminî, who was a Buddhist priestess before, but has now acquired supernatural powers by the practice of *Yoga*, resolves to help Mâdhava; and from her lips we have a powerful description of the locality :—

How wide the prospect spreads,—mountain and rock,
Towns, villages and woods, and glittering streams!
There where the Pârâ and the Sindhu wind,
The towers and temples, pinnacles and gates,
And spires of Padmâvatî, like a city
Precipitated from the skies, appear,
Inverted in the pure translucent wave.
There flows Lavanâ's frolic stream, whose groves
By early rains refreshed, afford the youth
Of Padmavâtî pleasant haunts, and where
Upon the herbage, brightning in the shower,
The heavy uddered kine contented brouse.
Hark! how the banks of the broad Sindhu fall,
Crashing, in the undermining current.
Like the loud voice of thunder-laden clouds,
The sound extends, and like Heramba's roar,
As deepened by the hollow echoing caverns,
It floats reverberating round the hills.
Those mountains, coated with thick clustering woods
Of fragrant sandal and ripe Mâlûra
Recall to memory the lofty mountains
That southward stretch, where Godâvârî
Impetuous flashes through the dark deep shade
Of skirting forests, echoing to her fury.

Wilson.

Saudâminî by her magical powers rescues Mâlatî, and Mâlatî and Nandana's sister are happily wedded to Mâdhava and Makaranda.

The other two plays of Bhavabhûti are taken from the Râmâyana. One of them the *Mahâvîra Charita* narrates the story of Râma from his boyhood to his conquests in Ceylon and return with Sîtâ to his native country. This play is decidedly inferior to the other plays of Bhavabhûti, but nevertheless contains passages of great power. There is a ring of true poetry in the passage in which the ancient king Janaka (the promulgator of the Upanishads and the proud asserter of the Kshatriya equality with Brâhmans in learning) is roused to indignation by the pretensions of Parasurâma, the son of Jamadagni. The old king indignantly exclaims: "Although he hates us, still we have had patience with him so long. When he shakes us again like a blade of grass, then let the bow be bent against him, although he be a Brâhman."

Equally appropriate is the proud contempt with which the mighty Râvana listens to proposals to avoid

hostilities with Râma. The source of the Godâvarî,—in the poet's own native land,—is thus described :—

> Where, amid Janasthâna's frowning woods,
> The tall Prasravana uprears his head,
> Dark tinctured in the clouds, and bathes his brow
> With their descending dews ; thence through his caves,
> He calls the oozing moisture, and sends forth
> The pure Godâvarî to win her way,
> Stately and clear, through ancient trees that shade,
> Impervious, tangling, her majestic course. *Wilson.*

The other play *Uttara Râma Charita* continues the story of the Râmâyana to Sîtâ's exile, and to the reconciliation of Râma with his children Lava and Kusa. In power and vigour, and in graphic and forcible description, this play is equal to the Mâlatî Mâdhava ; while in pathos and tenderness it will compare with anything in the whole range of Sanscrit literature.

The story is the story of the Râmâyana and need not be told in detail. The play opens with a conversation between Râma and Sîtâ, now returned from Ceylon, and seated on the throne of Ayodhyâ or Oude. In the second scene Lakshmana exhibits to them a series of paintings representing the past occurrences of Râma's life, and the gentle Sîtâ can scarcely look over the scenes of her past sufferings without sorrow. The poet of course has a word to say about his beloved Godâvarî, which

> Bursts forth, and down the mountain wends her way
> Through gloomy shades and thick entangling woods.
> *Wilson.*

and Râma reminds Sîtâ of their happy days passed there in touching lines,—

> Recall'st thou, love, our humble happy dwelling
> Upon the borders of the shining stream,
> Where every hour in fond endearments wrapped,
> Or in sweet interchange of thought engaged,
> We lived in transport, not a wish beyond
> Each other, reckless of the flight of time ? *Wilson.*

The languid Sîtâ, then gone with child, wants repose, and Râma lovingly addresses her—

> Be these arms thy pillow,
> Thine, ever since the nuptial knot united us ;
> Thine, in the days of infancy and youth,
> In lonely thickets and in princely palaces :
> Thine, ever thine.

Sîtâ : True, true, my ever kind and cherished lord. *Sleeps.*
Râma : Her latest waking words are words of love,
And naught of her but is most dear to me.
Her presence is ambrosia to my sight ;
Her contact fragrant sandal ; her fond arms
Twined round my neck are a far richer clasp
Than costliest gems ; and in my house she reigns
The guardian goddess of my fame and fortune.
Oh ! I could never bear again to lose her.
Wilson.

The last sentiment is artfully put in here by the poet, for Râma is on the eve of losing Sîtâ again. Weak as he is loving and gentle, he hears with distress, immediately after leaving Sîtâ in her sleep, that his subjects are ill-pleased with his conduct in accepting Sîtâ again after she had been carried away by Râvana. Too weak to bear popular dissatisfaction, he submits to their desires, and sends poor Sîtâ to exile.

Twelve years have since passed and gone. The twins, to whom Sîtâ gave birth soon after her exile, have grown to be sturdy boys, versed in arms as in learning under the tuition of Vâlmîki. Sîtâ leads a pensive life in the forests, her face,

Pale and wan and wet with tears,
She moves along like Tenderness
Invested with a mortal dress ;
Or like embodied Grief she shines
That sad o'er love in absence pines. *Wilson.*

It is arranged that Sîtâ, rendered invisible by divine power, should have an interview with Râma, and the poet must needs have the interview on the banks of the Godâvarî. There Râma strays accompanied by Vâsantî, a friend of Sîtâ, and Sîtâ and Tamasâ,—invisible to Râma, —also repair there. Every scene there recalls to Râma the by-gone days when Râma and Sîtâ lived there together, and fills him with grief ; and Vâsantî does not fail, by cruel though gentle hints, to bring home to Râma his injustice towards Sîtâ. Bhavabhûti is too spirited not to feel indignant at Râma's extreme weakness in yielding to popular clamour, and at his unspeakable injustice in sending an innocent and helpless and loving wife to exile. And though the poet shares a Hindu's feeling of general respect for Râma, yet the reader can perceive

the poet is determined to give Râma "a bit of his mind" for his unparalleled feebleness and crime.

Vâsantî takes care to remind Râma,—

> Here in this plantain grove
> Behold the marble which in happier days
> Supported thee and Sîtâ. Here she sat
> And from her hands gave fodder to the deer,
> That boldly crowded round their gentle mistress.
> *Ramâ:* I cannot bear to look upon it. [*Weeps.*]
> *Wilson.*

Poor Sîtâ, who is present, though invisible to Râma, can bear it no longer, she exclaims,—

> Vâsanti, this is cruel:
> My lord demands respect from all, and most
> From those who love me. *Wilson.*

But Vâsantî is inexorable, and goes on speaking to Râma,—

> How hadst thou the heart
> To drive that gentle being from thee? Once
> She was thy love, thy other dearer life,
> Light of thine eyes, and nectar of thy soul.* *Wilson.*

In vain does Râma plead the people's will. Vâsantî goes on and makes horrible suggestions as to the fate which has probably overtaken Sîtâ after her exile in the forest. Râma shudders and weeps aloud. Sîtâ can witness her lord's sufferings no longer, and exclaims to Tamasâ, "alas! he weeps aloud." But Tamasâ answers,

> 'Tis better thus
> To give our sorrows way. Sufferers should speak
> Their griefs. The bursting heart, that overflows
> In words, obtains relief. *Wilson.*

We almost think we are perusing a paraphrase of Shakespeare's matchless lines in Macbeth,—

> Give sorrow words; the grief that does not speak.
> Whispers the o'er fraught heart and makes it break.

And yet the bard of Vidarbha lived eight centuries before the bard of Avon!

The cruel lesson is administered to Râma until he faints. Sîtâ, herself invisible, touches his forehead, and at that loving touch Râma revives, exclaiming,—"Joy,

* No student of Sanscrit who has read these last two lines in the original has ever forgotten their matchless beauty, rythm and tenderness.

joy Vâsanti! Wilt thou share my joy?" and declares that he had felt the touch of Sîtâ's hand—

> I could not be deceived,
> Too well I know the touch of that dear hand
> The marriage rite first placed in mine; even now
> Cool as the snow drift to my fevered palm,
> And soft as jasmine buds, I grasp it.
>
> *Wilson.*

But Sîtâ gets away. She and Tamasâ must depart, but she can scarcely tear herself away,—

> Oh let me look,
> A little moment longer, on a form
> I never, never, may behold again! *Wilson.*

And before leaving she exclaims—

> I bow me to the feet of my dear lord,
> The source of every blessing. *Wilson.*

Yes, the poor, banished, injured Sîtâ bows to the feet of her dear lord,—that lord who had heedlessly, feebly, cruelly sent her to the forest,—alone, helpless, on the eve of her confinement! Female self-abnegation can go no further; undying love has never been more forcibly represented; human imagination has never pictured a nobler, purer, saintlier character than that of the gentle, ever-loving, all-forgiving Sîtâ.

Once again, in another place, the poet gives vent to his indignation at Râma's feeble conduct. The ancient king Janaka, revered as much for his prowess as for his holy life, his pious sacrifices and his vedic lore, grows indignant when he remembers his daughter's sufferings. The warm blood tingles in his old veins when he ponders on Râma's conduct, and he bursts out in rage—

> Shame on the thankless race that wronged thy fame,
> And Râma's haste to listen to their calumnies,
> The cruel blow that has overwhelmed my child
> Arouses all my soul, and tempts my wrath
> To deal with arms, or direr imprecations,
> Destruction on my Sîtâ's persecutors. *Wilson.*

The story of Râma's Asvamedha sacrifice is well known. The horse is let loose, and Râma's son dares to detain it, and thus unwillingly provokes hostilities with Râma's forces. The meeting of Lava and Chandraketu

is well described. Both are young heroes, full of ardour for battle, but displaying chivalrous courtesy and respect towards each other. Chandraketu descends from his car,—why?

> To pay my homage to this valiant youth,
> And do a soldier's duty. To assail
> At such advantage one who fights on foot
> The god of arms forbids. *Wilson.*

And this was written centuries before chivalry was developed in Europe.

The sage Vâlmîki arranges a happy reconciliation with which the play is to conclude; but the poet must have another hit at Râma before he lays down his pen. A theatrical performance is to take place before Râma, and the subject is Râma's desertion of his wife! Sîtâ on the stage calls for help when deserted, and in her distress and agony throws herself in the Ganges. Râma can bear it no longer, and starts up exclaiming,

> Dear love, forbear! I fly to thy assistance. *Wilson.*

His brother Lakshmana reminds him:

> Does my lord remember, what he views is but a fiction?
> *Râma:* Alas! that such a portion should have been the gift of Râma to his tender bride, the dear companion of his forest dwelling.
> *Wilson.*

The reader is herein reminded of the stage-play in Hamlet, which was contrived to convict Hamlet's uncle of his guilt. The play ends happily: Râma receives back Sîtâ and his boys Lava and Kusa, and the people of Ayodhyâ are penitent, and bend "in prostrate homage to the Queen."

When we have spoken of Kâlidâsa and of Bhavabhûti, we have spoken of all that is best in the Sanscrit dramatic literature. Several hundreds of plays must have been composed and enacted in what we have called the Augustan Era of Sanscrit literature, but the works of genius only survive, polished imitation and lifeless pieces do not stand the test of time. Some of the masterpieces of Shakespeare will be read even after Shakespeare's language becomes a dead language; but Marlowe or Fletcher or even Ben Jonson will

scarcely be remembered twelve centuries after the date of Elizabeth.

The total number of Hindu plays which exist, or which are alluded to by writers on the Drama, is estimated by H. H. Wilson to be not much more than sixty. Most of these, however, are of a comparatively recent date, and very few are of any merit, or are generally known or read. The only pieces (besides those spoken of above), which are generally known and read at the present day, are the *Mrichchhakati*, the *Mudrâ Râkshasa* and the *Venî Sanhâra*. A word or two about them will suffice.

The Mrichchhakati is ascribed to a king Sudraka, and the time of its composition is unknown. Internal evidence leads us, however, to think that it must be referred to the brilliant literary period which commenced with the sixth century A.D. Its style is not widely different from the style of composition of the other plays of this period, and like many of them, it has its scene at Ujjayinî. The Pauranik trinity—Brahmâ, Vishnu, and Siva—is recognized (Act VI), Buddhists have already become objects of aversion though persecution has not yet commenced (Act VII), and the Code of Manu is the recognized law for the administration of justice, (Act IX). For the rest the Mrichchhakati deals not with princes and princesses, but with men and women in the ordinary walks of life; it gives us an insight into the town life of the olden days with its system of justice and police, its gambling and other vices; and it is a fairly correct picture of the people and their manners. We shall have to allude to the play frequently when we come to the subject of the manners and civilization of this period.

The Mudrâ Râkshasa is a more recent play, and the author is Visâkha Datta. The closing speech of the drama would seem to shew that the Musalmans were already masters of India when this play was composed. Its chief interest lies in the fact that it refers to the political revolution by which Châṅkaya raised Chan-

dragupta on the throne of the Magadhas about 320 B.C. The contrast between the character of Châṇakya, who is scheming, vindictive, violent, and inexorable, and that of Râkshasa, who is generous, straightforward, noble, and faithful, is finely drawn.

The play of Veṇî Sanhâra is attributed to Bhatta Nârâyana, who is said to have been one of the Brâhmans who came on A'disur's invitation from Kanouj to Bengal. Many Brâhmans in Bengal still claim descent from the author of this piece. The subject is taken from the Mahâbhârata. Draupadî when lost by Yudhisthira at dice, was dragged in the public assembly by Duhsâsana by her Veṇî or braided hair, and she resolved that her hair would remain dishevelled until that insult was revenged. The insult was revenged when Bhîma killed Duryodhana, and Draupadî's hair was bound up again. There are passages which are vigorous, but on the whole the play is harsh in style and rude in execution, and it belongs obviously to a period not very long before the Mahommedan conquest of India.

CHAPTER XII.

POETRY.

THE name of Kâlidâsa stands foremost in poetry as in drama. There is a series of short *Mahâkâvyas* or epics in Sanscrit belonging to the period of which we are now speaking, and the two best of them are Kâlidâsa's. One is called *Raghuvansa* or the race of Raghu, and the other is the *Kumâra Sambhava* or the birth of Kumâra, the war god.

The first is a long account of the royal race of Ayodhyâ, beginning with the founder of the dynasty and ending with the last kings of Râma's race. The subject is one more suited for history than for poetry, but the genius of the poet enlivens the whole story. Scenes from the life of king after king are painted with all the skill of a great master; the descriptions are always rich and spirited and often rise to true poetry; and the reader remains from the first to the last under the spell of Kâlidâsa's rich and superb fancy, and his inimitable sweetness of versification.

One of the happiest and most remarkable passages in the whole work is that in which Râma, after winning back Sîtâ from Ceylon, travels through the air in a celestial car all the way to Ayodhyâ. All India with her rivers and forests and mountains and the blue waters of the ocean lie below, and Râma points out the different places to his gentle and loving consort. Apart from the beauty of the passage, it is interesting as giving us some notion of the Geography of India as known to the literary men of Ujjayinî in the 6th century A.D.

In our opinion Kâlidâsa takes a bolder flight in his Kumâra Sambhava. Here he does not narrate the history of a race of kings, but paints from the inexhaustible storehouse of his imagination, the love of Umâ for the great Siva, and their happy union.

Umâ was born the daughter of the deity of the Himâlaya mountains, and a sweeter child never saw the light :

Blest was that hour, and all the world was gay,
When Menâ's daughter saw the light of day.
A rosy glow filled all the brightening sky,
And odorous breeze came sweeping softly by,
Breathed round the hill a sweet unearthly strain,
And the glad heavens poured down their flowery rain.

Griffith's Translation.

The early years of the gentle maiden are described with exquisite grace and sweetness ; but a great future awaits her. The gods intend her as a bride to the mighty Siva, for unto them will be born a child who will lead the gods to victory against the Asuras. Siva is now engaged in pious contemplation in the Himâlaya mountains, and it is arranged that the youthful Umâ will wait on the mighty god as a handmaiden, and look to all his needs.

We can remember nothing lovelier and fresher in the creations of fancy than the image of Umâ clad in chaste garments and decorated with flowers, attending on the great god in his devotions, collecting flowers for him, and doing him due obeisance. In doing obeisance she stooped so low—

That from her hair,
Dropped the bright flower that starred the midnight there.

Griffith.

And Siva pleased with her homage blessed her—

Surely thou shalt be
Blessed with a husband who loves none but thee. *Griffith.*

Everything might have gone on smoothly to the desired end, if the mischievous god of love had not interfered. He marks the moment of Siva's weakness and lets go his unerring shaft. Let the poet narrate the effect on the hermit-god Siva :—

Like the moon's influence on the sea at rest,
Came passion stealing over the hermit's breast,
While on the maiden's lip that mocked the dye
Of ripe red fruit he bent his melting eye.
And oh ! how showed the lady's love for him,
The heaving bosom and each quivering limb !

Like young Kadambas, when the leaf buds swell
At the warm touch of spring they love so well;
But still with downcast eyes she sought the ground,
And durst not turn their burning glances round.
Then with strong effort Siva lulled to rest
The storm of passion in his troubled breast,
And seeks, with angry eyes that round him roll.
Whence came the tempest over his tranquil soul.
He looked and saw the bold young archer stand,
His bow bent ready in his skilful hand,
Drawn towards the eye,—his shoulder well depressed,
And the left foot thrown forward as a rest.
Then was the hermit-god to madness lashed,
Then from his eye red flames of fury flashed.
So changed the beauty of that glorious brow,
Scarce could the gaze support its terror now.
Hark! heavenly voices sighing through the air:
'Be calm, great Siva, O be calm and spare!'
Alas! the angry eye's resistless flashes
Have scorched the gentle king of love to ashes!

Griffith.

Love's bride laments the death of her lord, and Umâ in mortification and grief retires into a wood and begins penances and prayer. The poet launches again into a description of the gentle and tender girl subjecting herself to hard penances unsuited to her frame. Summer is passed amid scorching fires,—in autumn she remains exposed to the rains,—and the blasts of winter see her still unshaken in her purpose.

A young hermit comes to enquire the reason of these severe penances undertaken by a young and tender damsel. Umâ's maidens explain to him the cause, but the hermit can scarcely believe that so gentle a creature should be in love with so unloveable a god as Siva, who remains smeared with ashes and wanders about in funeral places,—

Impatient Umâ listened; the quick blood
Rushed to her temples in an angry flood.

Griffith.

She explains to the unmannerly hermit with passionate eloquence the glories of the great deity whom none knows and none can comprehend, and she rises to depart from the place in anger and scorn,—

She turned away, with wrath her bosom swelling
Its vest of bark in angry pride repelling,—

But sudden lo! before her wondering eyes,
In altered form she sees the sage arise;
'Tis Siva's self before the astonished maid
In all his gentlest majesty arrayed!

Griffith.

Yes, it is Siva himself who had refused to be forced into love, but is now propitiated and pleased with Umâ's penances, and now humbly craves a return of his affection from Umâ the mountain maid.

Among the shorter poems of Kâlidâsa, the best and sweetest is the *Meghadûta*, or the Cloud Messenger. The story is simple. A Yaksha is banished by royal order from his home for being too fond of his wife and neglecting his duties; and in his exile he gazes on the dark cloud of the rainy season and bids it carry a message of love to his dear beloved at home. The lover indicates the way by which the cloud should proceed, and the poet describes the various parts of India from the Vindhyas to the Himâlaya mountains in verse, which, for richness of fancy and melody of rythm, has never been excelled in the literature of the world :—

On Naga Nadi's banks thy waters shed,
And raise the feeble jasmin's languid head.
Grant for awhile thy interposing shroud,
To where those damsels woo the friendly cloud;
As while the garland's flowery stores they seek,
The scorching sunbeams tinge their tender cheek,
The ear hung lotus fades, and vain they chase,
Fatigued and faint, the drops that dew the face.
What though to northern climes thy journey lay,
Consent to track a shortly devious way.
To fair *Ujjaini's* palaces and pride,
And beauteous daughters turn awhile aside;
Those glancing eyes, those lightning looks unseen,
Dark are thy days, and thou in vain hast been.

* * * *

Behold the city whose immortal fame
Glows in *Avanti's* or *Visala's* name!
Renowned for deeds that worth and love inspire,
And bards to paint them with poetic fire:
The fairest portion of celestial birth,
Of Indra's paradise transferred to earth,
The last reward to acts austerest given,
The only recompense then left to heaven.
Here, as the early zephyrs waft along,
In swelling harmony, the woodland song,

They scatter sweetness from the fragrant flower,
That joyful opens to the morning hour;
With friendly zeal they sport around the maid
Who early courts their vivifying aid,
And cool from *Sipra's* jelid waves embrace
Each languid limb and enervated grace.

Wilson's Translation.

A short poem on the seasons is also ascribed to Kâlidâsa.

Bhâravi who was a contemporary or a successor of Kâlidâsa is by a long way inferior to him in all the qualities which make a great and a true poet. In the richness of a creative fancy, in true tenderness and pathos, and even in the sweetness and melody of verse, Kâlidâsa is incomparably a greater poet. But nevertheless Bhâravi boasts of a vigour of thought and of language, a spirited and lofty eloquence in expression, which Kâlidâsa seldom equals. Only one Mahâkâvya, the *Kirâtârjuntam* of Bhâravi, has been left to us, and it is one of the most vigorous and spirited poems in the Sanscrit language.

The story is taken from the Mahâbhârata. Yudhisthira is in exile, and his spirited wife Draupadî urges him to break the treaty with his cousins and to win back his kingdom. With the burning eloquence of a proud and a wronged woman, she points out to him that peace and submission ill become a Kshatriya; that faith is not to be kept with the faithless; that kingdoms and glory are not won by meekness and resignation:—

Cast off thy sloth, assume thy native power,
And, manlike, deal destruction to thy foe!
Not kings, but hermits seek seclusion's bower,
Forget their wrongs, and meekly bend in woe.

If mighty men, whose treasure is their fame,
Like thee consent their manhood to degrade,
Then woe to warrior's pride and warrior's name,
And honour, courage, chivalry be dead!

But vain these words! If spoilt of thy great name,
Thou seek'st in holy peace to sink thy ire,
Forego these arms,—that bow of royal fame,
Go plait thy locks,—like hermits worship fire!

From an unpublished translation by the present writer.

Yudhisthira's spirited brother Bhîma supports Drau-

padî; but Yudhisthira is not to be moved from his plighted word, and recommends resignation. In the meantime Vyâsa, the mythical compiler of the Vedas, comes to see the king in his exile, and advises Arjuna to seek by penance celestial arms, with which he will be able to conquer his foes in the hour of battle. Arjuna accordingly takes leave of his brothers, and Draupadî of course urges him on to the task with her persuasive eloquence. The hero retires into the solitudes of the Himâlaya mountains to perform his penances.

No part of the poem brings out Bhâravi's merits as a poet to greater advantage than the account of Arjuna's penances in this wild solitude. His innate pride and worth are admirably contrasted with his present vocation; and the influence of his presence is felt by the animate and inanimate creatures of the peaceful hermitage. Indra's messenger sees this strange hermit and reports to the god accordingly,—

Like a strange luminary of the sky,
Though clad in humble barks, on yonder hill,
A holy man, intent on purpose high,
Doth penances! And earth is hushed and still!

In his great arms, whose muscles snake-like coil,
He holds a mighty awe-inspiring bow;
But gentle are his deeds, devout his toil,
No gentler, holier hermit lives below!

Soft the zephyr blows, the sward is green,
The sky is blue, and rains the dust allay.
By worth subdued, the elements I ween
In one accord to him obeisance pay!

The forest beasts their mutual strife forget,
And humbly listen to his beck and word;
For him the bending trees with blossoms wait,
The mighty mountains own him as their lord!

His ceaseless toil bespeaks a purpose high,
His mighty mein denotes success is near.
A gentle hermit!—But his radiant eye
Instils a sense of awe and secret fear!

If from holy saints he is descended,
From Daityas sprung, or from some kingly line,
I know not lord! Nor why to woods hath wended,
For penance hard and ceaseless rites divine.

Unpublished translation.

Indra is pleased with the message, for Arjuna is his son, and Indra wishes him success. But nevertheless he is resolved to try the mortal as he tries all anchorites, and sends celestial nymphs to lure the hero from his austere rites. Our author launches into a description of these lovely nymphs in two cantos, describing how they gather flowers and plunge into a river, and appear with renovated beauty before the solitary anchorite.

Pale with rites prescribed of old,
In arms accoutred, calm and bold,
Like Veda,—peaceful, glorious, great,—
Arjuna's self at last they met.

Resplendent in a robe of light,
Like the beauteous lord of night,
Alone upon a hill he stood,
And seemed of all the woods the god!

Pale with penances,—but great,
Unapproachable!—though all sedate,
Alone—but strong as hosts in fight,
A saint,—but weilding Indra's might!

Unpublished translation.

Such is the hero whom the nymphs meet, and such is the saint whom they vainly try to tempt. The celestial beauties retire, somewhat humbled, and then Indra himself comes in the guise of an old anchorite to dissuade Arjuna from his penances; even as Kâlidâsa's Siva comes in disguise to dissuade Umâ from her love of that deity. The mutability of worldly grandeur, the folly of seeking power and fame, the wisdom of seeking true virtue and salvation,—all these are pleaded by the disguised god with convincing eloquence; but Arjuna remains unconvinced and unshaken in his purpose:—

Father! thy advice is right,
But alas it suits not me,
As the starry sky of night
Doth not suit the light of day.

* * * *

For I seek to wash our stain,—
Stain for which this heart hath bled,—
With the tear drops for the slain
By their sorrowing widows shed!

If the hope on which I've rested
Be unreal, idle, vain;
Be it so:—thy words are wasted;
Pardon, if I cause thee pain.

Till I conquer, crush my foe.
Win again our long-lost fame,
Salvation's self to me were woe,—
Hind'rance to my lofty aim!

Unpublished translation.

Indra is not ill pleased with this unshaken determination which yields neither to temptation nor to reason; and the god discloses himself and points out to the hero the way to win the celestial arms he seeks, by the worship of Siva, who alone can bestow them.

Once more Arjuna engages in penances and severe austerities, until the fame of his rigid piety is carried to Siva himself. Siva now comes to meet the pious Kshatriya,—not in the guise of an old man to dissuade him from his religious performances,—but as a warrior wishing to try a warrior's steel. He assumes the guise of a Kirâta or wild hunter, and a mighty boar which came to attack Arjuna is slain. Both Arjuna and the disguised god claim the merit of having slain the animal, and thus a quarrel is picked up which leads to a fight which our author describes in no less than six cantos.

The battle, though full of the most striking and spirited passages, is nevertheless described in the extravagant style common to Hindu poets. Arms of snakes, arms of fire, and arms of clouds and rain are discharged, until the firmament is filled with hissing serpents, roaring flames, or copious torrents of rain! But all these miraculous weapons are of little avail to Arjuna, to the hero's great astonishment the wild hunter replies to every weapon with a mightier one, and is more than a match for the most skilled warrior of the period!

Astonished at the hunter's mighty skill
Arjuna paused in meditation still,
And in his heart which never quaked 'midst foes,
Doubts and misgivings, such as these, arose.

Warriors have I seen of matchless power,
Armies in great contests darkening lower,
And beaten all! Why fail before this swain?
Why fails the sun before the paler moon?

Is this all magic? Is it all a dream?
Gone is my might? Or am I still the same?
Why triumphs not my never-failing steel,
Above this hunter's all untutored skill?

Rending the boundless sky as if in twain,
Sounding his bow, and shaking earth and main,
He fights. Is he a simple mountaineer!
By deeds a man disguised is shewn all clear.

Such wondrous aim on foe to send his dart,
To shield himself such never-failing art,
Not Bhîshma's self nor Drona proud doth own,
How can a swain possess such skill alone?

Unpublished translation.

At length deprived of all arms, Arjuna springs on his invincible foe to wrestle him down. The wrestling goes on long, and Siva, no mean wrestler, springs into the air to attack Arjuna, and the latter holds him by the feet to pull him down. This appeal the mighty god cannot withstand; a faithful worshipper holds him by the feet, Siva reveals himself, and blesses the saintly warrior, and bestows on him the coveted arms by which he is to win back his kingdom and his fame.

Such is the celebrated poem of Bhâravi which does not boast of any interesting plot or any striking creations of fancy, but which is characterized by a force and vigour of sentiment and expression which have given the poem a place among the unperishable works of the ancient Hindus.

Coming now to the seventh century A.D., we know, on the authority of the Chinese traveller I-tsing, that the poet Bhartrihari graced the age of Sîlâditya II. Bhartrihari's *Satakas* show that he was a Hindu, but they are nevertheless marked by the Buddhist spirit of the time in which he lived. Professor Tawney of Calcutta has rendered some of them into elegant and

spirited English verse, and a few extracts will convey an idea of the original to the reader—

Not to swerve from truth and mercy, not for life to stoop to shame;
From the poor no gifts accepting, nor from men of evil fame;
Lofty faith and proud submission,—who on fortune's giddy ledge
Firm can tread this path of duty, narrow as the sabre's edge?
Abstinence from sin of bloodshed, and from speech of others' wives,
Truth and open-handed largess, love for men of holy lives,
Freedom from desire and avarice,—such the path that leads to bliss,
Path which every sect may travel, and the simple cannot miss.

Treachery is of crimes the blackest,
Avarice is a world of vice,
Truth is nobler far than penance,
Purity than sacrifice.
Charity's the first of virtues,
Dignity doth most adorn,
Knowledge triumphs unassisted,
Better death than public scorn.

You are a lord of acres
But we are lords of song;
And we subdue the subtle,
If you subdue the strong;
The rich of you are speaking,
In me the wise believe,
And if you find me irksome,
Why then—I take my leave.

What profit are the Vedas,
Or books of legal lore,
Or those long-winded legends
Repeated o'er and o'er?
What gain we by our merits?
A dwelling in the skies—
A miserable mansion,
That men of sense despise—
All these are huckstering methods—
Give me that perfect way
Of self-contained fruition,
Where pain is done away.

A hermit's forest cell, and fellowship with deer,
A harmless meal of fruit, stone beds besides the stream,
Are helps to those who long for Siva's guidance here;
But be the mind devout, our homes will forests seem.

C. H. Tawney.

"Truth is nobler far than penance, purity than sacrifice,"—this is the ulterior lesson which Hinduism has taught in every religious work and every literary composition, in all centuries and in all epochs. The

Sûtrakâras learnt this lesson from the Vedas and handed it down to the immortal Gautama Buddha who made this principle his whole religion! And even the later Hindus of the Pauranik Period, with all their leaning towards forms and rites, never lost sight of this truth. Drunkenness and falsehood were *Mahâpâtakas* of old; inter-caste-marriage and widow-marriage were none. *Now*, the latter involve loss of caste; the former go unpunished. Such rules are doomed!

The extracts from Bhartrihari given above will enable the reader to agree in the opinion of Professor Lassen, that it is the terse and epigrammatic character of Bhartrihari's short poems which make them conspicuous among the productions of the Indian muse; and the perfect art with which they are composed, make them worthy of being ranked among the masterpieces of Indian genius.

We have seen before that a Mahâkâvya known as *Bhattikâvya* is also probably the work of Bhartrihari. It is the story of the Râmâyana told briefly; the remarkable feature of the work is, that it has been written to teach grammar! All the conjugational forms of verbs which are difficult to remember, and all other difficult derivations of words have been interwoven in melodious verse, so that the student who knows the poem knows Sanscrit grammar also. The poetry does not aspire to the beauty of Kâlidâsa's poems, or the dignity of Bhâravi's work, but the mastery of words and the art of composition are perfect and matchless, and worthy of the author of the epigrammatic Satakas.

Two other Mahâkâvyas are also generally studied by Hindu students; but both these are later productions, and belong, probably, to the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. One of them is *Naishadha* of Sri Harsha and the other is *Sisupâlavbaha* of Mâgha. The stories of both are taken from the Mahâbhârata.

Naishadha is the well-known story of Nala and Damayantî, one of the most touching episodes of the great epic. Dr. Bühler fixes the date of this poem in the 12th century. The poet is said by Râjasekhara to have

been born in Benares, but he was certainly familiar with Bengal, and Vidyâpati, a Bengali poet of the 14th century, claims Sri Harsha to be a Bengali. It is possible, as has been conjectured by some antiquarians, that he migrated from the North-West to Bengal.

Sisupâlabadha, as its name implies, is the story of the destruction of the proud king Sisupâla, by Krishna. It is a distant imitation of Bhâravi's Kirâtârjunîya ; and the name *Mâgha*, (a winter month), is probably assumed by the author to indicate that he takes away the glory of *Bhâravi* (which means the sun). According to the *Bhoja Prabandha*, he was a contemporary of King Bhoja of Dhara in the 11th century.

The most melodious song that has ever been written in Sanscrit is the *Gîta Govinda*, written by Jayadeva of Bengal in the 12th century A.D.

Jayadeva was a poet of the court of Lakshmana Sena as has been proved by the colophon of an ancient copy of his poem discovered by Dr. Bühler in Kashmir, and he obtained from the king the title of Kavirâja. His poem relates to the loves of Krishna and Râdhâ, and has been rendered with matchless grace and beauty into English verse by Sir Edwin Arnold. One extract will suffice. It describes erring Krishna's amours with other nymphs and describes the gratification of the five senses : smell, sight, touch, taste and hearing :—

One with star blossomed champac wreathed, woos him to rest his head,
On the dark billow of her breast so tenderly outspread ;
And o'er his brow with roses blown she fans a fragrance rare,
That falls on the enchanted sense like rain in thirsty air ;
While the company of damsels wave many an odorous spray,
And Krishna laughing, toying, sighs the soft spring away.

Another gazing in his face, sits wistfully apart,
Searching it with those looks of love that leap from heart to heart ;
Her eyes - afire with shy desire, veiled by their lashes black—
Speak so that Krishna cannot choose but send the message back ;
In the company of damsels whose bright eyes in the ring
Shine round him with soft meanings in the merry light of spring.

The third one of that dazzling band of dwellers in the wood—
Body and bosom panting with the pulse of youthful blood—
Leans over him, as in his ear a lightsome thing to speak,
And then with leaf-soft lip imprints a kiss below his cheek ;
A kiss that thrills, and Krishna turns at the silken touch
To give it back,—Ah Radha ! forgetting thee too much.

And one with arch smile beckons him away from Jumna's banks,
Where the tall bamboo bristle like spears in battle ranks,
And plucks his cloth to make him come into the mango shade,
Where the fruit is ripe and golden, and the milk and cakes are laid ;
Oh ! golden red the mangoes, and glad the feasts of spring,
And fair the flowers to lie upon and sweet the dancers sing.

Sweetest of all that temptress who dances for him now
With subtle feet which part and meet in the Râs measure slow,
To the chime of silver bangles, and the beat of rose-leaf hands,
And pipe and lute and cymbal played by the woodland bands ;
So that wholly passion-laden—eye, ear, sense, soul o'ercome—
Krishna is theirs in the forest ; his heart forgets its home.

CHAPTER XIII.

FICTION.

INDIA was not better known to the ancient nations for her science and poetry than as the birthplace of fables and fiction! The oldest Aryan fables that are to be found anywhere are in the Jâtaka tales dating from some centuries before Christ, and Dr. Rhys Davids has pointed out that many of them have travelled to different parts of Europe, and have assumed various modern shapes.

The fables of the Panchatantra were probably current in India for many centuries before they were compiled in their present shape, in easy and graceful Sanscrit prose. The work was translated into Persian in the reign of Nousharwan (531 to 572 A.D.), and it is certain, therefore, that the Sanscrit compilation was made in the sixth century A.D., if not earlier. The Persian translation was rendered into Arabic, and the Arabic translation was rendered into Greek by Symeon Seth about 1080 A.D. The Greek version was again rendered into Latin by Possinus. A Hebrew translation of the work was made by Rabbi Joel about 1250. A Spanish translation of the Arabic version was published about 1251 A. D. The first German translations were published in the fifteenth century, and since then the work has been rendered into all the languages of Europe, and is known as the fables of Pilpay or Bidpai.* Thus for many centuries the juvenile population of the world was amused with the simple but ingenious tales of animals which a Hindu compiled from the current folklore of his countrymen.

When we proceed from the sixth to the seventh century, we find a great change in Sanscrit prose. More

* See Tawney's translation of *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*, Vol. II, p. 43, *note*.

ambitious works were composed in a style which is more ornate and elaborate, but stilted and artificial. Dandin composed his Dasakumâracharita probably at the very commencement of the seventh century. The work, as its name signifies, is the story of ten princes who meet with various adventures, most of which are of course supernatural. The style, though sufficiently ornate and artificial, is yet less extravagant than that of Kâdamvarî.

Bânabhatta, the renowned writer of the Kâdamvarî, was, as we have seen before, a courtier af Sîlâditya II, and was the author of the Ratnâvalî drama, and of a life of the emperor called Harshacharita. Bânabhatta's father was Chitrabhânu, and his mother was Râjyadevî ; and Chitrabhânu died when young Bâna was only 14 years of age. Bhadranârâyana, Isâna and Mayûra were among Bâna's early friends.

The story of Kâdamvarî is wild and weird, and too long to tell ;—the same couple of lovers go through more than one life, and still feel the same irresistible attraction for each other. Scenes of overwhelming passion, intense sorrow, irresistible love and austere penances in wild solitudes, are depicted with power and with a wonderful command of language There is little of *character* in the various personages. They are all carried away by the vicissitudes of fortune or by torrents of feeling which have the power of fate. It is this which Hindu writers delight in depicting ; of determined efforts of the will in supporting or combating the ordinary ills of life, there are few descriptions in Hindu works of imagination. For the rest, the style of composition, in spite of its wonderful power, is ornate and redundant, laboured and extravagant, beyond all reasonable bounds ; and often the same verbose sentence, with strings of adjectives and long compounds, with a profusion of similes and figures of speech, runs through several pages !

Subandhu also lived in the same reign and wrote the Vâsavadattâ, a shorter tale. Prince Kandarpekatu and princess Vâsavadattâ fell in love while dreaming of each other ; and the prince went to Kusumapura

(Pâtaliputra), met the princess, and carried her away on an aereal steed to the Vindhya mountains. There he fell asleep, and when he awoke he found her not. On this Kandarpaketu was about to commit suicide, when a voice from the sky prevented him and promised him eventual reunion with his beloved bride. After long wanderings he found a stone figure resembling his long lost wife; he touched it, and lo! Vâsavadattâ waked to life. A holy saint had turned her into stone,—with the merciful provision, however, that she would be restored to life on being touched by her husband.

We have yet one or two other important works of fiction to speak of. The Brihat Kathâ is a collection of fables and tales which were long current among the people in the Paisâchî dialect. In the 12th century A.D. Somadeva, a Kashmirian by birth, abridged it and put it into Sanscrit in order to console Queen Sûryavati of Kashmir, on the death of her grandson Harshadeva, in 1125 A.D.; and this abridged compilation is known as the Kathâ Sarit Sâgara. "The book," says the compiler, "is precisely on the model of that from which it is taken; there is not even the slightest deviation; only such language is selected as tends to abridge the prolixity of the work." *

A divine origin must needs be given to this compilation, and its existence in the Paisâchî dialect must needs be explained. This is done in the usual manner. Siva first told the tales to his consort, and an attendant Pushpadanta overheard him. He was therefore cursed and sent down to the earth as a mortal, and was born as Kâtyâyana, the critic of Pânini. He was a minister of Nanda, and a contemporary of Chandragupta and Chânakya, and we are also told that he had a disputation with Pânini himself. This last story, no doubt, owes its origin to the fact of Kâtyâyana's having criticised Pânini; the contemporaneous existence of the two grammarians need not be inferred from this story. Kâtyâyana told the tales (which he had heard as an

* C. H. Tawney's translation.

attendant on Siva) to a Pisâcha Kânabhûti (who was formerly a Yaksha), and Kânabhûti, the Pisâcha, told it in his Paisâchî language to Gunâdhya, another attendant on Siva, but sent to earth as a mortal. Gunâdhya gave the fables to Sâtavâhana, king of Pratishthâna, on the Godâvarî, once the capital of Southern India; and Satavâhana published the great collection of fables. All that we can gather from this elaborate introductory story is that the compilation of the Brihat Kathâ was made in Southern India in the Paisâchî dialect, and that Gunâdhya was probably the compiler.

Somadeva's Sanscrit version, the Kathâ Sarit Sâgara is divided into 18 books and 124 chapters, and contains nearly everything in the way of folklore known in India! We find in it occasional stories from the Mahâbhârata and the Râmâyana, some tales from the Purânas, much of the fables of the Panchatantra, the whole of the twenty-five tales of a demon known as the Betal Pachisi, some of the tales which we believe occur in the Sinhasan Batisi, and many adventures of the great Vikramâditya of Ujjayinî. The tales throw much light on the manners and customs and the domestic life of the people.

With regard to Vikramâditya of Ujjayinî we are told that he was the son of Mahendrâditya by the queen Saumyadarsanâ, and that he had a second name Vishama Sîla (Sîlâditya?) We are also told that he was sent to the earth, because the gods complained of the oppression of the Mlechchhas in India,—and Vikrama fulfilled his destiny and slew the Mlechchhas.

The only other well-known work of fiction is the Hitopadesa, which is merely a compilation of a portion of the older Panchatantra. It is remarkable that all these works of fiction are in Sanscrit, although the Prâkrits were the spoken tongues in India in the Pauranik Period.

Vararachi, one of the "nine gems" of Vikramâditya's court, is the oldest grammarian who treats of the Prâkrit dialects. He distinguishes four distinct dialects,

viz. the *Mahârâstrî* or Prâkrit, properly so called; the *Saurasenî*, very similar to the Mahârâshtrî, and like it derived from the Sanscrit; the *Paisâchi* and the *Mâgadhî* which last two are said to be derived from the Saurasenî.

These Prâkrit dialects gradually came into use in Northern India from the older Pâli language which was the sacred language of the Buddhists, and had been the spoken tongue for a thousand years or more. Indeed, the political and religious causes which ushered in a new form of Hinduism in the place of declining Buddhism had undoubtedly some influence in establishing the newer Prâkrit dialects in the place of the older Pâli.

Political and religious changes have generally been attended in India and elsewhere,—not indeed with sudden changes in the spoken tongue,—but with such changes (slow and gradual in themselves) being authoritatively and suddenly recognized. When the vigorous colonists on the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna left behind their old mother country, the Punjab, in learning and civilization, the Sanscrit of the Rig Veda was replaced by the Sanscrit of the Brâhmanas. With the rise of Magadha and of Gautama Buddha, Pâli replaced the Sanscrit of the Brâhmanas. With the decline of Buddhism and the rise of Hinduism under Vikramâditya, the Prâkrits took the place of the Pâli. And, lastly, with the fall of ancient races and the rise of the Rajputs in the 10th century A.D. was witnessed the rise of the Hindi language, which is still spoken in Northern India.

All this is intelligible. But the readers of Kâlidâsa and of Bhavabhûti will naturally enquire, Did those poets write in a dead language? Is it possible to compose a Sakuntalâ, a Meghadûta or an Uttara Charita in a dead language? Does the history of other nations furnish us with one single instance of such works of matchless beauty being composed in a dead language?

Those who have compared the Prâkrits with Sanscrit will find no difficulty in answering these questions. Sanscrit was not a dead language in the Pauranik Period in the sense in which Latin is now a dead

language in Europe. The difference between Sanscrit and the Prâkrits is far less than the difference between the Latin and even the Italian. When the Prâkrits were commonly spoken, Sanscrit was still understood and even spoken in courts. Learned men carried on oral controversies in Sanscrit. All proclamations and State manifestoes were in Sanscrit. Pandits carried on conversation in the court as in the school-room in Sanscrit. Poems were recited and plays were rehearsed in Sanscrit. All men of education and culture understood Sanscrit, and often spoke Sanscrit. Probably the common people in towns, who spoke the Prâkrits, understood ordinary easy Sanscrit. The educated and the learned were certainly perfectly at home with Sanscrit. It was the language which they always read, which they often spoke, and in which they composed and thought, and even conversed. Sanscrit was not therefore a dead language in the Pauranik Period in the sense in which it is a dead language now. And Kâlidâsa and Bhavabhûti did not compose in a dead language, properly so called, when they wrote the Sakuntalâ or the Uttara Charita.

CHAPTER XIV.

EARLY PAURANIK CIVILIZATION.

WE will now close this rapid and imperfect History of Civilization in Ancient India. It was impossible within our limits to attempt anything like a comprehensive or exhaustive account of this vast subject. We have rather tried to connect together only the leading facts of Indian History, and to present a connected series of outline sketches, illustrating Hindu Civilization in successive ages. If in these portraits, our countrymen have recognised the features of our ancient forefathers, however indistinctly, our labour has not been thrown away. We now crave their attention for a few moments longer to the last pages of our album, illustrating the social manners and civilization of the last epoch of Hindu History, anterior to the Mahommedan conquest.

This last epoch divides itself into two well-marked periods. The manners of the Rajputs of Delhi and Ajmir in the 11th and 12th centuries were somewhat different from those of the times of Vikramâditya and Sîlâditya. The Rajputs belong to modern history, Vikramâditya and Sîlâditya belong to ancient history. The dark ages which intervened, in the 9th and 10th centuries, divide the ancient period from the modern period in India.

In the present chapter, we will confine our observations therefore to the civilization of the Hindus during the early Pauranik Period from the sixth to the ninth century A.D. We will attempt to paint the social life of the Hindus of the time of Kâlidâsa and Bhavabhûti; and the immortal works of these and other poets of the period will furnish us with the materials of our picture. In the following chapter we will try to pourtray the civilization of the later Pauranik Period, from the tenth to the twelfth century, and we shall obtain

our materials from the notes of a thoughtful, learned and sympathetic foreigner who has left us records of his impressions.

Kâlidâsa himself has, in his character of Dushyanta, given us a picture of the great kings of his time, of Vikramâditya for instance. We can conceive, to some extent, the life that was led by the great Emperor of Northern India in the midst of his luxurious and learned court, his guards and his soldiers. Martial in his demeanour and active in his habits, he delighted in war and in hunting, and often took his soldiers, his chariots, his horses and his elephants in great hunting expeditions in the primeval jungles of India. A fool was as invariably the companion of Hindu kings as of European monarchs in the Middle Ages, and the Indian fool was a Brâhman, whose stupid apprehension, gross tastes, and occasional witty sayings regaled the leisure hours of the king. Soldiers guarded his palace night and day, while in the inner apartments female guards waited on the king, and were under the orders of an aged and faithful chamberlain. To judge from the poet's account, the great conqueror of the Sakas did not dislike the company of Saka women, who guarded his palace and accompanied him in hunting with bows and arrows, and gracefully decked with flowers. Indeed, if we can rely on the tales of the Kathâ Sarit Sâgara, the Emperor of Ujjayinî was not very particular as to the race or caste of the lovely damsels whom he wedded one after the other, after his numerous adventures ; and Madana Sundarî, a Bhill princess, was one of the number, her father declaring, "and I, my sovereign, will follow you as your slave with twenty thousand archers." The amorous emperor, we are told in the same work, fell in love with Malayâvatî, princess of Malayapura, on seeing her picture, and with Kalingasenâ, princess of Bengal, on seeing her figure sculptured in stone in a Vihâra ; and it is needless to state that both princesses eventually found admission into the great king's extensive seraglio ! (K. S. S., Book XVIII.)

The poet of Vikaramorvasî and Mâlavikâgnimitra

must have somewhat softened the passionate jealousies and discords which were not unoften witnessed in the royal harem. Royalty always indulged in a plurality of wives, often for political purposes ; and besides these stately ladies, many a humble and pretty attendant of the queen won the favour of the king and was punished by her mistress. In spite of all this, the chief queen was always held in high honor and esteem ; she was the mistress of the household and the sharer of the king's glory on every state occasion.

Women in humbler life had, like queens, their inner apartments separate from those of men. The same custom was observed in Europe in the olden days of Rome and Pompei, and Sanscrit poets often describe the peaceful domestic life of the fair inmates of these apartments. But the absolute seclusion of women was unknown even in the Pauranik Period. Sakuntalâ and Malayâvatî did not precipitately retreat when strangers like Dushyanta and Jîmûtavâhana appeared before them. Mâlatî, in the bloom of her youth, rode on an elephant to a temple on a festal day, in the midst of a great concourse of citizens, and there met the youth to whom she gave away her heart, and who reciprocated the feeling. In the first or introductory book of Kathâ Sarit Sâgara, we find that Kâtyâyana Vararuchi's mother received two unknown Brâhmans as her guests and freely conversed with them, and Varsha's wife too had previously received the same strangers, and had narrated to them the story of her husband's misfortunes. In the numerous tales contained in this voluminous work of the 12th century A.D., we nowhere find any instance of women in ordinary life being kept in such absolute and unhealthy seclusion as became the custom in later times under the rule of the Moslems. In Mrichchhakati, Chârudatta's virtuous and modest wife freely converses with Chârudatta's friend Maitreya, and in Kâdamavarî, in Nâgânanda, in Ratnâvalî, and in every other classical work, we find the heroine frequently conversing with the friends of her husband. Ladies of the royal household were, of course,

kept under a greater degree of restriction; but even they were allowed to see the friends of the king. When the ministers of Naravâhana Datta came to see his new queen Ratnaprabhâ, they were announced before they were admitted to her presence. The queen rebelled even against this necessary formality and said, "The door must not again be closed against the entrance of my husband's friends, for they are as dear to me as my own body." (K. S. S., Chap. 36.)

Marriage was arranged by the parents of the bride and the bridegroom. Thus when an offer of marriage was made to Jîmûtavâhana, his companion said, "Go to his parents and ask them," and the parents gave their consent without consulting the young man's inclinations. If, however, we can trust the poets of the period, the ceremony was often performed at a proper age. Mâlatî, the heroine of Bhavabhûti's drama, was still a maiden after she had reached her youth, Mâlavikâ and Malayâvatî and Ratnâvalî were unmarried even when they were in the bloom of their beauty, and the pious Rishi Kanva did not think of giving Sakuntalâ in marriage until in youth she met Dushyanta and lost her heart. No doubt the custom of early marriage, of which we find sanction in the later Dharma Sâstras, prevailed in many cases; but the custom had not become universal, and it was not considered a sin to keep a girl unmarried until she had attained her youth. The ceremony of marriage was the same as it was in ancient days, and as it continues to the present day. The stepping round the fire, the offering of grain as sacrifice, and the utterance of some promises by the bride and the bridegroom were considered the essential rites.

Girls were taught to read and to write, and there are numerous examples in the classical works of girls writing and reading epistles. In Mrichchhakatî, Maitreya says he always laughs when he hears a woman reading Sanscrit or a man singing a song; and however much Maitreya may have disliked it, there can be little doubt from the passage itself, that women *did* often read Sanscrit as men did often learn to sing. Music is frequently

alluded to as a female accomplishment. In one remarkable passage in Nâgânanda, we are told that the princess Malayâvatî sang a song, possessing the treble and bass tones duly developed; and soon after we learn that she played with her fingers, keeping good time in due divisions of slow, medium and quick, the three pauses rendered in proper order, and the three modes of playing shewn in the slow and quick accompaniments.

In the Kathâ Sarit Sâgara (Chapter IX) we learn that the princess Mrigâvatî attained wonderful skill in dancing, singing and other accomplishments before she was given in marriage. Numerous such passages are to be found in classical literature.

Painting too is frequently alluded to as an accomplishment possessed both by men and women; and we have already alluded to a passage in Nâgânanda shewing that coloured earth was used for painting in ancient India, as in ancient Pompei. The Uttara Râma Charita opens with an account of some paintings which Lakshmana shewed to Sîtâ: and we learn from the Kathâ Sarit Sâgara (Chapter 122) that Nagara Svâmin was the painter-laureate of the court of Vikramâditya, and presented the king with pictures illustrating different types of female beauty.

Connubial love has never been described with deeper feeling than by the poets of India. We have already quoted the passage from the Uttara Râma Charita describing the tender love of Râma for Sîtâ; and the reader, familiar with Sanscrit literature, will no doubt call to mind hundreds of such passages pourtraying the regard and love of Hindu husbands and the devotion of Hindu wives.*

Domestic life, however, is not all poetry, and we get a truer idea of domestic sorrows and troubles from the tales in the Kathâ Sarit Sâgara than from the poetry of Bhavabhûti or Kâlidâsa. Poverty, bereavement, the

* "The Hindu poets rarely dispraise their women; they almost invariably represent them as amiable and affectionate. In this they might give a lesson to the bards of more lofty nations, and particularly to the Greeks, who both in tragedy and comedy pursued the fair sex with implacable rancour. Aristophanes is not a whit behind Euripides, although he ridicules the tragedian for his ungallant propensities."—Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus* (London 1871), vol. i, p. 77. *Note.*

contempt or hatred of relations and neighbours, the cruelty of husbands, or the uncontrolled temper of wives, often poisoned the peace of home and made life a burden. Not the least galling of all evils were the differences and disputes amongst members of joint families, or the heartless cruelty of mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law towards a submissive wife. The gentle and virtuous Kîrti Senâ, suffering from such domestic tyranny, exclaimed in sorrow,—"this is why relations lament the birth of a daughter, exposed to the terrors of the mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law." (K. S. S., Chap. 29.)

We have quoted passages in a previous chapter to shew that widows were not prohibited from marrying again in the Pauranik Age. A droll story is told of the daughter of a householder of Mâlava who married eleven husbands successively. And on the death of the eleventh husband, the plucky widow would probably have welcomed a twelfth, but "even the stones could not help laughing at her," so she took to the life of an ascetic. (K. S. S., Chap 66.)

We have spoken before of the love and devotion of Hindu wives. With the decline of the national spirit and of a due respect for women, this female devotion degenerated into a barbarous custom in the Pauranik Age. There is no allusion to the rite of Suttee in the literature of India previous to the Pauranik Period; there is no mention of it in the Code of Manu or even of Yâjnavalkya. It is in Pauranik literature that we first trace the rise of this custom.

Suicide by entering the fire was known in India from the time of Alexander the Great, and even earlier. When in the Pauranik Age the devotion of wives to their husbands was insisted upon to a greater extent than the regard of husbands for their wives, the form of suicide spoken of above was recommended as a meritorious act more to widows than to others. Thus Varâhamihira praises women in his astronomy, because they enter the fire on losing their husbands, while men go and marry again on losing their wives. Nevertheless

the custom was not restricted to women or to widows, even in the Pauranik Age. In Mâlatî Mâdhava, Mâlatî's father makes preparations for mounting the funeral pyre for the grief of his child; in Mrichchhakati, Chârudatta's wife similarly prepares to mount the pyre when her husband was disgraced and about to be executed; and in Nâgânanda, Jîmûtavâhana's father, mother and wife resolve to perish on the pyre for the loss of the prince.

In the Kathâ Sarit Sâgara we find a maiden disappointed in love preparing to enter the funeral pyre (Chapters 118 and 112). And, turning from fiction to history, we know that a king of Kanouj perished on the pyre, because he was disgraced in the eyes of his countrymen for his friendship with Mahmud of Ghazni. It was in fact an ostentatious form of suicide when grief or disgrace became unsupportable, and life was cheerless and void. Reprehensible as such suicide always was, it became a cowardice and a crime when men ceased to perform the rite, and imposed it as an honorable act for women alone, to be performed on the death of their husbands. Such practice became a settled custom when the Hindus ceased to be a living nation.

Courtesans of great beauty and accomplishments received in ancient India, as in ancient Greece, a higher regard, and lived, in spite of their immoral profession, a more intellectual and elevated life than their degraded sisters of modern times. Ambapâlî who vied with Lichchavi lords in pomp and pride, and who invited the holy Gautama Buddha to her house, reminds one of Aspasia receiving Socrates in her house. Similarly, Vasantasenâ, the heroine of the Mricchchhakati, lived in great pomp and splendour; she received the gay young men of Ujjayinî in a public court furnished with a gaming table, books, pictures and other means of recreation; she employed skilled artisans and jellewers in her house; she relieved the needy and the unfortunate; and in spite of her trade was—

> "Of courteous manners and unrivalled beauty,
> The pride of all Ujjayin!" *Wilson.*

In the same way we learn from the Kathâ Sarit Sâgara (Chapter 38), that the courtesan Madanamâlâ of Pratishthâna, the capital of Southern India, lived in a mansion "that resembled the palace of a king," and had guards and soliders, horses and elephants; and she honoured king Vikramâditya (who had come in disguise) with baths, flowers, perfumes, garments, ornaments and rich viands. And again, from Chapter 124 of the same work, we learn that Devadattâ, a courtesan of Ujjayinî, lived in her "palace worthy of a king."

Ujjayinî, we need hardly say, was the proudest town in India in the days of which we are speaking. Genius and beauty, wealth and royal power combined to shed a rare lustre on this ancient city in the sixth century A.D. Good reasons had the Yaksha in the Meghadûta to ask the cloud not to pass by without a visit to Ujjayinî; or else, "Dark are thy days, and thou in vain hast been."

Not daring to disobey such high injunction, we paid a visit to the classic town some years ago. Its ancient glory is gone, the very memories of the past dwell not in its precincts. But nevertheless, as we strolled through its rough paved stony streets, looked at the quaint old houses darkening the lanes, saw the crowd of simple-hearted people in their native joyousness, and visited the ancient temple of Mahâkâla, probably the very temple alluded to by Kâlidâsa in Meghadûta, we felt that it was possible, feebly and faintly, to revive the past in one's imagination, and to form some conception of what this town was in olden days. And certainly the exceptionally realistic account of the town given in the Mrichchhakati helps one's imagination not a little. That play will be our guide in our attempt to delineate the past.

Under the shadow of the royal power dwelt the peaceful merchants and bankers in the Exchange or Merchants' quarters, Sreshthi-chatvara, as the poet calls it. Quiet and unostentatious as Hindu merchants always are, these banker merchants probably had their branch firms in the great towns all over Northern

India, carried on extensive operations in silks, jewels and valuable goods, and concealed in their dark vaults, in crowded and narrow lanes, enormous treasures and money which kings and emperors did not disdain to borrow in times of need. Ostentatious only in their charity and religious works, they no doubt beautified the town with many a graceful temple, fed and supported priests and Brâhmans, and earned a name among their fellow citizens by their good works. To the present day the Setts and merchants of Northern India are respected for their wealth and their pious acts, and build many a holy temple where Jaina or Hindu worship is performed day by day.

Jewellers and artists flocked in the vicinity of merchants. In the words of the poet, "skilful artists examine pearls, topazes, sapphires, emeralds, rubies, the lapis lazuli, coral and other jewels; some set rubies in gold, some work gold ornaments on colored threads, some string pearls, some grind the lapis lazuli, some pierce shells, and some cut coral. Perfumers dry the saffron bags, shake the musk bags, express the sandal juice, and compound essences." These artists found a market all through the known world, and the products of their skill were appreciated in the court of Houran-al-Rashid in Bagdad, and astonished the great Charlemagne and his rude barons, who, as an English poet has put it, raised their visors and looked with wonder on the silks and brocades and jewellery which had come from the far East to the infant trading marts of Europe.

Humbler traders filled other streets, and displayed their cloths and garments and sweetmeats and various other commodities. A stream of joyous and simple-hearted people filled the busy streets all through the livelong day.

But the markets and bazars were not the only places of public resort; there were others of a more questionable character. Gambling houses were established under the king's orders,—as is still the case in the continent of Europe,—the master of the table was appointed

by the king to maintain order, and was entitled, according to the Agni Purâna, to one-fifth or one-tenth of the winnings, as the king's dues. The money which a gambler loses at a gambling table in the Mrichchhakati is reckoned as ten Suvarnas; and a Suvarna was undoubtedly a golden coin which Dr. Wilson estimates at Rs. 8-14

We know from Sakuntalâ that there were grog shops which were frequented by the very lowest castes; while among the courtiers of a luxurious court, and among the profligate and the gay, drinking was not unknown. Bhâravi has a canto on the joys of drinking, and Kâlidâsa too often speaks of ladies whose lips were scented with the perfumes of liquor! Nâgânanda has an amusing passage relating to an intoxicated courtier in search for his mistress,—a slave girl. Drinking was almost universal in royal courts and the ladies of the royal household did not refuse their share! The Kathâ Sarit Sâgara (Chapter 110) thus describes the drinking hall of king Naravâhana Datta. "It was full of goblets, made of various jewels, which looked like so many expanded lotuses, and strewn with many flowers, so that it resembled a lotus bed in a garden; and it was crowded with ladies with jugs full of intoxicating liquor who made it flash like the nectar appearing in the arms of Garuda. There they drank wine that snaps those fetters of shame, that bind the ladies of the royal household,—wine the essence of love's life, the ally of merriment!" The mass of the middle classes and of the industrial and agricultural classes abstained from drink as they do to this day.

Other vices of large towns were not unknown in Ujjayinî. "At this time of evening," says Maitreya in Mrichchhakati, "the royal road is crowded with loose persons, with cut-throats, courtiers and courtesans;" and elsewhere in the same play we have a rather elaborate account of a theft committed in Chârudatta's house, and the footsteps of the night watch were heard, (as is often the case with the police of the present day), just after the thief had finished his job, and retired

with the booty! In another place, in the same play, we are told—

> "The road is solitary, save where the watch
> Peforms his wonted round: the silent night,
> Fit season only for dishonest acts,
> Should find us not abroad." *Wilson.*

Wealthy citizens rejoiced in a large number of retainers, in spacious courts and in unquestioning hospitality. We have in Mrichchhakati a somewhat exaggerated account of a wealthy house, from which we can form some conception of wealthy houses generally. The outer door is pretty, the threshold is colored and well swept and watered, flowers and garlands are hung over the gate, and the doorway is a lofty arch. On entering the first court is seen a line of white buildings, the walls covered with stucco, the steps made of various stones, and the crystal windows looking down on the streets of the city. Inside the second court are carriages, oxen and horses and elephants, fed by their *mahouts* with rice and *ghee!* In the third court is the assembly hall where the visitors are received; in the fourth there is music with dancing; and in the fifth is the kitchen. In the sixth court live artists and jewellers employed in the house, and in the seventh is an aviary. In the eighth court lives the owner of the house. It is not likely that any but the most wealthy indulged in such profuse magnificence;—but the account gives us some idea of pompous Hindu households. Behind the house is a lovely garden, such as was the delight of Hindu ladies of olden days. Sakuntalâ was fond of watering her plants herself, and the Yaksha's wife used to sit in her garden and think of her absent lord.

Besides such extensive residences inside the town, wealthy men had their garden houses and villas in the suburbs, "far beyond the city," and a taste for such rural villas continues to the present day.

Among the possessions of wealthy men, slaves were reckoned as a very important item. Domestic slaves were bought and sold in ancient India as in every ancient country, and probably most domestic

servants in ancient times were slaves. In Mrichchhakati a ruined gambler proposes to sell himself in order to pay his debt. Still more remarkable is another passage, in which the paramour of a female slave asks her what money will procure her manumission from her mistress. The well-known story of Harishchandra goes on to say, that the Raja sold his wife and child and himself as slaves to pay off a ruthless Brâhman's debt, and there are numerous other stories to the same effect. Slavery, indeed, continued in India until recent times.

The ordinary conveyance of well-to-do persons in towns was a kind of covered litter drawn by oxen. Both men and women travelled in such litters, and Vasantasenâ went in such a litter to meet her beloved Châdudatta in a garden outside the town. Any one who has travelled in a bullock cart (as the present writer has), over the rough paved streets of Ujjayinî, must know that the lady's journey, like the course of her true-love, was not particularly smooth. Horses were not unoften used as means of conveyance, and in Chapter 124 of the Kathâ Sarit Sâgara, we find that a Brâhman, Devasvâmin, fetched his wife from her father's house, the lady being mounted on a mare, and having a maid with her. Cars drawn by horses were probably only used by kings and lords and warriors in battle, or in hunting expeditions, as we find in Sakuntalâ.

A solitary and invaluable picture of the practical administration of justice in the ancient Hindu times is given in Mrichchhakati. A Brâhman, Châdudatta, is falsely accused by a profligate villain with the murder of Vasantasenâ, the heroine of the play. The villain, we should mention, calls himself the king's brother-in-law. Kings were not very particular in their amours; and thus it happened that brothers and relations of the women of low castes whom kings took into their palaces, were provided with high places in the police. From numerous descriptions of such characters by Kâlidâsa and other poets, we learn that such upstarts

made themselves the pests of society, obnoxious to good men, and the terror of the humble and lowly.

Such a cruel upstart, Vâsudeva by name, had done his best to kill Vasantasenâ, whose love he had vainly courted before, and then falsely accused Châdatta with the crime, because the woman had loved Châdatta. The judge enters the court with the Provost and the Scribe (Kâyastha), and Vâsudeva enters his charge against Châdatta. The judge is unwilling to take up the case on that day, but knowing the influence of the complainant with the king, takes it up, and even puts up with his insolent behaviour in court. Châdatta is summoned.

The simple and good hearted Brâhman enters the court, and his description of it will amuse many a modern reader, and will also give us some idea of the imps of the law who were employed in olden days :—

"The prospect is but little pleasing.
The court looks like a sea ; its councillors
Are deep engulphed in thought ; its tossing waves
Are wrangling advocates ; its brood of monsters
Are these wild animals, death's ministers.
Attorneys skim like wily snakes the surface.
Spies are the shell-fish cowering midst its weeds,
And vile informers, like the hovering curlew,
Hang fluttering o'er, then pounce upon their prey.
The beach that should be justice, is unsafe,—
Rough, rude and broken by oppression's storms."*

Wilson.

We need not go into the details of the evidence,—but appearances certainly go very much against Châdatta. Nevertheless the judge refuses to believe that good man guilty of the abominable crime, and says to himself, "It were as easy to weigh Himâlaya, ford the ocean, or grasp the wind as to fix a stain on Châ-

* "That the translator may not be thought to have had an English rather than an Indian court in his eye, he enumerates the terms of the original for the different members of which it is said to consist. *Mantrins*, councillors ; *Dûtas*, the envoys or representatives of the parties ; the wild animals, death's ministers, are *Nâgas* and *Aswas*, elephants and horses employed to tread or tear condemned criminals to death ; the *Châtas* are spies or runners ; *Nânâvidhâbas*, disguised emissaries or informers ; and *Kâyasthas* are scribes by profession who discharge the duties of notaries and attornies."—*Wilson.*

datta's reputation." But the circumstantial evidence becomes stronger, and the judge feels that by law he ought to decide against Châdudatta, but nevertheless does not feel convinced as to the facts. According to his homely but forcible simile, "the points of law are sufficiently clear here, but the understanding still labours like a cow in a quagmire."

In the meantime Châdudatta's friend enters the court, and with him are discovered the ornaments of the woman said to be murdered. This seals Châdudatta's fate. The judge presses him to speak the truth, and even threatens him, and Châdudatta, heart broken at his own disgrace, overwhelmed by the evidence which is heaped against him, and sick of life on hearing that his beloved Vasantasenâ is no more, confesses, as many an innocent man has confessed, to a murder he has not committed.

The judge orders: "The convicted culprit being a Brâhman, he cannot according to Manu be put to death, but he may be banished the kingdom with his property unattached."

The king however cruelly modifies this sentence into one of death. This cruel order of the king is introduced by the poet, as a sin which he expiates soon after. A revolution overturns his rule, he is killed in battle by an usurper, and Châdudatta is saved when on the point of being executed, and gets back his beloved Vasantasenâ, who had been left as dead by the cruel Vâsudeva himself, but who had not died. The infuriated mob wish to kill the base culprit, the relation of the late king, but the magnanimous Châdudatta saves his life from the mob, and says "Set him free." "Why so?" asks the mob; Châdudatta replies with the genuine Hindu maxim—

> "An humbled foe, who prostrate at your feet
> Solicits quarter, must not feel your sword."
>
> *Wilson.*

CHAPTER XV.

LATER PAURANIK CIVILIZATION

IN the last chapter we have tried to give a brief sketch of Hindu life and civilization in the early Pauranik Age, from the writings of the great Hindu authors who flourished in the sixth and succeeding centuries. But it is always a gain to see ourselves as others see us, and we propose in the present chapter to draw a similar sketch of the later Pauranik Age from the materials supplied to us by a cultured and large-hearted foreigner, Alberuni, who wrote in the eleventh century A.D.

The value of Alberuni's work on India has long been known to scholars, but a scholarlike edition and translation of it had hitherto been wanting. Dr. Edward C. Sachau has now removed the want, and has performed an eminent service to the cause of Oriental research and of Indian history.

Alberuni, or, as his compatriots called him, Abu Raihan, was born in 973 A.D. in the territory of modern Khiva. When Mahmud of Ghazni conquered Khiva in 1017 A.D., the eminent scholar was brought to Ghazni as a prisoner of war. It is probably this circumstance which made him look on Hindus with the sympathy due to fellow sufferers from the conquests and oppression of Mahmud. And while he never hesitates to point out what he considers blemishes in Hindu civilization and literature, he has at least taken the pains to study that civilization and literature in a catholic spirit rare among later Musalman writers, and he never withholds the meed of praise where praise is due.

Of Mahmud's reckless work of destruction in India, Alberuni speaks with deserved animadversion. "Mahmud," he says, "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed those wonderful exploits

by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouths of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Moslems. This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach,—to Kashmir, Benares, and other places." (Chap. I.)

With regard to the Hindus, the fact which struck Alberuni most unfavourably, is that what strikes most intelligent and even well-disposed foreigners in the same way, *viz.*, their complete isolation from other nations of the earth, their ignorance of the outside world, their want of sympathy and communication with other peoples whom they call *Mlechchas*. "They are," says Alberuni, "by nature niggardly in communicating that which they know, and they take the greatest possible care to withhold it from men of another caste among their own people, still much more, of course, from any foreigner. According to their belief, there is no other country on earth but theirs, no other race of man but theirs, and no created being besides them have any knowledge of science whatever. Their haughtiness is such that if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khorasan and Persis, they will think you to be both an ignoramus and a liar. *If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, for their ancestors were not as narrow minded as the present generation is.*" (Chap. I.)

In political matters, too, India was in the last days of her decline when Alberuni wrote. The vast country which had owned the sway or the supremacy of the great Vikramâditya in the sixth century, was now parcelled out among petty kings and chiefs, all independent of each other and often warring with each other. Kashmir was independent and was guarded by its mountains; Mahmud of Ghazni had tried to conquer it but had failed; and the brave Anangapâla, who had vainly tried to oppose the march of Mahmud,

had once fled to that secluded region. Sindh was cut up into petty principalities ruled by Moslem chiefs. In Gujrat Mahmud's invasion of Somanâtha or Pattan had left no lasting result; the Rajput dynasty, which had wrested the supreme power in the land from the Chalukyas before the time of Mahmud (about 980 A.D.) continued to rule there after Mahmud's invasion of Somanâtha. Malwa was ruled by another Rajput race, and Bhojadeva, who ruled for half a century, from 997 to 1053 A.D., was an enlightened patron of letters, and revived in his capital at Dhâra the memories of the reign of Vikramâditya the Great. Alberuni tells us a story (Chap. XVII) about a man being transformed into silver, and the piece of silver being still visible at the palace gate of Dhâra.

Kanouj is said to have then been subject to the Pâla Kings of Bengal who generally resided at Monghyr. Rajyapâla of Kanouj had been plundered by Mahmud in 1017 A.D., and in consequence of this, a new capital had been founded at Bâri, where Mahîpâla lived and ruled about 1026 A.D. Both these rulers, like all the Pâlas of Bengal, are said to have been of the Buddhist persuasion. But Buddhism as a national religion had died out in India in Alberuni's time.

The country round Kanouj was called *Madhya-desa* by the people, because it formed the centre of India, a centre, as Alberuni states, "from a geographical point of view," and "it is a political centre too, because in former times it was the residence of their most famous heroes and kings." (Chap. XVIII.)

Alberuni gives distances from Kanouj to several important places which continue to be important towns to the present day. He speaks of Mathurâ, which "has become famous by Vâsudeva;" of Prayâga or Allahabad "where the Hindus torment themselves with various kinds of torture which are described in the books about religious sects"; of "the famous Banarasi" or Benares; of Pâtaliputra, Monghyr and Gangâsâgara or the mouths of the Ganges. In the south he speaks of Dhâra and Ujjayinî; in the north-west of Kashmir

and Multan and Lahore; and away from the centre of India he speaks of the fabled causeway of Râma, and of the pearl banks of Ceylon, as also of the Maldive and Laccadive Islands. (Chap. XVIII.)

From an account of the country we turn to an account of the people. Alberuni makes some brief remarks on the caste system, from which we are able to see that the Vaisyas—the great body of the Aryan people—were fast degenerating to the rank of Sûdras. In one place we are told that between the Vaisyas and the Sûdras "there is no very great distance." (Chap. IX.) Elsewhere we learn that the Vaisyas had already been deprived of their ancient heritage of religious learning; that the Brâhmans taught the Veda to the Kshatriyas, but "the Vaisya and Sûdra are not allowed to hear it, much less to pronounce or recite it." (Chap. XII.) Again we are told that "every action which is considered as a privilege of a Brâhman, such as saying prayers, the recitation of the Veda, and offering sacrifices to the fire, is forbidden to him, to such a degree, that when —*e.g.*, a Sûdra or a Vaisya is proved to have recited the Veda,—he is accused by the Brâhmans before the ruler, and the latter will order his tongue to be cut off." (Chap. LXIV.)

Let the reader compare this account of the Vaisya's status with that given by Manu, and he will have before him the history of the gradual degeneracy of the *people*, and of the growing power of *priests*. The descendants of the Vaisyas who had an equal right with Brâhmans to learn and recite the Veda and the sacrifice to the fire, came, after the religious and political revolutions of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D., to be classed with Sûdras, and considered unworthy of religious knowledge! Kshatriyas still held their own as long as India was a free country, but lost their glory and independence after the eleventh century. And then the bold myth was proclaimed that Kshatriyas too, as a caste, had, like the Vaisyas, ceased to exsit, that all who were not Brâhmans were Sûdras—all equally incapable of reciting the Veda and sacrificing to the fire! Does

the modern reader wish to go beyond this specious myth of the extinction of the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, and desire to know what has really become of them and their descendants? He will find them classed under new names (Kâyastha, Vaidya, Vanik, Svarnakâra, Karmakâra, &c.) as new castes unknown to Manu and Yâjnavalkya. And room has been kindly provided for these new castes, *formed out of Kshatriyas and Vaisyas*, in the growing list of "mixed castes" by which Manu had only meant *aborigines like Nishâdas and Chandâlas!* It is an old story, at least in Indian history—the ascendancy of *priests* has kept pace with the steady degeneracy of the *people*. And the people, we repeat once more, are more responsible for their degradation and submission to priestly authority than the priests for assuming such authority. The people have to thank themselves for their social degradation and dishonour in the past; and they alone, by their own exertions, can secure an equality in status, in honour, and in rights, in the future.

Below the Sûdra, eight *Antyaja* castes are recounted by Alberuni, *viz.*, the fuller, the shoemaker, the juggler, the basket and shield maker, the sailor, the fisherman, the hunter of wild animals and the weaver.* The Hâri, Doma and Chandâla were considered as outside all castes. (Chap. IX.)

It is a relief to turn from the subject of caste to that of the manners and customs of the people; but even here we find Hinduism in its last stage of degeneracy. We are told that "Hindus marry at a very young age," and that, "if a wife loses her husband by death, she cannot marry another man. She has only to choose between two things, either to remain a widow as long as she lives or to burn herself; and the latter eventually is considered the preferable, because, as a widow, she is ill-treated as long as she lives." (Chap. LXIX). Thus perpetual widowhood and the burning of widows were customs of the land in the last days of

* See *ante*, p. 682.

Hindu independence. Nations, it is said, shape their own destinies; and the Hindus of the eleventh century who thus forgot their glorious past, degraded their women, and defranchised the people of all culture and religious knowledge, certainly seemed to court the sad destiny which overwhelmed them at the close of the next century.

About marriage customs we are told that parents arranged marriages for their children, that no gifts were settled, but the husband made a gift in advance which was the wife's property (*strîdhana*) ever after. Marriage was forbidden among parties who were related to each other within five generations. Every man of a particular caste could, under the ancient law, marry a woman of his own caste, or one of the castes below his. But this practice has fallen into disuse; caste had become more rigid and unmeaning; and "in our time, however, the Brâhmans, although it is allowed to them, never marry any woman except one of their own caste." (Chap. LXIX.)

The account of the festivals given by Alberuni of the Hindus of the eleventh century reads not unlike an account of Hindu festivals in the present day. The year commenced with the month of Chaitra, and on the eleventh day of the moon was the *Hindoli Chaitra*, when the image of Krishna was swung to and fro in a cradle. On the full-moon day was the spring festival (the modern *Holi*), a festival specially for women. We have found some account of this festival in the dramatic literature of the early Pauranik Age. Both the *Râtnâvalî* and the *Mâlatî mâdhava* open with an account of this festival which was sacred to the god of love. But Krishna in modern times has supplanted the ancient god of love, and the modern *Holi* represents the festival of that ancient god.

The third day of the moon in Vaisâkha was the *Gaurî Trityâ*, when women performed ablutions, worshipped the image of Gaurî and lighted lamps before it, offered perfumes, and fasted. From the tenth day of the moon to the full-moon, sacrifices were performed

before ploughing fields, and commencing the annual cultivation. Then came the vernal equinox, when a festival was held and Brâhmans were fed.

Jaistha is the month for fruits in India, and on the first day of the moon the first-fruits of the year were thrown into the water for obtaining a favourable prognostic. On the full-moon day there was a festival for women called *Rûpa Pancha.*

The month of A'sâdha was devoted to alms-giving, and households were provided with new vessels.

On the full-moon day in Srâvana banquets were again given to Brâhmans.

In the month of A'svayuja sugarcane was cut, and at a festival called the Mahânavamî, the first-fruits of sugar and other things were presented to the image of Bhagavatî. On the fifteenth, sixteenth, and twenty-third day of the moon there were other festivals, accompanied by much merriment and wrangling.

The month of Bhadrapadâ was full of celebrations. On the first day of the moon alms were given in the names of the fathers. On the third day, there was a festival for women. On the sixth day, food was distributed to prisoners. On the eighth day, there was a festival called *Dhruvagriha*, and pregnant women celebrated it to obtain healthy children. On the eleventh day, there was a festival called *Pârvatî*, in which a thread was offered to the priest. And, after the full-moon day, the whole half-month was devoted to festivals. These festivals of the eleventh century have now been replaced by more pompous Pujas—that of Durgâ and other goddesses and gods.

On the first day of the moon in Kârtika was a festival called Dewâli. A great number of lamps were lighted, and it was believed that the goddess Lakshmî liberated Bali, the son of Virochana, in that one day in the year. This was the ancient form of the Dewâli festival with which the worship of Kâlî is now connected, just as the worship of Krishna is now connected with the ancient spring festival. In Europe, as general knowledge and popular education are spreading, days,

formerly dedicated to saints and various rites, are now merely observed as holidays, for rest and recreation. In India, on the contrary, ancient season festivals are now connected with the worship of gods who were unknown or little known to the ancient Hindus.

On the third day of the moon in Mârgasîrsha (Agrahâyana) there was a feast for women in honour of Gaurî. And there was another feast for women on the full-moon day.

Pausha was celebrated in those days, as it is now, with a variety of sweet dishes. We have seen that this very sensible way of celebrating the winter was known even in the centuries previous to the Christian Era.

On the third day of the moon in Mâgha, there was a feast for women in honour of Gaurî. Other festivals followed in this month.

On the eighth day of the moon in Fâlguna, Brâhmans were fed, and on the full-moon day was the *Dola*. The following night was the *Sivarâtrî* dedicated to Mahâdeva. (Chap. LXXVI.)

The account of festivals given above will convey some idea of popular religion and religious practices. There were idols and temples too, scattered broadcast all over India, which attracted numerous pilgrims and devotees. Alberuni speaks of an idol of A'ditya or the sun in Multan, of one of Chakrasvâmin or Vishnu in Thanesvara, of a wooden idol called Sârada in Kashmir, and of the famous idol of Somanâtha—a Sivalinga—which was destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni. (Chap. XI). About the linga of Somanâtha our author tells us that Mahmud, after destroying the upper part, transported the remainder to Ghazni with all its coverings and trappings of gold, jewels and embroidered garments. Part of it was thrown into the hippodrome of the town, and part of it was kept at the door of the Ghazni mosque, so that people might rub and clean their feet on it. Such was the fate assigned to the idol which was daily washed by water brought from the Ganges and worshipped with flowers from Kashmir! The great importance of the

Somanâtha linga was due to the fact that the town itself was a centre of maritime trade and a harbour for seafaring people. (Chap. LVIII.)

Benares had already become the most sacred place in India, and men repaired there in their old age to end their lives in the holy city. The holy lakes of Pushkara, Thanesvara, Mathurâ, Kashmir and Multan are also alluded to, and no doubt attracted vast crowds of pilgrims. (Chap. LXVI.) The Hindu custom of excavating great tanks with spacious flights of stairs in holy places is much praised by our author. "In every place to which some particular holiness is ascribed, the Hindus construct ponds intended for ablutions. In this they have attained to a very high degree of art, so that our people (the Moslems), when they see them, wonder at them and are unable to describe them much less to construct anything like them. They build them of great stones of an enormous bulk, joined to each other by sharp and strong clamp irons, in the form of steps (or terraces) like so many ledges; and these terraces run all round the pond, reaching to a height of more than a man's stature." (Chap. LXVI.)

Among the multitude of gods and goddesses whom the Hindus worshipped, Alberuni had no difficulty in marking out the three principal gods—the deities of the Hindu Trinity—Brahmâ the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Mahâdeva the Destroyer. Alberuni further tells us that these three deities form a Unity, and herein "there is an analogy between Hindus and Christians, as the latter distinguish between the three *persons*, and give them separate names, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but unite them into one *substance*." (Chap. VIII.)

That Alberuni carefully studied Hindu religion and institutions, will appear from the fact that beyond the multitude of Hindu gods worshipped by the common people—beyond even the Trinity spoken of above—our author grasped the true nature of pure and philosophical Hinduism—the Monotheism of the Upanishads. He repeatedly tells us that the multitude of gods is for

vulgar belief ; the educated Hindus believe God to be "one, eternal, without beginning and end, acting by free will, almighty, all-wise, living, giving life, ruling, preserving."

"The existence of God they consider as real existence, because everything that exists, exists through him." (Chap. II.)

This is pure, refreshing, life-giving religion ; it has the true ring of the ancient Upanishads, which are among the noblest works that have been composed by man. The historian only regrets that in later ages this noble faith became the exclusive property of the educated few, that the common people were referred to idols and temples, to unmeaning rites performed by Brâhmans, and unhealthy restrictions prescribed by priests. Why should the people be fed on poison in a land where the stream of an ancient and life-giving religion flowed perennial ?

Elsewhere Alberuni speaks of the Hindu idea of transmigration of souls, of every act in life bringing its reward or punishment for the life to come, and of final emancipation derived by true knowledge. *Then* "the soul turns away from matter, the connecting links are broken, the union is dissolved. Separation and dissolution take place, and the soul returns to its home, carrying with itself as much of the bliss of knowledge as sesame develops grains and blossoms, afterwards never separating from its oil. The intelligent being, intelligence and its object are united and become one." (Chap. V.)

Among social rites, marriage and funerals require a brief mention. The ceremony of marriage was performed much in the same way as at the present day. The implements of wedding rejoicings were brought forward, Brâhmans performed the sacrificial rites, and they, as well as others, received presents and alms. (Chap. LXIX.) Funeral ceremonies were also much the same as at the present time. The body of the deceased was washed and covered with a shroud, and then burnt with sandal or other wood according to

the means of the heirs. The burnt bones were then brought to the Ganges and thrown into the holy river in the hope that the deceased would thereby find a place in heaven. A monument was then raised over the place where the body was burnt (probably in the case of distinguished men only), as is still done in Eastern Bengal. (Chap. LXXIII.)

Of the administration of law some interesting account is given. Written plaints were generally filed in which the case against the defendant was stated. Where no such written plaint was filed, oral complaints were received. There were different kinds of oath, having different degrees of solemnity, and cases were decided on the testimony of witnesses. (Chap. LXX.)

All foreign visitors have commented on the extreme mildness of the criminal law in India, and Alberuni compares it with the leniency professed by Christians, and adds some shrewd remarks which deserve to be quoted. "In this regard the manners and customs of the Hindus resemble those of the Christians, for they are, like those of the latter, based on the principles of virtue and abstinence from wickedness, such as never to kill under any circumstances whatsoever; to give to him who has stripped you of your coat also your shirt; to offer to him who has beaten your cheek the other cheek also; to bless your enemy and to pray for him. Upon my life, this is a noble philosophy; but the people of this world are not all philosophers. Most of them are ignorant and erring, who cannot be kept on the straight road save by the sword and whip. And indeed, ever since Constantine the victorious became a Christian, both sword and whip have ever been employed, for without them it would be impossible to rule." (Chap. LXXI.)

The punishment for a Brâhman murderer who killed a man of another caste was expiation consisting of fasting, prayers and almsgiving. But if a Brâhman killed another Brâhman, the punishment was banishment and confiscation of property. In no case was a Brâhman offender punished with death. For theft the punish-

ment was in accordance with the value of the stolen property. In serious cases a Brâhman or Kshatriya thief might be punished with loss of hand or foot, and a thief of a lower caste might be punished with death. A woman who committed adultery was driven out of the house of her husband and banished. (Chap. LXXI.)

Children inherited the property left by the father, a daughter getting a fourth part of the share of a son. A widow did not inherit but was entitled to support and maintenance as long as she lived. Heirs in the direct line, *i.e.*, sons, grandsons, &c., inherited in preference to collateral heirs as brothers; and the debt of the deceased devolved on the heir. (Chap. LXXII.)

In matters of taxation Brâhmans enjoyed the same indulgence as in punishment for offences. One-sixth of the produce of the soil was the tax due to the ruler; and labourers, artisans and trading classes also paid taxes calculated on their incomes. Only Brâhmans were exempt from all taxes. (Chap. LXVII.)

With regard to Hindu literature, Alberuni begins his account with the Veda, which he says was transmitted by memory because it was recited according to certain modulations, and the use of the pen might cause some error. He repeats the story that Vyâsa divided the Veda into four parts, the Rik, Yajus, Sâman, and Atharvan, and taught one part to each of his four pupils—Paila, Vaisampâyana, Jaimini and Sumantu. He gives us the names of the eighteen books into which the Mahâbhârata in its present shape is divided, and also makes mention of its continuation, the Harivansa; and he also tells some legends from the Râmâyana. He names eight grammarians, Pânini and others, and gives us some account of Sanscrit metre; and he also tells us something of the Sânkhya and other schools of philosophy, although his information is not always derived from the original works of these schools. Of Buddha and Buddhism his account is meagre, vague and erroneous, shewing that Buddhism had practically died out in India by the eleventh century. He tells us of the twenty works on Smriti,

Manu, Yâjnavalka and others. He gives us two different lists of the eighteen Purânas, and the second list corresponds exactly with the eighteen Purânas as we have them now. This is an important fact for the student of Hindu literature, as it shews that all the eighteen Purânas were composed before the 11th century of the Christian Era, although they have been altered and added to in subsequent ages. On the other hand, we have no mention in Alberuni's work of the Tantra literature. And lastly, Alberuni, being himself a clever mathematician, gives us a long account of Hindu astronomers, A'ryabhatta, Varâhamihira and Brahmagupta, and of the five astronomical Siddhântas (Sûrya, Vasistha, Pulisa, Romaka and Brahma) which were condensed by Varâhamihira. Alberuni specially praises Varâhamihira as an honest man of science, and states that the astronomer lived 526 years before his own time, *i.e.*, about 505 A.D.

It is not necessary for us to go into the long and learned account which Alberuni gives of Hindu astronomy. His criticisms are sometimes erroneous; but on the whole he tries honestly to comprehend and explain the system of which he speaks. He gives us the names of the twelve A'dityas, *i.e.*, the names of the sun in the twelve months of the year, *viz.*, Vishnu of Chaitra, Aryaman of Vaisâkha, Vivasvat of Jyaîstha, Ansa of A'shâdha, Parjanya of Srâvana, Varuna of Bhâdra, Indra of Asvayuja (Asvina), Dhâtri of Kârtika, Mitra of Mârgasîrsha (A'grahâyana), Pûshan of Pausha, Bhaga of Mâgha and Tvashtri of Fâlguna. He states correctly that the names of the Hindu months are derived from the Hindu names of lunar constellations: Asvina from Asvini, Kârtika from Krittikâ, Mârgasîrsha from Mrigasîrâ, Pausha from Pushyâ, Mâgha from Maghâ. Fâlguna from Pûrva Fâlgunî, Chaitra from Chitrâ, Vaisâkha from Visakhâ, Jyaîstha from Jyesthâ, A'shâdha from Purvâsâdha, Srâvana from Srâvana, and Bhâdra from Pûrva Bhadrapadâ. He gives us the names of the twelve signs of the zodiac adopted by the Hindus from the Greeks who had adopted

them from the Assyrians. And he also gives us the Hindu names of the planets, Mangala for Mars, Budha for Mercury, Vrihaspati for Jupiter, Sukra for Venus, and Sanichara for Saturn. (Chap. XIX.)

Alberuni further tells us, and it is a remarkable fact for Hindu students to know, that some idea of the law of gravitation was known to Hindu astronomers. Brahmagupta, as quoted by Alberuni, says: "All heavy things fall down to the earth by a law of nature, for *it is the nature of the earth to attract* and to keep things, as it is the nature of water to flow, that of the fire to burn, and that of the wind to set in motion." Varâhamihira also says: "*The earth attracts that which is upon her.*" (Chap. XXVI.) Alberuni also alludes to A'ryabhatta's theory, of which we have spoken before, that the earth revolves, the heaven does not turn round as appears to our eyes. (Chap. XXVI.) That the earth is round was also known to Hindu astronomers, and the circumference of the earth was stated to be 4,800 yojanas. (Chap. XXXI.)

Alberuni also tells us of the precession of the equinoxes, and quotes Varâhamihira, that whereas the summer solstice took place in the midst of Aslesha and the winter solstice in Dhanishtâ in olden times (in the Epic Age when the Vedas were finally compiled as we have seen before), the former now (in Varâhamihira's time) takes place in the Cancer and the latter in Capricornus. (Chap. LVI.) Alberuni further goes into the subject of the heliacal rising of the stars, and tells us how the mythical story of Agastya (Canopus) ordering the Vindhya mountains to wait until his return, arose out of astronomical observations on the heliacal rising of the Canopus. Into these and various other interesting matters, of which our author speaks, we cannot enter.

While explaining all these interesting points of Hindu astronomy, Alberuni regrets with every impartial scholar, that the minds of even the greatest Hindu intellects were warped by superstitions which they could not break through. Side by side with the most advanced

notions of astronomy, Hindu astronomers seriously reproduced silly conceptions and ancient myths which were wholly irreconcilable with their own advanced theories. The whole fabric of Hindusim, of the caste system, of the supremacy of priests, was built on such ancient legends, and the greatest Hindu minds could not, or did not, break through them.

These remarks strike us forcibly when we turn to the geography of the Hindus. The geography of India at least was pretty well known to the Hindus both before and after the Christian Era, witness the Buddhist scriptures and the accounts of Kâlidâsa's poetry and Varâhamihira's astronomy. But whenever we meet with a connected account of the configuration of the earth, we find the same old story of seven concentric seas and seven concentric islands! The central island is Jambu Dvîpa surrounded by the salt sea; round it is Sâka Dvîpa surrounded by the milk sea; round it is Kusa Dvîpa surrounded by the butter sea; round it is Krauncha Dvîa surrounded by the curd sea; round it is Sâlmalî, Dvîpa surrounded by the wine sea; round it is Gomeda Dvîpa surrounded by the sugar sea; and last of all is Pushkara Dvîpa surrounded by the sweet sea! (Chap. XXI, quoting from the Matsya Purâna.) A more intelligible account of the provinces of India is quoted by Alberuni from the Vâyu Purâna. The Kurus, Panchâlas, Kasis, Kosalas, &c., were the central people. The Andhars (in Magadha), Vangîyas, Tâmraliptikas, &c., were in the east. The Pândyas, Keralas, Cholas, Mahârâshtras, Kalingas, Vaidharvas, Andhras, Nâsikyas, Saurâshtras, &c., were to the south. The Bhojas, Mâlavas, Hunas, (Huns then possessing the Western deserts), &c., were to the west. And the Pahlavas (Persians), Gândhâras, Yavanas, Sindhus, Sakas, &c., were to the north. (Chap. XXIX.)

Alberuni gives us some account of Hindu arithmetic and numbers—a science in which the Hindus beat all nations on the face of the earth "I have studied the names of the orders of the numbers in various langua-

ges," says Alberuni, "and have found that no nation goes beyond the thousand," *i.e.*, the fourth order of numbers, commencing from the unit. But the Hindus "extend the names of the orders of numbers until the 18th order," and this is called the Parârdha. (Chap. XVI.)

Our author also speaks of the various kinds of alphabet in use in India: the *Siddhamâtrikâ* used in Kashmir and in Benares, the *Nâgara* used in Malwa, the Ardhanâgarî, the Marwari, the Sindhava, the Karnâta, the A'ndhrî, the Drâvirî, the Gaurî, &c. The last named is no doubt the Bengali alphabet. Various materials too were used in various parts of India for writing, the *Tal* leaf in some places, the *Bhûrja* in Northern and Central India, &c. (Chap. XVI.)

A chapter is also devoted to Hindu medical science. The science seems to have always been the monopoly of a few, and much superstition was mixed up with it. Ignorant pretenders professed, through *Rasâyana*, to turn old age into youth and to work many other wonders, and thus preyed on the more ignorant public. As in the middle ages in Europe, so in India, the greediness of kings to convert metals into gold knew no bounds, and pretenders prescribed many dark and even inhuman rites to work this wonder.

Indeed, in many respects the tenth and eleventh centuries in India resembled the middle ages in Europe. A noble religion had become the monopoly of priests, and had been all but smothered with monstrous legends and image worship. War and sovereignty were the monopoly of another caste, the Rajput Kshatriyas of India, and the feudal barons of Europe, who had both come to the fore front from the struggles of the preceding dark ages. The people were ignorant, dispirited, enslaved, in one country as in the other. The last of the poets of the Augustan and Vikramâditiyan ages had disappeared and had left no successors. The great names in science and learning were also a memory of the past; none had appeared again to take their place. And as if to make the parallel complete, the last remains of the Latin and Prâkrit-Sanscrit spoken

tongues were replaced after the dark ages by modern languages, the Italian, French, and Spanish in Europe, and the Hindi, &c., in India. The people were kept in ignorance, fed with unwholesome superstition, beguiled with gorgeous and never-ending festivals. Everything bore the appearance of disintegration and decay; and national life seemed extinct.

But here the parallel ends. The sturdy feudal barons of Europe soon mixed with the people, fought the people's battle in the field, the council board, or the counting house, and thus infused a new and vigorous life in modern nations. In India the caste system prevented such a fusion, and the Rajput Kshatriyas, isolated from the people, soon fell a prey to foreign invaders and were involved in a common ruin.

Darker days then followed on the loss of independence. Kshatriyas and Vaisyas were equally prostrated. The bold myth was then proclaimed, that all who were not Brâhmans were Sûdras; that none but Brâhmans were entitled to religious knowledge, or could perform sacred rites, or wear the sacred thread. A grosser superstition and a deeper degeneracy followed in the wake of monopoly in knowledge,—that knowledge which was the common right of all Aryans for three thousand years,—that knowledge without which a nation is dead.

Terrible is the penalty which the Hindus have paid for their national ignorance and caste disunion, their social degeneracy and political weakness. For six centuries after 1200 A.D., the history of the Hindus is a blank. They were the only civilized Aryan nation in the earth over three thousand years ago; they are the only people, socially lifeless and politically prostrate to-day, not only among Aryans, but among all the civilized nations of the earth!

After six centuries of national lifelessness, there are indications of reviving life. There is a struggle in the land to go beyond the dead forms of religion, and to recover what is pure, nourishing, life-giving.

There is an effort to ignore caste disunion, to create a social union which is the basis of a national union. There is an endeavour to interpret social usages in their original sense, to tear asunder senseless restrictions, to eschew unhealthy modern customs. There are beginnings of a national consciousness among the people.

It rests mainly with ourselves what use is made of these favourable indication. Nations shape their own destiny; and there is no modern nation in Europe but has won its place in the world's history by hard, honest, unremitting exertion. If, true to our modern education, we can eradicate what is hurtful and disuniting in us, and cherish what is healthy and life-giving; if, conscious of our present sad fate, we can forget our littlenesses, and sacrifice our petty class interests in order to unite; and if, confident of our future destiny, we can learn to work honestly and unselfishly and steadfastly in the path of progress and advancement—our national future is assured.

It may be England's high privilege to restore to an ancient nation a new and healthy life. Under the vivifying influences of modern civilization, ancient races in Greece and in Italy have begun a new intellectual and national career. The influence of civilization will spread, and the light of progress, which has been lighted in Southern Europe, will yet spread to the shores of the Ganges. And if the science and learning, the sympathy and example of modern Europe help us to regain in some measure a national consciousness and life, Europe will have rendered back to modern India that kindly help and brotherly service which India rendered to Europe in ancient days—in religion, science and civilization.